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# THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY

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## THE LOGIA OF BEHNESA

OR

### THE NEW "SAYINGS OF JESUS."

By EDWIN A. ABBOTT,  
London, England.

I. *The questions suggested.*—In the little Egyptian hamlet of Behnesa, where once stood Oxyrhynchus, 120 miles south of Cairo, there has been discovered a leaf from a papyrus book containing a number of sentences prefaced with the words "saith Jesus." It is but  $3\frac{3}{4}$  inches broad, and, in its present condition,  $5\frac{3}{4}$  inches long, but was perhaps originally a little longer, as it has been torn at the bottom. At the top of what appears to be the front page are the words, "and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote that is in thy brother's eye."<sup>1</sup> At the bottom of what appears to be the back page are traces of a clause containing the words "thou hearest," preceded by a version of another well-known sentence: "Saith Jesus, A city built on the top of a high hill, and stablished, can neither fall nor be hid."<sup>2</sup> Before this comes the proverb about "a prophet in his own country."<sup>3</sup> But wedged in between these canonical sayings come unfamiliar, mysterious utterances, telling us that we must "fast the world" and "sabbatize the Sabbath;" that Jesus found "all men drunken<sup>4</sup> and none athirst;" and that he will be

<sup>1</sup> Luke 6:42; Matth. 7:5.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Matt. 5:14.

<sup>3</sup> Matt. 13:57; Mark 6:4; Luke 4:24; John 4:44.

<sup>4</sup> Or "drinking" (*μεθύοντας*).



present with his disciples when they "cleave the tree"<sup>5</sup> and "raise the stone." Canonical or uncanonical, all the sentences are introduced with the words "Saith Jesus."<sup>6</sup>

The first question is, Did Jesus really say these words? In the next place, supposing them to be genuine, how can we ascertain their precise meaning, and is the Greek to be regarded as a translation and interpreted accordingly? Again, are they to be interpreted literally or metaphorically? And were they addressed, like the Sermon on the Mount,<sup>7</sup> not to "the multitude" at large, but to Christ's disciples, and especially to those charged with an apostolic commission?

II. *The similarity of the Logia to the Sermon on the Mount.*—We have seen that two of the Logia are found in Matthew's Sermon on the Mount. This suggests the thought that there may have been many traditional forms of that discourse, of which Matthew has given one, and our author another. The front page of the papyrus leaf is numbered (by a later hand than that of the actual scribe) "eleven." Now, a little book of which this was the eleventh page (allowing for a line perhaps lost at the bottom) would contain about enough lines to take the reader back from our first Logion (Matthew's saying about "the mote and the beam") to the first Beatitude, "Blessed are the poor in spirit." This resemblance in length is worth noting. We have no ground for supposing that the preceding leaves were precisely similar to the preceding parts of the Sermon in wording, or exactly parallel in arrangement of thoughts; but, so far as it goes, the evidence supports the view that we have before us a leaf from an ancient, cheap, and portable copy of a version

<sup>5</sup> "The tree" (ξύλον). Not "the wood" (see note 50, pp. 14-15).

<sup>6</sup> Λέγει Ἰησοῦς. Theoretically it is possible that each sentence might conclude with these words, like "saith the Lord" in some of the prophets, e. g., Malachi 3 : 12, 13; 4 : 3. But it is most probable that they are used as an introduction.

<sup>7</sup> So at least Matthew (5 : 1-2) leads us to suppose: "And seeing the multitudes, he went up *into the mountain*: and, when he had sat down, *his disciples* came unto him: and he opened his mouth and taught them." It is not perhaps so in Luke (6 : 17): "And he came down with them and stood *on a level place*, and a great *multitude of his disciples*." But even there a distinction may perhaps be discerned between (Luke 6 : 19) "the multitude" that sought to "touch him" and (*ibid.*, 20) "his disciples," on whom the blessing was pronounced.

of the Lord's sayings to his disciples on the lines followed by Matthew in his Sermon on the Mount.

In one respect, it is true, our Logia differ from the Sermon. The latter professes to be a single discourse; the former, to be a collection of single sayings. But the difference is not so great as it appears. Luke arranges many of the passages in the Sermon in quite a different order, and assigns to many of them later places in the gospel history, defining the special occasion that gave rise to each and the circumstances in which each was uttered. That is to say, Luke did not regard the sayings in the Sermon as being placed in their right order. From his point of view, therefore, many of the sayings in the Sermon might have been regarded as no less disconnected than those in our Logia. "Matthew leaves out the words 'Saith Jesus,' the author of the Logia puts them in, that is all the difference"—might be the conclusion arrived at by some who adopt as historical Luke's rearrangement of Matthew's Sermon.

I am not here maintaining that Luke is right and Matthew wrong. The point is that a collection of Logia detached in *form* (e. g., by a preparatory formula such as "Jesus saith," or "I say unto you") may be pervaded by a continuous thread of thought. It is quite obvious that there is such a distinct unity and logical connection in portions, at all events, of Matthew's Sermon. Similarly, other collectors of Logia may have written versions of the Sermon on the Mount, or of the teachings of Jesus, in which, though each saying is introduced by an identical preface, such as "Jesus saith," one definite purpose may pervade the whole. And this conclusion must influence our interpretation of the new Logia.

Nor ought we to be much prejudiced against the expectation of this continuous clew by the well-known words of Luke's preface concerning the labors of his predecessors. "Many," he says, had "taken in hand to compile<sup>8</sup> a narrative<sup>9</sup> concerning those matters" which were fully established among Christians; and consequently he, too, having followed things up to their source, resolved to write something for the benefit of Theophi-

<sup>8</sup> ἀνατάξασθαι.

<sup>9</sup> διήγησιν.

lus: but he emphatically says that what he wrote should be "in (chronological) order," and he implies that his method of writing would enable Theophilus to ascertain the exact meaning and truth concerning the words wherein he had been "instructed as a catechumen."<sup>10</sup> Our great debt to Luke for his attempt at historical arrangement must not prevent us from recognizing that in many instances, where he differs from Matthew and Mark in his arrangement of the words and deeds of Jesus, he does not seem to be successful. Placed in Matthew's order and illustrated by Matthew's context, several passages in the Sermon on the Mount are more intelligible than in the rearranged order of Luke. The same may be true of our Logia. We must be prepared to find in them, as in Matthew's Sermon, a thread of thought connecting the first saying about "the mote" with the last saying about the "city on the hill," and running through the intervening sayings in such a way as to help us to arrive at their meaning.

III. *Other collections of Logia.*—The words above quoted from the preface to Luke's gospel indicate that many compositions concerning Christ's words and deeds were current in his days. When we put ourselves in the position of an early Christian, we must feel at once that it could not have been otherwise. Luke's words appear at first sight to refer principally to historical "narratives;" but the word so translated does not exclude anecdotes or collections of sayings; and his implied condemnation of their want of "order" makes it highly probable that he is referring largely, not to gospels such as the gospel of the Egyptians, or that of the Hebrews, but to collections of Christ's sayings such as are found in the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, the Logia of Behnesa, and, we must add, discourses similar to Matthew's Sermon on the Mount.

Nothing was more certain than that, when our Lord's words were first committed to writing, manuals would appear containing his doctrine on special subjects, such as prayer, fasting, one's duty to neighbors, one's duty to enemies, and so on. Probably there were also manuals of prophecy, showing how

<sup>10</sup> κατηχήθης.

Jesus was proved to be the Messiah, and perhaps manuals of Christ's parables; but, above all, the pious Christian would prize his collection of "The Comfortable Sayings of Christ,"<sup>11</sup> the manual that contained the whole duty of a Christian. Passages similar to those in Matthew's Sermon on the Mount are quoted by Clement of Rome, Polycarp, and Clement of Alexandria, with such differences from Matthew's and Luke's versions, and with such agreement among the quoters, as to make it highly probable that the two former are quoting from some manual of this sort, and probable that the later Clement is not imitating his more ancient namesake, but quoting from an identical or similar source. In reproducing the short moral maxims of Jesus, writers sometimes use the preface found in the Acts, where St. Paul bids us "remember *the words of the Lord Jesus, how he said*, It is more blessed to give than to receive;" sometimes they simply use the word "saith."<sup>12</sup> The author of the Logia of Behnesa uses a novel form, almost non-occurrent in the gospels,<sup>13</sup> "Saith Jesus." It is, however, frequent in some of the Old Testament prophecies in the form "Saith the Lord." Perhaps the compiler of this little book desired to suggest to his readers that in these "Comfortable Words" Jesus still speaks to us, as if face to face, in the present.<sup>14</sup>

IV. *Are these Logia a translation?*—Papias, our earliest authority for facts bearing on the authorship and composition of the canonical gospels, tells us that the apostle Matthew compiled the Logia in the Hebrew language and that people interpreted them severally as best they could.<sup>15</sup> It has been perhaps too generally assumed in modern times that the "Hebrew" here meant could not be the Hebrew of the Scriptures, inasmuch

<sup>11</sup> "Comfortable" in St. Paul's sense, *i. e.*, strengthening and stimulating to action.

<sup>12</sup> Mostly, I think, *φησιν*.

<sup>13</sup> Perhaps the only exception is John 13:31. The peculiarity of it is that *λέγει* immediately precedes *Ἰησοῦς* without the article.

<sup>14</sup> The remark of Justin Martyr (I, *Apol.* § 14) concerning the shortness and point of the words of the Lord would apply better to such collections as the Sermon on the Mount, the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, and the Logia of Behnesa, than to the more rhetorical attacks on the Pharisees, the Parables, etc.

<sup>15</sup> Euseb., *H. E.*, iii, 39, *Ματθαῖος μὲν οὖν Ἑβραϊδὶ διαλέκτῳ τὰ λόγια συνεγράψατο, ἡρμῆνευσε δ' αὐτὰ ὡς ἦν δυνατὸς ἕκαστος.*

as that was not a spoken language. But on reflection, does it not appear antecedently probable that when pious Jews undertook at last—after long delays caused by anticipation of the coming of the Lord—to set forth in writing the doctrine that had been hitherto orally taught concerning the words and deeds of the Lord Jesus, they would regard no language as fit for the purpose except the Hebrew, perhaps the later Hebrew, of the books of the Old Testament? Passing from tradition to Scripture, they would naturally pass from the language of tradition to the language of Scripture, and this might seem to them to be necessarily Hebrew. This, too, would explain the language of Papias implying early varieties of interpretation. Had the language been a spoken one, such as Aramaic, there would have been comparatively little scope for divergency: but if the language was that of the Hebrew Scriptures, which were themselves “interpreted” to the congregations of Jewish synagogues, then all becomes clear. The first book of Christian Logia, when set forth as “Scripture,” was written in the language of the books of the Old Testament, and, from the first, interpreted—as the latter were interpreted, even to Jews, much more to Gentiles. If this was the case, we must be prepared to find in our Logia such divergences, or peculiarities, as may be explained by reference to a Hebrew original.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>16</sup> For example, in his account of St. Peter's denials, Mark, and Mark alone, gives our Lord's prediction in these words (Mark 14:30): “Before the cock crow *twice*, thou shalt deny me thrice.” Why do the other three gospels (which can be proved to be later) agree in rejecting the word “twice,” which adds much to the point of the narrative, if it is to be regarded as a detailed miraculous prediction? An answer will be supplied if we can show that the textual phenomena point to some brief and obscure original Hebrew idiom which has been literally translated, but wrongly arranged, by Mark.

Such a passage occurs in Job 33:29, where the literal Hebrew is “All these things *twice thrice*”—meaning “twice, nay, thrice” (a very common Hebrew abbreviation)—“God worketh.” The LXX have “All these things *ways three* God worketh.” The cause of their mistake is this: The Hebrew “twice” is the dual of the word meaning “time,” “occasion,” etc. Even with vowel points, there is scarcely any difference between the dual, which means “times two” (p'a<sup>a</sup>maim), and the plural, which means “times” (p'âmaim). Unpointed, the two words are identical, פעמים. Hence the LXX found in the Hebrew the meaning “times thrice or three” (“thrice” and “three” being identical in the Hebrew), which appeared to make better sense in the shape “occasions, or ways, three.” The same explanation applies here. If the orig-

V. *Fasting the world*.—Applying these considerations to the Logia of Behnesa, we pass over the canonical one that heads the list, simply asking the reader to note that its tenor leads us to anticipate also in the rest a warning to the Lord's disciples to prepare themselves to help others. They are to cast out their own "beam" in order that they may cast out their brother's "mote."

The next Logion is this: "Saith Jesus, unless ye *fast the world* (νηστεύσητε τὸν κόσμον) ye shall verily not find the kingdom of God, and unless ye *sabbatize the Sabbath* (σαββατίσητε τὸ σάββατον) ye shall not see the Father." Clement of Alexandria is the only Greek writer at present known to have combined the verb "fast" with the noun "world."<sup>17</sup> But he uses it with the *genitive*, "fast *from the world*," a brief but clear form of saying "fast, or abstain, from the passions of the world." If Clement's phrase was known to the writer, we should be reduced to the supposition that the latter corrupted and obscured what was originally excellent Greek and perfectly clear. Far more probably Clement has adopted and adapted the saying of Behnesa. If so, what was the precise meaning of the Logion?

inal Hebrew was "Before the cock crow *times-two* [*nay*] *three* shalt thou deny me," Mark might translate literally and punctuate after "times-two," with this result, "Before the cock crow *twice, three* [*times*] shalt thou deny me." Matthew and the later evangelists, taking the Hebrew word to be plural (not dual), punctuated after "crow," rendering the whole thus, "Before the cock crow, *times three* (*i. e.* thrice) shalt thou deny me." The deviation of the later evangelists from the original Greek tradition was, therefore, probably caused by a reminiscence, not wholly accurate, of the original Hebrew, and by a sense that Mark's literal version had failed to reproduce the spirit of it. The original appears to have been, not an arithmetical prediction at all, but, in effect, this: "Before cock-crow thou shalt twice, yea, thrice (*i. e.*, repeatedly) deny me."

This is but one among many instances of the way in which the phenomena of the Old Testament may be applied to the interpretation of the New.

<sup>17</sup> Clem. Alex., p. 556 οἱ μὲν εὐνούχισαυτες ἑαυτοὺς ἀπὸ πάσης ἀμαρτίας διὰ τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν μακάριοι οὗτοι εἰσιν οἱ τοῦ κόσμου νηστεύοντες. It should be noted that there (as in our Logion) the thought of "fasting from the world" is closely connected with "sabbatizing." In the word εὐνούχισαυτες Clement is referring to Is. 56: 3-5 (previously, p. 555, quoted by him), where the eunuch is told that, if he keeps God's Sabbath, he need not call himself a "dry tree" (ξύλον ξηρόν).

This quotation was first pointed out by Dr. Joseph B. Mayor, the author of the well-known *Commentary on the Epistle of St. James*. It furnishes a clew to the whole of the Logia.

The verb "fast" is commonly used with an accusative of duration, "to fast during the Friday," etc. What, therefore, the grammar and the sense demand is some mystical doctrine about "fasting *during the six days* and sabbatizing the seventh." Take for example the following from the Apostolical Constitutions:<sup>18</sup> "He (the Lord) therefore exhorted us (the apostles) to fast during *these six days*"<sup>19</sup> because of the impiety and sinfulness of the Jews . . . and to break our fast on the seventh day." It is true that the author of the Constitutions has in view the fasting in Easter week: but is it not possible that he may be literalizing a precept actually uttered by our Lord in a spiritual sense, "Fast through *the week*, sabbatize *the Sabbath*"?

In using such words, Jesus may very well have had in view a distinction, current among his contemporaries and pervading the Pauline epistles, between "this world, or age" and "the world, or age, to come." It was natural to regard the six weekdays as corresponding to the former, and the seventh day, or Sabbath, as corresponding to the latter. The former was the time of trial, probation, and abstinence; the latter was the participation in God's joy and rest, "eating bread in the kingdom of God." We may be quite sure that Jesus did not use the words in any temporal sense, either as meaning the six days of the literal week or as meaning the six ages of the temporal world preceding the seventh or Messianic age. It is consistent with all his doctrine that he should use the words spiritually, meaning that his disciples were not to fast merely on Tuesdays and Thursdays, as the Pharisees did, but, so to speak, *all through worldly time*, and that they were to sabbatize, not merely the seventh day, but *the whole of the Sabbath of God*, that is to say, *the whole of spiritual time*. The doctrine of Isaiah defined the nature of right "fasting." It consisted in abstinence from evil deeds. As to "sabbatizing," Christ's doctrine, so far as it may be inferred from his deeds, was that it consisted in the practice of loving beneficence—such "sabbatizing" as he assigned to the Father when he said, "My Father worketh hitherto and I work,"<sup>20</sup> just before he proceeded to heal the blind man on the Sabbath.

<sup>18</sup> 5:15.<sup>19</sup> τὰς ἑξ ἡμέρας ταύτας.<sup>20</sup> John 5:17.

It will naturally be asked why, if this is the meaning, the Logia do not use the expression, "fast *during this age* (τὸν αἰῶνα τούτου)." The answer is as follows: The Hebrew for "world," in the expression "this world," as opposed to "the world to come," is "oulaum." *This may mean either "world" or "age."* Some Christian writers, as Hermas, render it almost always by αἰών ("æon" or "age"); others, as St. Paul, at times by αἰών, at times by κόσμος ("cosmos," or "world"); others, as St. John, never use αἰών in this sense, but only κόσμος.<sup>21</sup> In their version of the Parable of the Sower, the two earliest gospels speak of "the cares of *the age* (τοῦ αἰῶνος)," <sup>22</sup> as worldly influence that chokes the good seed. Luke, however, avoids this expression. If our Lord used the word *oulaum* in this saying, some writers might translate it by "the age," others by "the world." A writer in Egypt, following the usage of Philo, might naturally prefer to use the latter. It is true that thereby the translator lost the allusion to the sense of *duration*, which alone would strictly justify the accusative case in Greek; but, knowing as he did the convertibility of the words *cosmos* and *æon*, he might well feel that the temporal metaphor was sufficiently preserved by his retention of the accusative, while at the same time he might hope to save his readers from the danger of literalism.

In fact, however, such a saying was certain to be interpreted

<sup>21</sup> So, too, generally (if not always), Clement of Alexandria. Perhaps both writers were influenced by Philo, who (I, 277, 619) taught that αἰών means *time in the divine sense*, so that it would not be regarded as transitory, sensuous, or connected with evil. (See Clem. Alex., p. 349.)

Similarly Barnabas opposes "this *world*" to "the holy *age*" (10:11): ὁ δίκαιος καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κόσμῳ περιπατεῖ καὶ τὸν ἅγιον αἰῶνα ἐκδέχεται. On the other hand, Tit. 2:12 (ἀρνησάμενοι . . . τὰς κοσμικὰς ἐπιθυμίας . . . εὐσεβῶς ζήσωμεν ἐν τῇ νῦν αἰῶνι) uses the two thoughts almost indifferently. What Titus 2:12 expresses by εὐσεβῶς . . . ἐν τῇ νῦν αἰῶνι, 2 Cor. 1:12 expresses by ἐν ἀγιότητι . . . ἀνεστράφημεν ἐν τῇ κόσμῳ. Hermas repeatedly uses ὁ αἰὼν οὗτος. Ignatius speaks of the devil as (Eph. 19:1) τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου. Barnabas emphatically prefers another phrase (Barn. 18:2) ὁ μὲν (the Lord) ἐστὶν κύριος ἀπὸ αἰώνων καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ὁ δὲ (the devil) ἄρχων καιροῦ τοῦ νῦν τῆς ἀνομίας.

<sup>22</sup> Matth. 13:22; Mark 4:18.



literally. And the certainty is one proof of its genuineness. No writer, even in the first century, could have ventured (unless he were an anti-Pauline Judaizer, which is out of the question) to assign to Jesus the words, "sabbatize the Sabbath," without adding, as Justin Martyr does,<sup>23</sup> "the *true* Sabbath" or "the Sabbath of God," or "the *acceptable* Sabbath," or some qualification as an antidote against Jewish literalism. It is characteristic of Jesus himself that he freely uttered sayings literally inconsistent or hyperbolic; <sup>24</sup> but, after his time, if a writer used the word "sabbatize" without qualification, it would be, as in the epistle to the Hebrews, to show that (Hebr. 4 : 9) there *remained in the future* a "sabbatism" for the people of God, and this not a mere rest from labor, but a deliverance from sin. Or else a writer might maintain, in some other form, that the literal Sabbath was swallowed up in "the eighth day"—a name sometimes given by early Christian writers to Sunday, as being the first day of the second creation. Ignatius says, "no longer *sabbatizing*, but living *in accordance with the Lord's Day*" (κατὰ κυριακὴν ζῶντες).<sup>25</sup>

That the doctrine of our Lord concerning fasting and sabbatizing caused difficulty to the very earliest disciples seems to be indicated both by frequent comments of Clement of Alexandria, which seem to play about this Logion, and by such passages as that in the Didache, or Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, where the writer bids the catechumen fast on Wednesday and Friday, and not on Monday and Thursday.<sup>26</sup> The same book contains the precept, "*fast* for them that persecute you."<sup>27</sup> In the saying, "This kind cometh not out but by prayer," many MSS. add, "and fasting."<sup>28</sup> And we have seen above that the

<sup>23</sup> *Tryph.*, § 12.

<sup>24</sup> "He that is not with me is against me," "He that is not against us is with us," "He that findeth his life shall lose it," "If a man hate not his father and mother," etc.

<sup>25</sup> *Magn.* ix. The books of the New Testament, after the Acts, make no other mention of the Sabbath except (Col. 2 : 16) to reject it.

<sup>26</sup> *Didach.* 8 : 1. Cf. *Didach.* 7 : 2-3, "For if thou canst bear the whole yoke of the Lord, thou wilt be perfect. But if thou canst not, do what thou canst. But, concerning food, bear what thou canst."

<sup>27</sup> *Didach.* 1 : 3.

<sup>28</sup> Mark 9 : 29.

Apostolic Constitutions speak of an injunction of the Lord himself to fast for six days before the day of his resurrection. The great mass of Christians probably found it difficult to reject the notion that the Lord enjoined fixed fasts, and to believe that his doctrine was rightly interpreted by Hermas,<sup>29</sup> "Offer to God a fasting of the following kind: Do no evil in your life, and serve the Lord with a pure heart. . . . If you do these things, you will keep a great fast, and one acceptable to God."<sup>30</sup> These two stages, the negative one of "doing no evil" and the positive of "serving the Lord with a pure heart," are implied by Isaiah's doctrine on the true fast<sup>31</sup> and the true Sabbath,<sup>32</sup> "*cease to do evil, learn to do good*"—words that form the basis of all the subsequent doctrine of Jesus and his more spiritual followers.

Justin Martyr, in answer to the complaint that Christians did not keep the feasts or the Sabbath, replies that "the New Law bids men sabbatize *perpetually*,"<sup>33</sup> and that he who ceases from evil has "*sabbatized the sweet and true Sabbath of God.*"<sup>34</sup> But Clement of Alexandria works out the doctrine far more fully. Fasting, he says, is, literally, abstinence from food, but, mystically, a sign that we must fast from the things of the world;<sup>35</sup> mere food makes us neither more righteous nor less, but we are to fast from the things of the world that we may die to the world, and that, afterwards, partaking of divine food, we may live to God. These words imply a feast following a fast, a feast in God's kingdom following a fast in the age of this present world. Clearly Clement does not mean that the feast is to be deferred till after death. Feast and fast alike are to take place in this present life.

Clement recognizes that there is a mystery in Christ's words,<sup>36</sup> "Then shall they fast in those days." He calls them

<sup>29</sup> *Simil.*, v, 1.

<sup>31</sup> Isa. 58:3-6.

<sup>32</sup> Isa. 1:13-16.

<sup>30</sup> Elsewhere Hermas bids his readers (*Sim.* 5:3) "reckon the price of the dishes you intended to have eaten, and give to the poor.

<sup>33</sup> *Τρυφή*, § 12, *σαββατίζειν ὑμᾶς ὁ καινὸς νόμος διὰ παντὸς ἐθέλει*.

<sup>34</sup> *τὰ τρυφερά καὶ ἀληθινὰ σάββατα τοῦ θεοῦ*.

<sup>35</sup> Clem. Alex., (p. 992), *ὅτι τῶν κοσμικῶν νηστεύειν χρή*.

<sup>36</sup> Clem. Alex., p. 876, referring to Mark 2:20; Luke 5:35.

"enigmas," and declares that they do not refer to the customary fasts on Wednesday (sacred to Hermes), and on Friday (sacred to Aphrodite), but to a perpetual fast from evil. The transition is easy from the thought of "fasting" to the thought of Sunday or "Lord's day." Every day, says Clement, is converted into a Lord's day when a man casts away vile thoughts and takes to himself that conception of things which is engendered in us by faith in the resurrection accomplishing the commandment of the gospel (that is to say, the commandment of love). Such a man Clement calls a gnostic or "man of knowledge." Perhaps "man of insight" would express it better. It means insight into God's purposes of redemption derived from sympathy with them, and from harmony, or unity, with God. The gnostic, he says, supplies the place of the absent apostles by "removing the mountains" (*i. e.*, uprooting the sins) "of his neighbors."<sup>37</sup> The common believer, Clement admits, regards the mere abstinence from evil as being perfection, but the true gnostic advances to a higher stage of active and continuous beneficence after the likeness of God; and such as these, he says, are the true seed of Abraham.<sup>38</sup> All through these arguments Clement appears to have in view Christ's saying about the never-ceasing work of love on the part of the Father, as representing his Sabbath-feast ("My Father worketh hitherto and I work"); and this comes prominently forward in another passage where he says that "the Savior is ever saving and ever working, as he sees the Father doing. . . . Wherefore also the Lord hath not commanded us to *sabbatize* from good things, but to share them."<sup>39</sup>

Reviewing these sayings of Clement, taken from passages not in one context, but distant from each other, we seem to see him constantly keeping in view the two stages of fasting and sabbatizing, and anxiously and repeatedly drawing out their spiritual meaning, as though he knew that the doctrine was misunderstood and perverted. If this was his feeling, it is easy to understand why he should modify the old phrase, "fast the world," into

<sup>37</sup> Clem. Alex., p. 878.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 770.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.* p. 323, reading, with Dr. Joseph B. Mayor, *κεκέλευκε* for *κεκώλυκε*.

"fast from the world," so as to avoid all danger of an interpretation that enjoined fasts during special times.

Returning to the Logion, we are enabled, by Clement's guidance, to see the twofold stage implied in "finding the kingdom" and "seeing the Father." The former is manifestly an inferior spiritual condition, revealing God as king. The latter implies that "purity of heart" which, in the Old Testament, is connected with "ascending into the hill of the Lord,"<sup>40</sup> and in the New Testament is repeatedly mentioned along with "love,"<sup>41</sup> and in the Sermon on the Mount receives a special blessing, "Blessed are the *pure in heart*, for they shall *see God*." The form in which the blessing is described here ("see *the Father*") is another testimony to the early date of the saying. After the circulation of the fourth gospel (containing Christ's half rebuke to Philip, when the latter said, "Shew us the Father, and it sufficeth us") it is not likely that any collector of Christ's sayings would have allowed this to pass unaltered, since, in appearance, it concedes to all the faithful a manifestation that the Lord denied to Philip.

VI. *The Logion on poverty*.—The next Logion (for there is hardly space for two Logia<sup>42</sup>) runs as follows: "Saith Jesus, I [have] stood<sup>43</sup> in the midst of the world, and appeared unto them in the flesh, and found all men drunken and no man athirst among them; and my soul is weary over (*πνεύει ἐπὶ*) the sons of men, because they are blind in their heart and . . . poverty" (*πτωχείαν*).

It is easy to discern a possible connection between the last and first words of this saying. In the Sermon on the Mount,

<sup>40</sup> Ps. 24 : 3-4.

<sup>41</sup> The connection is implied (John 13 : 5-35) in the cleansing that introduces the commandment, "Love one another." Cf. also 1 Tim. 1 : 5; 1 Pet. 1 : 22; James 1 : 27.

<sup>42</sup> The facsimile represents only a line and a half as missing. And this is hardly sufficient to contain a new Logion about "poverty."

<sup>43</sup> The Greek aorist, in New Testament, often represents the English complete present with "have." Hence, *ἔστην*, *ᾤφθην*, *ἔδρον*, may all be represented in English with or without "have." If, "have" is omitted, the saying would have to be regarded as a post-resurrection utterance; but the mention of Christ's "soul," i. e., the animal or human nature, and the description of him as "weary" in the present, are against this view.

Jesus pronounces a blessing on the "poor" (πτωχοί), closely followed by a blessing on those who "hunger" and "thirst" after righteousness.<sup>44</sup> Here he seems to say that, though he stood in the midst of the "sons of men" as an example of "poverty" and "thirst," yet they remained self-satisfied—"drunken" and rich in their own eyes, filled with the food that pleased their passions.<sup>45</sup> Then, either continuing his warning to "the sons of men,"<sup>46</sup> he declares that they are really "poor;" or else, turning aside to exhort the disciples, he perhaps bids them retain the true "poverty" which insures his blessing. Clement gives us a definition that connects the true poverty with abstinence, or true fasting: "*Poverty consists in destitution of worldly passions.*"<sup>47</sup> Elsewhere<sup>48</sup> the same author describes the infatuation of the Jews in ignoring and persecuting Jesus, but not quite in the language of the Logion. A closer parallel may be found in one of the Sibylline poems, describing the Jews during the crucifixion as "drunken" and as "blinder than moles."<sup>49</sup>

VII. *A disciple is never alone.*—In the next Logion several letters are missing at the commencement. As restored, in part, by Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt, it runs thus: "Saith Jesus, Wherever there are . . . gods and . . . is alone . . . I am with him. Raise the stone and there shalt thou find me. Cleave the tree<sup>50</sup> and I am there." The plural "gods" is nowhere

<sup>44</sup> Matt. 5:3, "poor in spirit;" Luke simply "poor."

<sup>45</sup> For the connection between spiritual "poverty" and spiritual "blindness," cf. Rev. 3:17: "Thou sayest, I am rich and have gotten riches and have need of nothing, and knowest not that thou art the wretched one and miserable and *poor* and *blind*." We cannot tell in the Logion whether the "poverty" is that of saints or that of sinners. But the former seems to suit the context better.

<sup>46</sup> This phrase is used in the gospels only in Mark 3:28, where it is probably correct. It is corrupted in the parallel Matt. 12:32; Luke 12:10. As often in the prophets and psalms, it represents men regarded as mortal, fallible, and frail.

<sup>47</sup> Reading κοσμικὰς for κοσμίαις in Clem. Alex., pp. 789-90, πενία δὲ ἡ κατὰ τὰς κοσμικὰς ἐπιθυμίας ἀπορία. Clement prefers the word πενία to πτωχεία, because the latter word, in classical Greek, suggests mendicancy.

<sup>48</sup> Clem. Alex., p. 214.

<sup>49</sup> Orac. Sibyll., I, 360-70, μεμεθυσμένοι . . . τυφλότεροι σπαλάκων.

<sup>50</sup> τὸ ξύλον cannot here mean "the wood." In the plural it may mean "wood;" and in the singular, without the article, or with the article and some defining adjective (as Lev. 14:6, τὸ ξύλον τὸ κέδρινον, "the wood of the cedar"), it may also have that

found in the gospels except in the fourth, where Jesus quotes from the Old Testament, "I said, ye are gods,"<sup>52</sup> and adds that the Psalmist "called those gods to whom the word of God came." In this sense the plural might be used here, concerning those to whom the word of God is to be preached.

If this be the meaning, Clement throws light on it. For he twice<sup>53</sup> quotes a saying exactly like that which the sense seems to meaning. Of course this is also the case where the article is accompanied by a defining genitive (as 2 Sam. 21: 19, "the *wood* of his spear"). Contrast 2 Kings 6: 6, "he cut down *a stick*," Ezra 6: 11, "let *a beam* be pulled from his house."

But the Greek of the LXX naturally follows the Hebrew. And the regular meaning of the singular Hebrew noun is, (1) tree (or trees), (2) a stock, stump, post, or beam, used either as a gibbet (Gen. 40: 19, etc.) or as a wooden idol (Habbak. 2: 19; Isa. 45: 20; Jer. 2: 27; 3: 9), or for some other purpose. The meaning and the ambiguity of the word are well brought out in Deut. 19: 5, "When a man goeth into the forest . . . to hew *wood* (LXX, συναγαγεῖν ξύλα), and his hand fetcheth a stroke with the axe to cut down *the tree* (LXX, τὸ ξύλον), and the iron slippeth from the *tree*" (where R. V. has in text "helve," but in margin "tree": that is to say, the Hebrew word, being possibly defined by the preceding "axe," may mean "the wood (of the axe)," but it may also (and perhaps better) mean "the tree," and so the LXX (ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου) apparently takes it). In the fall of Adam ξύλον is regularly used to mean "tree," e. g., in Gen. 3: 12, "She gave me of the *tree*" (τοῦ ξύλου). In 2 Chron. 7: 13, "locusts" are said to eat (LXX) τὸ ξύλον, i. e., "the trees of the field," (Heb.) "eat *the land*." The prophets habitually join τὸ ξύλον with τὸν λίθον to mean "the stock" and "the stone" used in idolatry, as in Habbak. 2: 19, "woe unto him that saith unto the stock (R. V., "the wood," τῷ ξύλῳ), Awake, to the dumb stone (LXX, simply τῷ λίθῳ), Arise." Compare a preceding verse (*ibid.*, 2: 11) "the stone (λίθος, *without the article*) shall cry out of the wall, and the beam out of the *timber* (ξύλον, *without the article*) shall answer it." The two passages show that the LXX here distinguished between ξύλον, an ordinary piece of "timber," and τὸ ξύλον, "the stock" used by an idolater. So Jer. 2: 27, "(They) say to a *stock* (τῷ ξύλῳ), Thou art my father, and to a *stone* (τῷ λίθῳ), Thou hast brought me forth," and similarly, *ibid.*, 3: 9, τὸ ξύλον καὶ τὸν λίθον.

There is probably no instance in the LXX, and certainly none in the N. T., where τὸ ξύλον, used absolutely, means "wood." According to the rules given above, it might possibly mean "wood" in Luke 23: 31, but it is better translated (R. V.) "the green *tree*."

These considerations suggest at the outset that τὸ ξύλον here means the stock or stump of some useless tree, possibly with a play on the meaning of lifelessness and helplessness conveyed by its association with "stone."

<sup>52</sup> John 10: 34.

<sup>53</sup> Clem. Alex., p. 374 (introduced by φησί), and p. 466. In the latter passage this recognition of God is regarded as higher than the self-knowledge advocated by the Greek proverb "Know thyself." It is preceded by a statement that the true Christian has the power of spiritual healing, and it is followed by an exposition of the doctrine of love.

demand here, "Thou hast seen thy brother, thou hast seen thy God." And the context, in at least one of these two passages, like the context here, appears intended to stimulate the Christian to the exercise of the art of spiritual healing, or conversion, bestowed on him by the Master for the redemption of mankind. Unfortunately, the Logion is so mutilated at this point that any full restoration of it with absolute certainty is almost impossible.<sup>53</sup> But it may be pointed out that (1) what the sense demands is "wherever *men* are, there are gods;" (2) the word for "men" is found in the former part of the papyrus spelt with the contraction common in early MSS.,  $\overline{\text{ANOI}}$  (for  $\text{AN}\Theta\text{P}\Omega\text{ΠOI}$ ); (3) if the reader will refer to the facsimile of the Logia, he will find that there is just room for  $\overline{\text{ANOI}}$  before the  $\epsilon$  indicated by the Oxford editors in line 24; (4) after the  $\epsilon$  there appears to be room for  $\text{KEI KAI}$ , thus making the whole sentence  $\delta\pi\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu\ \acute{\omega}\sigma\upsilon\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\iota\ \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\iota$ , "wherever there are men, there also there are gods."

This thought suits well with a sequel showing that a Christian engaged in his Master's work is "never alone because the Master is with him."<sup>54</sup> On this point Clement of Alexandria will again

<sup>53</sup> 23.  $[\text{AET}] \text{EI} [\overline{\text{I}\Sigma} \text{OI}] \text{OT EAN } \Omega\text{ΣIN}$

24.  $[\dots] \text{E}[\dots] \dots \text{ΘEOI KAI}$

25.  $[\dots] \Sigma \text{O} \dots \text{E} [\dots] \text{E}\Sigma\text{TIN MONOS}$

26.  $[\dots] \text{T}\Omega \text{E}\Gamma\text{ΘEIMI METAT}$

27.  $\text{T}[\text{OT}]$ .

I venture to restore some of the missing letters in line 24 thus :

$\text{OIOT EAN } \Omega\text{ΣIN } [\overline{\text{ANOI}}] \text{E}[\text{KEI KAI}] \text{ΘEOI}$

As in line 38,  $\text{KAI}$  may be so compressed as to occupy the space of only two letters.

As regards line 25, the Oxford editors add that the first  $\Sigma$  may be the end of  $\Pi$ . Adopting the latter alternative, we may conjecturally restore the line thus :

$[\text{OI}] \text{O}[\text{T}] \text{E}[\text{I}\Sigma] \text{E}\Sigma\text{TIN MONOS}$

i. e., "wherever one is alone," or "wherever there is one alone."

In line 26,  $[\dots] \text{T}\Omega$  might represent  $[\text{I}\Sigma] \text{T}\Omega$ , "let him know," used parenthetically. The construction is not found in N. T. But *forte* is used somewhat similarly in James 1:19. The Oxford editors give  $\Pi$  as an alternative for  $\text{T}$  in  $[\dots] \text{T}\Omega$ . If this represented  $[\text{TO}] \Pi\Omega$ , the original might be something to this effect, "in whatever place one is alone." Professor Harnack suggests  $[\text{OT}] \text{T}\Omega$  as the first word, but *ἐγώ* would require *οὕτως* before it, not *οὕτω*.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. John 16:32, "And yet I am not alone because the Father is with me."

supply us with an illustration. In a long passage he describes the ideal gnostic, at work in his Master's vineyard, planting, pruning,<sup>55</sup> and watering. Then (after inculcating the spiritual "fasting"<sup>56</sup> above described) he declares that "this gnostic supplies the place of the apostles, overturning the mountains of his neighbors."<sup>57</sup> Jesus bade his disciples resort to faith and prayer if they wished to "cast down mountains" and "uproot fig trees."<sup>58</sup> So, here, Clement passes to the subject of prayer. And he adds that the true gnostic is not left to himself when he prays: "*Even if he pray alone, he hath the choir of the saints on his side.*"<sup>59</sup> It must be admitted that Clement does not expressly say here that the gnostic in his Lord's vineyard has the Lord at his side; but he has just before implied this, when, in describing the highest kind of gnostic, he speaks of him as "glorifying that resurrection of the Lord which has taken place in his own soul," and as thinking that *he sees the Lord when he sees the truth.*"<sup>60</sup> "Seeing the truth," according to Clement's view, implies doing the truth, that is to say, doing God's will; and he that does the Father's

<sup>55</sup> Clem. Alex., p. 876, *κλαδεύων*. Like John (15:2), Clement appears generally, if not always, to prefer the metaphor of "pruning" to that of "uprooting." But he speaks of "cutting out," or "exterminating" (*ἐκκόπτειν*, a word often used of cutting down trees) the passion of the soul (p. 875, *ἐκκόψαι τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς πάθος*).

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 877, *νηστεύει . . . φιλαργυρίας τε . . . καὶ φιληδονίας, ἐξ ὧν αἱ πᾶσαι ἐκφύονται κακίαι*. This really implies a "cutting down" to the very roots of avarice and luxury.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 878, *τὰ ὄρη μελίστας τῶν πλησίων καὶ τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτῶν ἀνωμαλίας ἀποβάλλων*. This is one of many places where Clement avoids — when we might naturally expect him to insert — our Lord's companion-metaphor of the uprooting of sycamine trees, or the cutting down of fig trees. Perhaps he felt that "pruning" (*κλαδεύειν*) expressed the same thing more gently.

<sup>58</sup> Matt. 17:20; 21:21, "Ye shall not only do the [deed] of the fig tree, but even if ye say to this mountain," etc. Luke 17:6 speaks of the "uprooting" of a "sycamine tree." But Matt. 21:21 refers to the miracle of the withering of the fig tree assumed to have recently taken place. All these metaphors refer to the effort needed for eradicating sin.

<sup>59</sup> Clem. Alex., p. 879. In the context he reiterates the twofold stage above mentioned: "Fear causes abstinence from evil. Love leads men to do good, building them up to that which is voluntary" (*ἐποικοδομοῦσα εἰς τὸ ἐκούσιον*).

<sup>60</sup> It must be borne in mind that the *gnosis*, or knowledge, of Clement's gnostic is not a mere intellectual or evidential knowledge, but such a sympathetic insight into the Father's will as brings with it a power to do the Father's works, healing the souls of men.



will is not alone, because the Son is with him. Without exactly using the phrases "not alone" and "finding Christ," Clement certainly agrees with the thought when he tells us that the Christian praying in solitude for his neighbors has the angels with him, and Christ in his soul, and the Lord before his eyes.

Such a doctrine is a natural supplement to Christ's post-resurrectional utterance to the apostles: "Go ye, therefore, and make disciples of all the nations . . . and lo, I am with you always, even to the end of the world."<sup>61</sup> This differed from the earlier statement: "Whosoever *two or three* are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them."<sup>62</sup> The latter seemed to demand at least "two or three," and to exclude "one." The former implied that all laborers in the vineyard, *singly as well as collectively*, should have the presence of the Master, in accordance with the very ancient appendix to Mark's gospel: "They went forth and preached everywhere, *the Lord working with them.*"<sup>63</sup> But though it *implied* the blessing on "one," it did not *mention* "one." The very early commentary of Ephraemus Syrus<sup>64</sup> refers to a traditional saying that not only where there are two or three, but "where there is one" present in Christ's name, Christ is with him, and the Homilies of Aphraates<sup>65</sup> refer to Moses, Jonah, and Elijah as instances of the truth of a similar saying. It is a doctrine so true and simple that we may well be surprised that it has not received prominence in patristic references and comments. Perhaps, however, it was subordinated, or avoided, as being liable to abuse by some who "forsook the assembling of themselves together,"<sup>66</sup> and who did not perceive that the Logion, far from encouraging otiose contemplation, expressly limited the divine presence to those disciples who were working for the redemption of souls: "Where two or three are present in my name and doing my will, I am with them. Yea, *where there is one alone, I am with him.*"

VIII. *The stone and the tree.*—At this point we are confronted

<sup>61</sup> Matt. 28 : 19-20.

<sup>62</sup> Matt. 18 : 20.

<sup>63</sup> Mark 16 : 20.

<sup>64</sup> P. 165. There, however, the application is to a sinner wandering like a lost sheep.

<sup>65</sup> Aphr., *Hom.*, p. 62.

<sup>66</sup> Heb. 10 : 25.

with difficulties of expression that must not be cursorily passed by. Granting that the Lord is present with those who are doing his work, how is that work defined by the curious expressions "raising the stone" and "cleaving the tree"? It may be annoying to have to turn aside to verbal questions, but such a digression is absolutely necessary for the thorough study of the words. To say, as some may feel disposed to say, "The general drift is clear; it means that Jesus promised to be present with the mason and the carpenter, and (by implication) with every disciple engaged in his ordinary occupation," is simply to give up all prospect of honestly entering into the Lord's meaning. For when did the Lord ever make such a promise? How, indeed, could he make it to men whom he was sending forth to convert the world and urging to give all their energies to sowing the seed of the gospel and to plowing its fields, or to shepherding the flock and bringing back the lost sheep, or to laboring in the vineyard by digging and gathering out the stones and cutting down the trees and rooting up the weeds and erecting a tower and planting and pruning the vines? The mere mention of all these actions, "sowing," "planting," "cutting down," "rooting up," is enough to remind us that Jesus always used these, and other similar words, metaphorically, and could not (so far as we can judge) have used them in a literal sense.

The way being up-hill, we must go step by step. And the first step is to ascertain what Clement (our trusty guide so far) has to say about "stones and trees" from the Christian point of view. According to him, they are "the senseless;"<sup>67</sup> and he explains the saying that "God can raise up from these stones children to Abraham" as referring to men "*petrified*"<sup>68</sup> in relation to truth." God, he says, has actually thus made men out of stones; they have, as it were, risen from the dead.<sup>69</sup> Clement does not actually use the word "stones" as the grammatical object of "raise." But Origen does, when he speaks of the stones themselves as "able to be raised up (*ἐγερθῆναι*) [*as*] children to Abra-

<sup>67</sup> Clem. Alex., p. 4, αὶ ἄφρονες.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, λελιωμένοι.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5. It is to be observed that in this passage Clement speaks of the "stones" as *converted into men* (ἀνθρώπους ἐκ λίθων . . . πεποίηκεν).

ham." <sup>70</sup> Ignatius, and (in much fuller detail) Hermas,<sup>71</sup> speak of the raising up of stones so as to build the tower of the Lord.

From these Christian traditions we pass (before discussing any kindred saying in the gospel) to pre-Christian doctrine on "the raising up of stones." The exact phrase is not found in the Old Testament, but there are similar ones. Jacob is described as setting up a stone for a pillar,<sup>72</sup> and there are mystical traditions about this act among both Jewish and Christian writers.<sup>73</sup> But this stone, like that in Daniel, and like the Psalmist's "headstone of the corner," was regarded as the Messiah, and no Messianic type seems to apply here. We need some passage that describes the raising of stones in the quarry, or from the rough, uncleared land, for the purpose of erecting a wall or tower for a vineyard or a house for the Master's use. No such passage (including the two Greek words used here) exists in the Septuagint. But the well-known Song of the Vineyard in Isaiah <sup>74</sup> speaks of the Master as not only digging it, but also clearing it of stones, and as building a tower in it: and the stones would presumably be employed in building the "tower" and the walls round the vineyard. There is no mention of uprooting weeds or bushes, or of cutting down useless trees; but such work would often be a necessary part of the labor of preparing fresh land for culture.

Here it may be noted that the LXX, apparently not understanding the Hebrew word "stone" <sup>75</sup> in the Isaiah passage,

<sup>70</sup> Orig., *Comm. Johann* (ed. HUET (1668), Vol. II, p. 120), τοὺς προειρημένους λίθους δεικνυμένους ἀκούουσι δύνασθαι ἐγερθῆναι τέκνα τῷ Ἀβραάμ.

<sup>71</sup> Hermas, *Simil.*, ix. In Ign., *Eph.*, § 9, the cross is a crane, the spirit a rope, faith a windlass. He is describing, not an apostle's work, but the task of each Christian to "raise," as it were, his own "stone." But the elaborate metaphor points to an original basis of tradition about "raising the stone." Cf. 1 Peter 2:5, "ye also as living stones."

<sup>72</sup> Gen. 28:18, ἐποίησεν αὐτὸν στήλην.

<sup>73</sup> SCHÖTTGEN, Vol. II, 605 (and cf. Vol. II, 101). Justin, after mentioning Jacob's stone as anointed with oil, says (*Tryph.*, § 86) "that the stone is Christ (χριστός, "anointed") was proclaimed symbolically by many scriptures."

<sup>74</sup> Isa. 5:2.

<sup>75</sup> It is used as here in Isa. 62:10, "stone it from stones" (τοὺς λίθους ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ διαπρίψατε). But it generally means "pelt with stones," as in Ex. 19:13; 2 Sam. 16:6.

renders it "staked" (ἐχαράκωσα), i. e., planted it with stakes for the vines to climb on. Such a misunderstanding may have influenced western translators of our Logion, and may have conduced to its being dropped as obscure.<sup>76</sup>

In the only passage of the Old Testament (Eccles. 10: 8-10) that connects the "cleaving of trees" (σχιζῶν ξύλα) with "quarrying" or "removal" of stones, it is doubtful whether the writer means ordinary occupation or malicious mischief-working: "He that diggeth a pit shall fall into it; and whoso breaketh through a fence, a serpent shall bite him. Whoso heweth out (or, removeth<sup>77</sup>) stones shall be hurt therewith; and he that cleaveth trees (or, wood<sup>78</sup>) is endangered thereby. If the iron be blunt, and one do not whet the edge, then must he put to more strength; but wisdom is profitable to direct." On the whole, the writer is probably saying, not without a touch of cynicism, that every labor has its risks, while adding that wisdom may shorten toil and suggesting that wisdom may also diminish danger. This passage may well have been in our Lord's mind. Solomon had warned the rustic, toiling to prepare the ground for the crop, that he was in perpetual danger: Jesus declares to the laborers whom he is sending forth to prepare the fields for the spiritual harvest that they are under perpetual protection.<sup>79</sup>

<sup>76</sup> Hermas (*Simil.*, v, 2) represents the Lord as bidding his servant merely "stake" (χαρακοῦν) the vineyard. But the faithful servant, after "staking" it, does extra work, digging the soil and clearing away weeds. One might have supposed that the "stoning," at least in some districts, would be the first work, then the digging up and weeding, or uprooting of trees, and lastly the staking.

Hermas agrees with Clement in his view of the weeds or plants (βοράναι) that are plucked out. They are not sinners. They are (Herm., *Simil.*, v, 15) "the sins (ἀνομιαι) of the servants of God."

<sup>77</sup> The Hebrew word is used in 1 Kings 5: 17 for "quarrying." It is also used of "plucking up" tent pegs, and may very well be applied to wrenching up stones imbedded in the earth. The LXX has ἐξαίρειν in Eccles. 10: 9, αἶρειν in 1 Kings 5: 17.

<sup>78</sup> R. V. "wood." But (1) the Hebrew may mean either "wood" or "trees"; (2) the processes described appear to be agricultural, and the context points to wood-cutting, not carpentry; (3) for the plural meaning "trees," cf. Justin Martyr (*Τρυφή.*, § 86) κόψαι ξύλα, where (2 Kings 6: 5) a man is apparently felling a tree by the water's side. The Hebrew word "split" or "cleave" may include the use of the wedge.

<sup>79</sup> Somewhat similarly Jesus appears to have spiritualized another materialistic

Now, coming to the gospels, we have to ask whether, in them, "cleaving trees" and "raising up stones" are connected together in any sense that may harmonize with all the above-mentioned traditions and also throw light on our Logion. The teaching of the Baptist will occur to many as supplying a parallel. The Jews are addressed by him as trees destined to be cut down unless they bring forth fruit; and the same passage speaks of "children of Abraham" as able to be raised up from "stones."<sup>80</sup> Perhaps John was actually standing amid the objects of which he speaks—large stones imbedded in the earth, useless bushes and trees cumbering the ground, the former demanding to be "lifted" into walls and buildings where they might help instead of hindering the agriculturist, the latter demanding to be cut down, hewn to pieces, and burned, since they were unfit for any other purpose. In any case, we can well understand that such doctrine, deeply impressed on the Baptist's disciples and taken up by Jesus, may have found expression in such a saying as our papyrus has preserved. If so, the meaning of it is, in effect: "Raise up the fallen soul and place it as a living stone, in the tower of the vineyard. Cut down and cleave the barren bushes and trees of hypocrisy, malignity, avarice, and selfishness. Wherever thou art doing this, either in thine own heart, or among the sons of men, there am I present with thee."<sup>81</sup>

IX. *The remaining Logia.*—The two next Logia, and probably the fragment of the last, all turn on the duty of a missionary.

passage of Ecclesiastes (11 : 5): "As thou knowest not the *way of the wind* (or, *spirit*), nor how the bones do grow in the womb of her that is with child, even so thou knowest not the work of God who doeth all." In the dialogue with Nicodemus about "the way of the Spirit," these words are adapted to the doctrine of spiritual generation. So, too, the following words (11 : 6, "In the morning sow thy seed, and in the evening withhold not thine hand : for thou knowest not which shall prosper") appear to be applied by Jesus spiritually in the parable of the sower.

<sup>80</sup> The Hebrew for "*of* (*ék*) these stones" might very well have a partitive meaning indicating that "(some of) the stones" themselves are to be raised up, as Clement of Alexandria implies and Origen asserts.

<sup>81</sup> Somewhat similar is the commission given to the prophet Jeremiah (1 : 8-10): "*I am with thee to deliver thee . . . I have set thee . . . to pluck up and break down . . . to build and to plant.*"

The first is: "Saith Jesus, a prophet is not acceptable in his own country; neither doth a physician work cures on them that know him."

The former part of this Logion is found in all the canonical gospels,<sup>82</sup> but only two of them (Mark and Luke) connect it with the mention of a "physician" or "cures." Mark says that Jesus in his own country could do no mighty works, save that he healed a few sick folk; Luke represents Jesus as saying to his fellow-townsmen in Nazareth, "Doubtless ye will say unto me this parable, 'Physician, heal thyself; whatsoever we have heard done at Capernaum do also here in thine own country,'" where there is a reference to miracles of healing wrought at Capernaum.

No one can assert that a physician, in the literal sense, "does not work cures on them that know him." Jesus is, therefore, manifestly speaking of a physician of the soul and of nothing but spiritual healing. In this sense, familiarity with the healer is well known as an impediment to the act of healing. The synoptists hint at it in various ways—"Is not this Joseph's son?"<sup>83</sup> "Is not this the carpenter, the son of Mary and brother of James and Joses and Judas and Simon?"<sup>84</sup> But it is reserved for John to represent the Jews as saying directly that they cannot believe in any Messiah whose origin they "know,"<sup>85</sup> and Jesus as replying in two apparently inconsistent statements, "Ye both *know* me and know whence I am," and again, "Ye *know* neither me nor my Father."<sup>86</sup> The meaning of both is obvious. The hero is "known," and yet "not known," by the valet who despises him. The prophet is "known," and yet "not known," by the neighbors whom he cannot heal because they cannot believe. Most appropriately does this Logion come here as an utterance to apostles and teachers who, having been assured of their Master's helpful presence wherever they may

<sup>82</sup> Matt. 13:57; Mark 6:4; Luke 4:24; John 4:44. The Logion agrees most closely with Luke.

<sup>83</sup> Luke 4:22.

<sup>84</sup> Mark 6:3.

<sup>85</sup> John 7:27: "We *know* whence this man cometh: but when the Christ cometh, no man knoweth whence he is."

<sup>86</sup> John 7:28; 8:19.

go on his service, are now urged to set forth to unknown places and not to remain in their homes.<sup>87</sup>

The next Logion combines two sayings from the Sermon on the Mount: "Saith Jesus, a city built<sup>88</sup> on the top of a high hill, and stablished, can neither fall nor be hid."<sup>89</sup> It warns the Christian teacher, first, that he is to teach, and, secondly, that he is to know. Publicity is to be accompanied with certainty. The tower is to be high, but it is also to have firm foundations. The two thoughts go well together in this antithesis, and their harmony indicates that we have here an original saying of Jesus, or of some early inspired follower of Jesus, and not a mere scribal combination of two sayings. And there is a passage of Clement of Alexandria, similarly connecting the notions of "height" and "stablishing," which makes it probable that this Logion was in some shape known to him. Quoting the Psalmist's precept to "tell the towers" of Jerusalem, he says: "This suggests that those who in a *high spirit* (ὕψηλως) have received the word [of God] will be like *high towers* and will stand *firmly* in faith and knowledge."<sup>90</sup>

Here we come to an end of the continuously legible MS. Concerning the two fragmentary and obscure lines that remain, all that we can say is that what the sense demands is some saying carrying on the antithesis between publishing on high and believing in the depth of the heart. Such a saying might be expressed in some shape of the well-known words: "What ye

<sup>87</sup> Clem. Alex. (p. 466) mentions spiritual "healing" (ἰασις) as part of the duty of the true gnostic.

<sup>88</sup> Matt. 5:14, with a phrase from Matt. 7:27. Matt. 5:14 has κειμένη, "situated;" but (say the Oxford editors) the Arabic Diatessaron and Syriac versions have "built."

<sup>89</sup> πόλις οικοδομημένη ἐπ' ἄκρον [δ]ρους ὑψηλοῦ καὶ ἐστηριγμένη οὔτε πε[σ]εῖν δύναται οὔτε κρυ[β]ῆναι. "The scribe," so say the Oxford editors, "certainly wrote ἸΨΗΛΟΤΣ, but he appears to have partially rubbed out the Σ." This, and the error of οἱ for ω in οικοδομημένη, appear to indicate an illiterate scribe.

<sup>90</sup> Clem. Alex., p. 883, quoting Ps. 48:12. This suggests that our Logion may have read originally ὑψηλῶς, which was first corrupted into ὑψηλοῦς, and then corrected to ὑψηλοῦ. Elsewhere a similar adverb is used by Clement in connection with Christ's saying about "hearing with the ear" (Clem. Alex., p. 802), ὁ δὲ ἀκούει εἰς τὸ οὖς [κηρύξατε] . . . . [ὑψηλῶς] παραδιδόντες.

hear in the ear that proclaim on the housetop.”<sup>91</sup> And a very slight alteration indeed of the edited text might give this meaning.<sup>92</sup>

X. *Conclusion.*—A review of these “Sayings of Jesus” as a whole strengthens the impression that they are not Judaistic or gnostic inventions, but approximate representations of words actually uttered by our Lord. They are far deeper and more spiritual than any of the gnostic utterances assigned to him in the Pistis Sophia, or even in the Acts of John. Nor do they show, when carefully examined, any signs of a Judaizing hand. They have a continuity and rhythm that imply, not a mere compiler, but an inspired disciple. They are pervaded with the thought that the business of the true Christian is to save the souls of others. Free from controversial allusions, obscure but deep, liable to misunderstanding, yet capable of being understood in the purest spiritual sense, the two most important of the new Logia are precisely such as Christ himself might have uttered, and such as the orthodox church might have been forced to explain and tempted to subordinate or ignore. The remarkable parallelisms found in Clement of Alexandria to almost all the new Logia supply a special confirmation of their genuineness. If Egypt was the place of their publication, it was natural that an Egyptian writer would show most traces of them. If he knew or suspected them to be forgeries, we might expect in him some traces of an antagonistic feeling towards them. But his allusions, not apologetic, but explanatory, are such as might be expected from a sympathetic writer, assuming their truth and

<sup>91</sup> Matt. 10 : 27, *ὃ εἰς τὸ οὐς ἀκούετε, κηρύξατε ἐπὶ τῶν δωματίων.*

<sup>92</sup> The Oxford editors give

41. ΑΕΓΕΙ ΙΣ ΑΚΟΤΕΙΣ

42. [.]ΙΣΤΟΕ . . ΤΙΟΝ ΣΟΤ ΤΟ

But they add that some letters in line 42 are (p. 15) “very faint. The third letter could be Γ, the fifth Σ. [Ε]ΙΣ ΤΟ ΕΝΩΗΙΟΝ ΣΟΤ is a possible reading. The last letter of the line may be Ε, and the preceding one Γ or conceivably Κ.”

Now after the Σ in ΙΣ, in line 41, an O might easily be dropped (a common error in MSS.), and there is just room in line 42 for ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝΤΑΡΙΟΝΣΟΤΤΟ (the form *ὠτάριον* is used in John). This would give *ὃ ἀκούεις εἰς τὸ ὠτάριόν σου το[ῦτο] κηρύξον ἐπὶ τῶν δωματίων*], “What thou hearest in the ear, this do thou proclaim on the housetop.”



genuineness, but aware of their obscurity and liability to perversion. Lastly, these Logia combine, in a way by no means characteristic of a mere imitator, the antithetical style of parts of the synoptic gospels with touches that remind us of the Johannine gospel—the thought of “seeing the Father,”<sup>93</sup> the representation of Jesus as describing his attitude to “the world,”<sup>94</sup> the impossibility that a true disciple can ever be “alone,”<sup>95</sup> and the impediment presented by so-called “knowledge” of the healer to the exercise of the art of spiritual healing.<sup>96</sup>

And perhaps this is our greatest gain from the Logia of Behnesa, namely, a fresh glimpse of a person behind our four canonical gospels, a person surpassing his biographers even further than we had supposed. Not that we ought not to be grateful for the new utterances in themselves, full as they are of beautiful and stimulating truth. We are familiar with the duty of ever “dying to the world,” which is inculcated in the Logion about “fasting;” but we need also to remind ourselves that we must ever be “sabbatizing the Sabbath” of God’s beneficent love. We need to be warned, in this restless, discontented age, that our Master intends us to be “athirst” and “poor,” and that such poverty is better than the self-complacent intoxication of pleasure. That where there are men to be helped, there “there are gods;” that the single-handed soldier of Christ is never “alone;” that every disciple is to do his utmost to “raise the stone,” useless and harmful where it lies, to its useful place in Christ’s tower, and to “cleave” and cut down “the tree” of error; and that this aggressive action is to be carried on with all prominence, and with a height of confidence proportioned to the depth of our faith—all these are in themselves “comfortable sayings” that constitute a permanent possession for Christians. But, far beyond these results, gainful though they are, is the new and hopeful insight that we derive from them into a Lord and Master to whom neither the fourth gospel from the divine point of view, nor the synoptic gospels from the human point of view, have been able to do adequate justice. With this insight

<sup>93</sup> John 6:46; 14:9.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, 16:32.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, 8:12; 9:39, etc.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, 7:27, 28; 8:19.

there should come also a feeling, not of regret that the evangelists have done so little, but of gratitude that they have done so much. If one and the same Jesus is depicted—we may not feel able to say, with historic accuracy, but with an attempt at spiritual faithfulness—by the synoptic and Johannine evangelists, how wonderfully many-sided must he have been, how impossible to delineate in writing! With fresh conviction may we repeat the words of the fourth evangelist that, if biographers attempted to express the spirit of Jesus in words, “even the world itself would not contain the books that should be written.”

## LIBERTY AND CREED.

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IT WAS a sage remark of Archbishop Whateley<sup>1</sup> that "many persons, indeed perhaps most, are tolerant or intolerant according to their respective *tempers*, and not according to their *principles*." The principle of persecution he regards as inherent in unregenerate human nature, and as more likely to be brought into practice in a latitudinarian or atheist than in a genuine Christian. "Christianity," he writes, "often as its name has been emblazoned on the banners of the persecutor—Christianity, truly understood, as represented in the writings of its founders, and honestly applied, furnishes a preventive—the only permanently effectual preventive—of the spirit of persecution."

The same thoughts are expressed, with increased emphasis, by Bishop Creighton in his recent Hulsean Lectures.<sup>2</sup> "The spirit of persecution," he says, "comes from the universal sense of inconvenience, when we do not at once get our own way. Then follows impatience, irritation, and resentment. Then reason is called in to help passion, and clothe the feelings with the semblance of deliberate action founded on policy and expediency. The love of power comes next, suggesting future good to be obtained from a prompt display of resoluteness. Power supplies its own justification; for would it be there if it were not meant to be used? And who can blame it when it has succeeded? Then comes 'that last infirmity of noble minds,' the hope of fame, the gratification that attends success, the proud consciousness of having cleared a difficulty out of the way." The learned bishop is equally emphatic with the sagacious archbishop in

<sup>1</sup> Annotations to Bacon's essay on "Superstition" and essay on "Persecution" in *Essays*, 3d Series.

<sup>2</sup> *Persecution and Tolerance*, Longmans, Green & Co., 1895. See especially pp. 43-5.

insisting that the only explanation of persecution is the substitution for the spirit of Christ of the world spirit in which intolerance inheres. "So long as the desire for outward achievement overmasters the primary duty of care to preserve the delicacy and sensitiveness of conscience, the root of the persecuting spirit remains in the heart. That spirit itself may be dormant, because things are going well with us; it may be held in check by a temporary equilibrium of social forces; but it is there, and the spirit of Christ alone can overcome it." Creighton goes too far when he asserts categorically that "men never thought persecution right." My own reading of history and my observation of psychological phenomena have left on me the impression that there is nothing too absurd or too atrocious to gain the intellectual and moral approval of certain types of mind under certain circumstances.

More psychologically and ethically just is the position of Walter Bagehot.<sup>3</sup> "Persecution," he says, "exists by the law of nature. It is so congenial to human nature that it has arisen everywhere in past times, as history shows; that the cessation of it is a matter of recent times in England; that even now, taking the world as a whole, the practice and the theory of it are in a triumphant majority. Most men have always much preferred persecution, and do so still. . . . One mode in which it tempts human nature is very obvious. Persons of strong opinions wish, above all things, to propagate those opinions. They find close at hand what seems an immense engine for that propagation, which has often in history interfered for and against opinions, which has had a great and undeniable influence in helping some and hindering others, and in their eagerness they can hardly understand why they should not make use of this great engine to crush the errors which they hate, and to replace them with the tenets they approve. So long as there are earnest believers in the world, they will wish to punish opinions, even if their judgment tells them it is unwise and their conscience that it is wrong." He does not deny that in "the highest minds" the "wish to twist

<sup>3</sup> "The Metaphysical Basis of Toleration," in *The Contemporary Review* for April, 1874. See especially p. 766.

other people's belief into ours" is "a part of the love of truth," but maintains that "the mass of mankind have no such motive. Independently of truth or falsehood, the spectacle of a different belief from ours is disagreeable to us, in the same way that the spectacle of a different form of dress and manners is disagreeable."

With Dr. Henry C. Lea<sup>4</sup> I am inclined to take a somewhat less pessimistic view of human nature than that of Bagehot, to say nothing of that of Whateley and Creighton. Having mentioned a number of explanations of the terrible ferocity of persecution by mediæval Roman Catholics, he proceeds: "Human impulses and motives, however, are too complex to be analyzed by a single solvent, even in the case of an individual, while here we have to deal with the whole church, in its broadest acceptance, embracing the laity as well as the clergy. There is no doubt that the people were as eager as their pastors to send the heretic to the stake. There is no doubt that men of the kindest tempers, the profoundest intelligence, the noblest aspirations, the purest zeal for righteousness, professing a religion founded on love and charity, were ruthless when heresy was concerned, and were ready to trample it out at the cost of any suffering. Dominic and Francis, Bonaventura and Thomas Aquinas, Innocent III and St. Louis, were types, in their several ways, of which humanity, in any age, might well feel proud, and yet they were as unsparing of the heretic as Ezzalin da Romano was of his enemies. With such men it was not hope of gain or lust of blood or pride of opinion or wanton exercise of power, but sense of duty, and they but represented what was universal public opinion from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century." "Universal public opinion" is too strong an expression, as we shall see.

Is there a determinable relation between liberty and creed? Are we justified in saying: Given a man's creed, his attitude toward liberty, civil and religious, may be infallibly inferred? These questions must be answered in the negative. And yet it is universally admitted that a relation exists.

<sup>4</sup> *A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, New York, Harper & Bros., 1888. See Vol. I, chap. 3, especially p. 234.

It has recently been asserted by a popular English writer<sup>5</sup> that democracy, which has commonly been regarded as the embodiment of civil liberty, is not necessarily conducive to liberty; but that a marked tendency of the most advanced democracy is toward the unwholesome abridgment of individual liberty in the supposed interest of the entire community. Monarchy, on the other hand, which democrats have usually looked upon as the antithesis of liberty, is not necessarily such, but may be so conducted as to leave to the individual a residual of liberty far greater than is afforded by a pure democracy. A prelatical church—nay, the papal church itself—may, under certain circumstances, allow to its individual members a larger share of liberty than does a small independent congregation of Plymouth Brethren, or even a well-regulated Baptist church.

The fact is that liberty is a relative thing. In society it can never be absolute. To secure liberty in one direction, liberty in other directions must be surrendered. True liberty for each individual is that which enables him in the highest measure to realize his ideals. To this end a man may submit himself to a *régime* that to one of different ideals may seem like intolerable slavery. That we may have material before us for judging of the relations of doctrines and institutions to liberty, we will take a glance at a few of the outstanding ecclesiastical systems of the past.

What was the relation of the Jewish theocratic system to civil and religious liberty? Ideally the Jewish state was a government by God himself of the chosen people, between whom and God a covenant of the most sacred character existed. By the rite of circumcision every male child was introduced into the covenant when eight days old, and every individual of the nation was regarded as a member, with all the privileges and all the obligations that the relationship involved. It was God's part to make his will known through appointed agencies, to guide and protect his people at all times, to supply their every need, and to fulfill the great and precious promises that from time to time he had vouchsafed. It was theirs to obey implicitly

<sup>5</sup> W. E. H. LECKY, in *Democracy and Liberty*, 1896. See chap. 3.

his every command, to worship him to the exclusion of all heathen deities, and to devote their lives unreservedly to the promotion of the interests of the theocracy. To be subjected to any other authority than the theocratic was regarded as intolerable. Membership in the theocracy, so far as it was realized by the individual, could not fail to have the effect of promoting an exalted conception of one's dignity and importance and of his obligation to devote himself to the cause of the theocracy. While, as the term implies, God was regarded as the supreme authority and his activity recognized as all-pervasive, it was inevitable that his will should find regular expression through some duly constituted and accredited organ. Theocracy implies revelation, either continuously, to all the members alike, or from time to time through chosen individuals. The theocratic organ might be a prophet, a judge, a king, or a high priest. Absolute obedience to the theocratic leader was essential to the proper working of the system. Theocracy, ideally considered, implies freedom to do right and this alone. The death penalty followed blasphemy and Sabbath-breaking no less surely than murder and adultery. For those in perfect sympathy with the theocracy there was the fullest liberty; they desired to do only what the theocracy commanded or permitted. Those out of sympathy with the theocracy must conform outwardly or expect no mercy from the theocratic rulers. Judas Maccabæus and his compatriots would die rather than submit to the idolatrous authority of Antiochus Epiphanes. They fought for the theocracy, and success meant to them freedom. But they had no idea that anything anti-theocratic could be tolerated by them in the reëstablished theocracy without grievous sin.

Another highly interesting form of theocracy is that which was embodied in the mediæval papal church. It is not necessary for our present purpose to trace the rise and development of this wonderful organization. A few statical views will suffice. The Hildebrandine scheme, which owed many of its features to Hildebrand's great contemporary, Peter Damiani, represents the ideal of the theocracy in an almost completed form. The church

is conceived of as an institution absolutely divine. It consists virtually of the hierarchy, the great body of the laity being in the position of materials to be ruled and exploited. The pope is the head of the sacerdotal body, through which alone it is possible for mankind to derive spiritual blessings. The church, with its papal head, is conceived of as that for whose welfare the world exists, and to whose interest everything else is secondary. Civil governments exist only by divine (papal) permission and that they may subserve the interests of the church. God's supreme concern being for the dominion of the church, he has bestowed upon Peter and his successors, the bishops of Rome, all the power that would belong to Christ if he were personally reigning on earth. The pope is the vicar of Christ. As Peter exhibited two swords and his Master said it is enough (not too many), so to his successors have been committed the spiritual and the secular dominion. Civil rulers rightly occupy their positions only by virtue of the approval of the vicar of Christ. As perfect unity and harmony in the administration of the world are the ideal to be attained, and there can be no center of unity other than the divinely appointed vicar of Christ, all secular rulers and all ecclesiastical rulers must submit themselves absolutely to his authority. To tolerate civil or ecclesiastical insubordination, where power to suppress it exists, would be in the highest degree blameworthy. As the divine will is identical with the maintenance and advancement of this ecclesiastical authority, any available means may be employed to this end, even though the divine will, as expressed in Scripture and in conscience, must be violated. Does heresy arise and spread? It must be rooted out, although in the process multitudes of the faithful themselves may be destroyed. Does a civil ruler resist the encroachment of the papal power? His throne may be declared vacant and offered to any Catholic prince who will seize it, the allegiance of the subjects forbidden, an interdict placed upon the administration of the sacraments of the church, until submission shall have been made, a deadly crusade preached against the kingdom. Everything was on principle subordinated to this one central aim of securing absolute temporal as



well as spiritual dominion. The crusades in the East were fostered and forced, when need appeared, in the interest of this world dominion. The union of the kings of Europe under the papal banner in this great enterprise was in itself a great achievement for the papacy. The hope of subduing the Eastern Empire and the Mohammedan power greatly added to the interest of the papacy in these terribly destructive expeditions. The securing of vast territorial possessions in Europe through skillful use of advantages offered by the crusades was in the highest degree promotive of the papal aim of universal dominion. Here we have a theocracy of the most complete type. The pope, as the head of the theocracy, occupies the place of God on earth, and he is free, as even God is not, to make use of the most immoral means for the enforcement of his authority. The scheme is a magnificent one. It provides for the uniform administration of the world from a single center, according to a single ideal. Its advocates no doubt believed that such a government, putting an end, as it would, to civil and religious strife, would result in universal peace, universal good will, universal righteousness. Yet it is easy to see that to realize or perpetuate such a system, civil and religious freedom must be remorselessly suppressed. The only freedom possible would be that enjoyed by those who were thoroughly in sympathy with the theocratic ideal and who found their highest delight in submission to its authority.

Luther was one of the most enlightened men of his age as regards the rights of man in general and liberty of conscience. "God cannot and will not allow anyone but himself alone to rule the soul. As to faith, that is a free work; no one can be forced to it. Whenever, therefore, the temporal power presumes to legislate for the soul, it encroaches upon the government of God, and seduces and corrupts the soul. God alone can know the hearts of men; it is impossible and futile, therefore, to command or constrain by violence any man to believe this way or that. Let them command as strictly and rage as furiously as they will, they cannot force the people further than to follow them with their mouths and hands.

Even should they rend them into pieces, they cannot coerce the heart."

Again: "Heretics must be vanquished with the pen, as the Fathers have done, not with fire. If to conquer heretics by fire were an art, the executioners would be the most learned doctors on earth; there would then be no more need of study, but the man who subdued his opponent by force would be entitled to burn him. Heresy is something spiritual, that cannot be cut out with steel, nor burned with fire, nor drowned with water. . . . 'Avoid the unbelievers,' says St. Paul, but he does not tell men to kill them."

He was just as clear in denying to the ecclesiastical power the right to interfere with the state in the performance of its proper functions. And yet he was led by the force of circumstances to become one of the most relentless persecutors of the age. Nay, he carried his persecuting zeal to such an extreme as to incur the censure of some of the civil rulers whose spiritual guide he affected to be.

The fact is, radical types of Christian life and doctrine, and radical forms of social democracy (as in the Peasants' War), had arisen and seemed to him to be threatening the overthrow of the very foundations of civil and religious order. He made up his mind that, unless radicalism, social and religious, could be utterly rooted out, anarchism would ensue, and popery would sweep down and secure an easy victory over the turmoiled German states. Having made up his mind that in the interest of German freedom in civil and religious matters all disturbing elements should be remorselessly crushed, he threw to the winds his noble sentiments regarding the inviolability of conscience. He became more and more furious as the stress of the conflict with radicalism became intensified, and his exhortations to deeds of atrocity sound like the ravings of a madman. I see nothing in Luther's creed whereby his intolerance can be explained, apart from his deeply rooted belief that civil and religious order and immunity from papal interference could be secured only by compelling uniformity in doctrine and in practice.

The maxim of the Lutheran princes, like that of the Catho-

lic, became: *Cuius regio, eius religio*. It is the right and duty of each prince to enforce his own religion on the entire body of his subjects, for by this course alone can tranquility be secured. The Peace of Augsburg (1555) between the Catholic and the Protestant rulers of Germany was upon this basis, and few civil rulers of the time believed that anything but disaster could come from tolerating more than one form of religion in a state. Luther's idea of the relation of church and state can hardly be called theocratic. He was led by the pressure of circumstances to call upon the civil rulers to coerce social and religious disturbers; but he had no well-considered theory of the proper relations of church and state. He had unbounded confidence in his own doctrinal scheme, and he could not ascribe to other than diabolic agency any proposals for reform or any doctrinal views essentially different from his own. He was ready to use all available means for vanquishing his enemies. It seems never to have dawned upon him, even as a possibility, that a theological opponent might be honest and sincere in his error; that an opponent should be right and he wrong he was constitutionally incapable of conceiving. He identified his own actual position, however widely it might differ from what he was equally confident of a short time before, with fundamental divine truth. If others failed to see eye to eye with him, they were blinded by God in judgment or were impelled by the devil. His early views on liberty of conscience were all that could be desired. He was constitutionally intolerant, and circumstances caused his naturally intolerant spirit to triumph over the sounder principles to which he had given vigorous expression.

The case of John Calvin is wholly different from that of Hildebrand as well as from that of Luther. Like Hildebrand he was a thoroughgoing theocrat, but his theocracy was of a wholly different type from that of the great mediæval churchman. The theocracy of Calvin was consciously based upon the Jewish, upon the Old Testament Scriptures interpreted in a natural and intelligent manner. It was thoroughly ethical, making the decalogue in both its tables the standard by which all conduct should be judged. The will of God, as expressed for all time in the

Scriptures, was with Calvin the criterion for every proceeding, whether civil or ecclesiastical. He sought to distinguish carefully between the functions of the church and those of the state. Every citizen owed obedience to the state in all things lawful; but if the magistrate required the violation of divine law, obligation to obey thereby ceased. It was the duty of the magistrate not only to protect the good, *i. e.*, the moral, the loyal, and the orthodox, but just as much to punish the evil, *i. e.*, the immoral, the disloyal, and the heterodox. He made little or no distinction between sin and crime. From his point of view every public sin was also a crime, and thus fell properly within the jurisdiction of the civil magistrate. It is the duty of the church to see to it that the magistracy be not remiss in the performance of its duties, and to rebel against any magistracy that fails to coöperate with the church in securing conformity to the moral and doctrinal requirements of the church. Calvin was as fully persuaded as was Innocent III of the right and duty of the church to make use of the civil power for the extermination of heresy, and of the efficacy of the sword and the stake for the promotion of pure doctrine and life.

Luther was a persecutor by reason of the force of circumstances and by reason of his intolerant disposition, against his clearly expressed principles. Calvin was intolerant on principle. The Jewish theocracy was his model, and he would have thought himself unworthy to be the leader of a Christian community had he allowed himself for a moment to use his influence in favor of the toleration of dissemination of pestilential heresy. There is no reason to believe that he was naturally vindictive, but he considered himself under the most solemn obligation to exert himself to the utmost to protect Christians from the terrible blight of heresy. He was no doubt conscientious in believing any essential deviation from his own teachings utterly destructive of saving religion. From this point of view it was just as unwarrantable for a theologian or a civil magistrate to allow a heretic to disseminate his heresy as it would be to allow a miscreant to go about a city deliberately spreading a deadly disease.

I have given in this rough way enough specimens of state-

church systems to form a basis for certain conclusions regarding the rise of liberty.

The Jewish theocracy was utterly and fundamentally opposed to individual freedom apart from sympathetic identification with the theocratic scheme.

Under the papal theocratic system the only civil and religious freedom possible was that which involved complete and hearty coöperation with the hierarchy in the realization of its aims. No quarter was given, or could consistently be given, to any individual or organization, civil or ecclesiastical, that antagonized it. Liberty could come only by the way of reaction and as a result of successful resistance to an authority that claimed to represent in the most absolute way the divine will and that was uncompromising in its insistence on unquestioning obedience to its dictates.

Luther saw with remarkable clearness the impossibility of forcing conscience and the futility of efforts to make men orthodox by fire and by sword; he set forth with wonderful clearness and power the doctrine of justification by personal faith, the doctrine of the universal priesthood of believers, and the doctrine of the freedom and the dignity of the Christian man. But he was speedily driven by the revolutionary acts of radical religionists and social agitators to conclude that the only security for cherished institutions lay in a policy of violent repression; and the peril in which the Protestant cause was placed by reason of the evident determination of pope and emperor to use every means for its suppression led him to put his trust in the German princes and to acquiesce in a system of Cæsaro-papacy from which Germany has never escaped. He was all the more willing to acknowledge the right of civil rulers to ecclesiastical control by reason of the fact that the princes of his party delegated to himself a virtual dictatorship in matters of doctrine and practice.

The Calvinistic theocracy was, as we have seen, essentially intolerant. If civil or religious liberty was to appear in connection with Calvinistic doctrine and practice, it must be by way of reaction against the theocratic principles set forth with so great

vigor and consistency and so remorselessly put in practice by the great founder of the system.

Thus far we have reached only negative results. We have seen that state-church systems, whether they be theocratic or Cæsaro-papistic, Protestant or Catholic, are inherently antagonistic to civil and religious liberty. How, then, are we to account for the rise and growth of liberty in modern Christendom? I think it is to be ascribed to two distinct influences, or sets of influences, that have often appeared mutually antagonistic, but have in a wonderful way coöperated to produce an atmosphere in which liberty has been able to flourish. These are, first, a resolute and unconditional return to primitive Christianity, and, secondly, the remarkable advancement of modern science, with its pervasive influence on political and religious thought.

To say that the spirit of the religion of Christ is a spirit of freedom is like uttering a truism. "Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free," was the promise of the Master to certain Jews that had believed on him, conditioned, to be sure, on their abiding in his word, and thus becoming truly his disciples. "If the Son, therefore, shall make you free, ye shall be free, indeed." He meant, of course, that they should be freed, first of all, from the slavery of sin; but the promise may be fairly taken to involve emancipation from superstition, from scrupulosity in the performance of external ceremonies, from all fear of men and nature, from the fear of death itself. The knowledge of the truth puts the believer into a position to see from the divine point of view his true relations to God and to his fellow-men; the true relation of the present life to the life to come; the true relation of earthly possessions and comforts to the treasures laid up in heaven. The believer, according to the conception of Christ and his apostles, may be perfectly free in spirit, while suffering the most degrading and irksome bodily slavery; may possess a peace that passeth understanding, while involved in the most fearful earthly conflicts. A consciousness of the fact that he is a son of God, and a joint heir with Christ, enables him to realize, in the midst of direst sufferings, that all things are his and that all things work together for his good.

But, while the gospel claims to be the only way to blessedness, it rigorously excludes the use of any but moral means for the securing of its acceptance. "My kingdom is not of this world," said the Master; and no one who takes the Sermon on the Mount at all seriously can conceive of a true disciple of its author seeking to compel men to come into his kingdom at the point of the sword. The golden rule itself, rightly apprehended, should make it impossible for a Christian to persecute. Intolerance is absolutely foreign to the spirit of Christianity. It was only after Christianity had been corrupted by centuries of contact with paganism and degenerate Judaism that persecution became possible to professed Christians. Most of the corrupting elements that invaded the church during the early centuries were pagan in their origin; but pagan doctrine and practice once introduced, it was natural that the Old Testament Scriptures should become an arsenal for their defense and justification.

The union of church and state, in which Christians rejoiced in the fourth century, was regarded as quite in accord with the theocratic system of the Old Testament, and there were few to object to the favors bestowed upon the churches at the expense of the pagan population, or even to the forcible suppression of paganism by Christian emperors. Was not this precisely what the good kings of Israel and Judah are commended in the Old Testament for doing, and what the wicked kings are reprobated for leaving undone? Protests against the violation of the spirit of the gospel in the persecution of dissent arose from time to time. As the hierarchical church increased in power and in the rigor with which it sought to suppress dissent and secure uniformity, these protests became louder and louder, and the old-evangelical party, in its many branches and with its diversified doctrines and practices, was everywhere and always characterized by its uncompromising opposition to the use of force on behalf of religion, and by its insistence on a complete and unconditional return to the Christianity of Christ.

A very large proportion of the mediæval dissenters carried their opposition to the cruel and oppressive use of force by the dominant church to the extreme of quietism. Making, as they

did, the Sermon on the Mount the fundamental document of their creed and the imitation of Christ and his apostles the controlling purpose of their lives, insisting that the Old Testament has been so far fulfilled in the New that the theocracy, with its intolerance and its death penalties, must not be reproduced by Christians, interpreting our Lord's utterances in so literalistic a way as to exclude oaths, magistracy, warfare even in self-defense, and capital punishment, as wholly foreign to the spirit of the gospel, they could not but regard the secularized hierarchical church as the very antithesis of that which Christ established.

This type of Christianity, represented by the Waldenses and related parties in the mediæval time, while it rigorously and fundamentally excluded all use of compulsion by Christians and produced a beautiful type of Christian life, was not in itself sufficient to form a basis for the aggressive and militant struggle for civil and religious liberty that has characterized modern times.

A moderate and incomplete expression of this view is found in the *Defensor Pacis* of Marsilius of Padua, successively rector of the University of Paris and court physician to the Emperor Louis the Bavarian (1324-42 A. D.). Marsilius insisted on the exclusive authority of the canonical Scriptures, naturally interpreted without priestly interference, as the rule of faith and practice. There is no gospel precept for compelling anyone by pains and penalties to observe the precepts of the divine law. "The precepts of the divine law alone," and "by no means all the precepts of the ancient law," are obligatory for Christians. Yet things that follow necessarily or naturally from the principles of the gospel law are allowed a place side by side with the direct gospel precepts. No mortal has a right to grant dispensations with reference to the precepts and the prohibitions of the new law. He repudiated the claims of the Roman church to be the *Cathedra Petri*, or to have any superiority to other churches, maintaining that there is no sufficient proof that Peter ever visited Rome. Though the courtier of a monarch, he maintained in the most pronounced way the doctrine that all power emanates from the



entire people, or the majority thereof, and that the monarch is properly only the executive of the will of the people.

The more radical quietistic view finds its most scientific expression in the writings of Peter Chelcicky,<sup>6</sup> (about 1455), the spiritual father of the Bohemian Brethren. In a far more emphatic way than Marsilius, he contrasts the old law with the new. In his discussion with Rokycana, the head of the Hussite party that had compromised with Rome, he shows the utter inadmissibility of defending hierarchical church government by connecting it with the sacerdotal system of the Old Testament. The old law was corporeal and had to be observed according to the letter. It is otherwise with the new law. This is spiritual, and is embraced in a few words, in which, however, great things are implicitly contained. It has nothing in common with men who do not possess God's wisdom and Christ's spirit. He repudiates with decision all prelatical or churchly authority.

The only source of faith, according to Chelcicky, is the will of God as made known authoritatively and exhaustively, once for all, through the apostles in the New Testament Scriptures. The idea of development or of change by church authority was intolerable to him. This law of God is absolutely sufficient in all things. Christians live in the state, but have no part in it. They must not bring their disputes for decision before worldly magistrates. Apostasy began when the relations of church and state changed. If all the heathen who by baptism became nominally Christian had become such in reality, the state would thereby have ceased to exist; for its whole organism would have become unnecessary and superfluous. For non-Christian people the state is necessary, but it is a necessary evil; the greater evil, however, is the so-called Christian state; the greatest of all the civil power in its union with the church. Before the union of church and state, under Constantine, Christians lived under heathen; since that time good and true Christians live under bad. The only advantage he can see in this arrangement for true

<sup>6</sup>For a good exposition of Chelcicky's system, with copious extracts from his Bohemian writings translated into Latin, see GOLL'S *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der böhmischen Brüder*, Part 2, Prag, 1882.

Christians is that thereby they have an opportunity to endure suffering and so to confirm their faith. The very expression, "Christian state," involves an insoluble contradiction. It is Christian only in name, for it belongs to the essence of the state to use compulsion and violence, which is completely foreign to the spirit of Christianity. In seeking to reconcile the state and Christianity, Augustine sucked blood, instead of milk, from Scripture. All denominations, all class divisions, he regarded as violative of Christ's command of brotherly equality (Luke 22:24-27). Equality and brotherhood he considered fundamental requirements of God's law, and he was able to conceive of no form of civil government in which these could be realized. No mediæval writer had a profounder grasp of Christian principles, or set forth his views more clearly and consistently. Like most of the old-evangelicals of the Middle Ages, and like the anabaptists of the sixteenth century, he rejected, along with magistracy, as a Christian institution, oaths, warfare, and capital punishment. His doctrinal system, likewise, agreed with that of these parties in being anti-Augustinian.

The Bohemian Brethren adopted this set of views substantially as it had come to them from the Waldenses and from Chelcicky, and through their widespread activity were able profoundly to impress them upon many minds during the fifteenth century and the early part of the sixteenth. The antipedobaptist opponents of Luther and Zwingli, who, in a few years, gained many thousands to the cause of radical reform on a New Testament basis, were imbued with this same spirit. Like their mediæval predecessors, they gloried in their sufferings for Christ, and were fundamentally opposed to any employment of compulsion in matters of religion, interpreting the New Testament so as to exclude magistracy, warfare, oaths, and capital punishment from the sphere of things allowable for Christians, and denying the admissibility of defending doctrine and practice that seemed to them out of harmony with the spirit of the gospel by any appeal to Old Testament precedent. The only noteworthy exceptions to this statement that occur to me are the opinions of Hubmaier, who in these matters reached practically the position of modern

Baptists, and those of the fanatical chiliasts, who, driven to despair by the terrible persecutions of the time, supposed that they had been divinely commissioned with the sword of Gideon to set up a new theocracy like the Jewish of old.

Thus, in the old-evangelical theology and life, we have the principal source of civil and religious freedom. Just so far as it represented a return to primitive Christianity in doctrine and in spirit, was it fundamentally and radically opposed to state-churchism in all its forms and to the intolerance thereby fostered. But the quietistic tendency, the spirit of world-flight, the lack of aggressiveness, the unwillingness to use even legitimate worldly means for the advancement of the cause of Christ, excluded from its fellowship the rich and the noble, and many of the learned and influential, and, in connection with the persecuting spirit of the age, tended to produce in these Christians a spirit of narrowness and bigotry that savored of misanthropy and brought upon them the hatred and contempt, not only of the godly, but of many of the truly pious.

Another set of influences arose in the later Middle Ages and came into prominence during the later years of the fifteenth century, that were to coöperate powerfully with the old-evangelical effort to restore primitive Christianity. I mean the influences that gathered themselves up in the Italian Renaissance and that have been designated by the term humanism. It is not my purpose to analyze this great movement or to sketch the lives and the labors of its chief promoters. A few of its salient features will suffice. It involved the repudiation of the authority of the church and of the corrupted Aristotelian method that had dominated and devitalized the philosophical and theological thinking of the mediæval time, and the direct application of the mind to the great problems of ontology and ethics. It involved a wonderful intellectual quickening and a desire to investigate all questions of history, philosophy, and religion to their very foundations. It involved enthusiastic study of the languages and the literatures of the past. It involved a revival of Platonism and neo-Platonism, sometimes accompanied by a pagan cult. It involved the study of the Scriptures in their original

languages and an effort to get at the real meaning of the biblical writers. It involved an earnest application of the mind to nature with the determination to penetrate its secrets. It involved a recognition of the dignity of life and of mind, and of the right and duty of the individual to cultivate his powers to the utmost, and to enjoy in a rational way what nature has provided. The superstitions of the past had to give way before the spread of enlightenment by the new learning, with its new philosophy and its new science. The spirit of the Renaissance pervaded the religious, social, and political life of the time. The papacy itself came under its spell, and several of the popes were far more devoted to literature and art than to the interests of religion or even the maintenance of ecclesiastical power. Educational methods were revolutionized. Theology itself experienced a new birth at the hands of men like Pico de Mirandola, Reuchlin, Erasmus, and Colet. Philosophy was transformed under Nicolas of Cusa, Pico, Reuchlin, Agrippa of Nettesheim, Galileo, Bacon, Descartes, and Spinoza.

The new methods of research were not as speedily and as effectively applied to nature as might have been expected. The warfare of science was long continued and somewhat fiercely waged. But little by little God's methods of working, which we call nature, came to be understood. The physical and astronomical discoveries of Copernicus, Tycho Brahe, Galileo, and Newton, and the persecution that most of these pioneers had to endure, are familiar to all.

The Protestant revolution of the sixteenth century was itself a product of the Renaissance. The chief actors had been schooled in the new learning. The intolerance that played so prominent a part in the various anti-Catholic movements was not because of the influence of humanism, but in spite of it.

Erasmus, of Rotterdam, was perhaps the most complete embodiment of the spirit of the new learning that the sixteenth century possessed. While he was ardently devoted to the study of the Greek and Latin classics and was among the foremost classical scholars of the age, he studied with equal enthusiasm the Greek New Testament and the more evangelical of the

patristic writings. The most popular author of his time, he could hold up to ridicule the ignorance and the vices of clergy and monks so entertainingly that the satirized themselves were constrained to read and to join in the general laughter; could write one of the soundest manuals of devotion that the age produced; could paraphrase the New Testament in so rational a manner that all could understand; could edit critical editions of the Greek New Testament, and of such patristic writings as would help to promote freedom of Bible study. He was on good terms with cardinals, popes, and Catholic kings, and yet he sympathized with Luther during the years of his struggle for liberty of conscience and social reform. His religious ideas were clear and evangelical; and yet he was not so profoundly convinced of the exclusive validity and the supreme importance of any particular doctrine or set of doctrines as to be willing either to die or to persecute others on this behalf. He was profoundly convinced that the new learning was of supreme importance to the world, and that its diffusion would inevitably purge away all superstition, bigotry, corruption, and oppression. It was his anxiety lest ignorance and vice should triumph over enlightened Christianity that led him to use his influence in favor of Luther. It was his fear lest, by Luther's rash and violent utterances and proceedings, the old spirit of intolerance should be revived in the Catholic church and the new learning itself imperiled, that he so earnestly urged the great Wittenberger to be moderate and considerate. His influence in favor of toleration was undoubtedly great, but it was wholly inadequate to prevent Catholics or Protestants from entering upon a career of the most cruel and exterminating persecution.

More pronounced and effective by far than that of Erasmus was the influence of that form of humanistic Christianity that early became associated with the name of Socinus. Shortly before the middle of the sixteenth century we encounter in Italy a strange combination of humanistic rationalism with old-evangelical (anabaptist) modes of thought.

Along with the sole and exclusive authority of Scripture and the rejection of infant baptism as non-scriptural and antiscrip-

tural, these Italian radicals denied the deity of Christ, the natural immortality of the soul, and other leading evangelical doctrines. By reason of the revival of the Inquisition in Italy, many of these religionists took refuge in Poland, where the old Hussite influence had combined with humanism to create in the nobles a spirit of toleration. In Poland antipedobaptist antitrinitarianism became the prevailing form of religion. Many of the nobility embraced this type of doctrine; a well-equipped college was established. Through a vigorously administered printing establishment literary activity was stimulated to a high degree, and its products were sent forth in profluent streams throughout Europe. It cannot be said that all Socinians were tolerant, or that the doctrine of liberty of conscience in its absolute form was a common possession of the party. But the tendency of humanistic rationalism, here as elsewhere, was to weaken conviction as to the exclusive validity and the supreme importance of any particular doctrinal statement, and to produce along with a demand for toleration of their own views a willingness to concede it to others. The Latin writings of the Polish Socinians circulated widely in Lutheran, Calvinistic, and Anglican circles, where they awakened and fostered a spirit of skepticism regarding the current dogmas of the churches and in many cases regarding even the fundamentals of Christianity itself.

Nowhere outside of Poland was the influence of Socinianism so profound as in the Netherlands. From 1536 onward a quietistic form of old-evangelical life (Mennonism) had been widespread and highly influential. By the close of the sixteenth century these staunch defenders of liberty of conscience numbered many thousands, and, despite the severe persecutions to which they had been subjected, had attained to great wealth and influence. Their pronounced anti-Augustinianism put them in sharp antagonism to the Calvinists, who had come into prominence as the aggressive Protestant party in the efforts of the Netherlands to throw off the Spanish yoke. Calvinism was by far the most militant type of Protestantism, and nowhere did Calvinists struggle more heroically against Roman Catholic

despotism than in the Netherlands. Here also Calvinistic dogma had its most extreme development. Once in the ascendancy, having themselves just emerged from the fiery ordeal of persecution under the Duke of Alva, they began to urge upon the authorities the necessity of exterminating the quiet and inoffensive Mennonites. These demands were successfully resisted by William the Silent and his successors, but they continued to be made in season and out of season until the eighteenth century.

Under the combined influence of Socinianism and Mennonism a vigorous reaction set in about the beginning of the seventeenth century. The revolt against hyper-Calvinistic dogma led by James Arminius was violently suppressed by the Calvinists, but it was by no means exterminated. The great statesmen of the time, St. Aldegonde, Barnaveld, and Grotius, were thoroughly imbued with the spirit of liberalism and of toleration. Arminians and Mennonites, so far as the latter allowed themselves to participate in political matters, were for the maintenance of the republic. Calvinists supported the efforts of Maurice of Nassau to transform the victorious republic into a monarchy with himself at its head. The cause of Calvinism and of monarchy triumphed.

But the cause of civil and religious liberty represented by Barnaveld and Grotius, by Episcopius and Uitenbogaert, though prostrated for a season, was to revive in Holland itself, and still more gloriously in Britain and her colonies.

The old-evangelical party of England and Scotland had survived in considerable strength in the form of Lollardism. It is needless to say that the Lollards of the mediæval and the early Reformation time were thoroughly imbued with the principles of liberty of conscience. From the time of Henry VIII onward this indigenous old-evangelical life was reinforced to a considerable extent by anabaptists from the Netherlands, chiefly of the Mennonite type. During the reign of Elizabeth vast numbers of Dutch evangelicals, including many Mennonites, took refuge in England from the persecuting fury of the Spaniards, and brought with them the principles of civil and religious liberty

that had been so remarkably developed in the Netherlands during the struggle with Spain. Many English, during the later years of Elizabeth's reign and during the reign of James I, resided for longer or shorter periods in the Netherlands, some for educational purposes (the Dutch had become the foremost scholars of the world), some for commercial purposes (the commerce of the world found its center there), some for military and diplomatic purposes, some to enjoy the religious toleration refused them at home. It is undeniable that the intercourse between the two countries was important and influential, and it is certain that the English had much to learn from the Dutch in the matter of religious toleration.

The great mass of the English and Scotch Calvinists of the age of Elizabeth and the first two Stuarts were, like Calvin, Beza, and Knox, absolutely antitolerationist. The magistrate that tolerated heresy was in their view an object of the divine wrath. To have pity on heretics or on grounds of policy to tolerate error was to be men-pleasers rather than God-pleasers, and public calamities were wont to be attributed to dereliction in the duty of destroying the enemies of God. Old Testament examples of unfaithful kings, who weakly permitted idolatry to have place in their kingdoms, and thus brought disaster upon faithful and unfaithful alike, were freely used for inciting those in authority to diligence in the extermination of heresy.

The first of the Puritans to break away from the Calvinistic theocratic position, to insist on the right and obligation to set up separate churches, and to deny the right of the magistracy to punish religious delinquencies or in any way to interfere with the rights of conscience, was Robert Brown (1580-4). He was in close relations to the Dutch evangelicals (Mennonite and other) at Norwich, where he gathered an independent church, and at Middelburg, Zeeland, where with his flock he took refuge from English intolerance. The foremost Congregational authorities<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> DR. WILLISTON WALKER, *The Creeds and Platforms of Congregationalism*, pp. 15 seq., and *A History of Congregational Churches in the United States*, 1894, pp. 35 seq.; DR. W. E. GRIFFIS, art. "The Anabaptists," in *The New World*, Nov., 1895. Cf. DOUGLAS CAMPBELL'S *The Puritan in Holland, England, and America*, 1892, pp. 177-208, *et passim*.



of the present time are convinced and maintain that his ideas of liberty of conscience, the separation of church and state, and the right of forming separate churches, were due in some measure to Mennonite influence. Brown's immediate successors among the English separatists were content with defending the right of separation, and freely accorded to the magistracy the right and duty to coerce erroneous doctrine and practice.

The doctrine of liberty of conscience was revived among the English by a company of English separatists that fled to Amsterdam about 1606 and under the influence of Mennonites and Arminians adopted antipedobaptist and anti-Calvinistic views (1609). John Smyth and his associates seem to have been the first English men after Robert Brown to grasp in all its fullness the doctrine of liberty of conscience, and it is to their followers that the world is indebted for the rich and impressive literature that did so much to shape public opinion among English Nonconformists from 1614 onward. No doubt the acceptance of this doctrine was impeded by the Arminian theology of its advocates, but Arminianism and Socinianism were, apart from these antipedobaptists, leavening the religious thought of England and preparing the way for that remarkable development of free-thinking and that multiplication of sects that so alarmed the conservative spirits of the revolutionary period (1641-60).

The tyrannical proceedings of Charles I and Archbishop Laud (1625-41) aroused anew the spirit of freedom that since the tenth century had characterized Englishmen. Puritans arose in their might and violently overthrew royalty and priestcraft together. Calvinism, with its theocratic, intolerant ideas, stepped into the place of power.

The Presbyterian Parliament summoned a Presbyterian assembly<sup>8</sup> to legislate for the nation in spiritual things. The recommendations of this assembly were to be made legally binding by Parliament. Members of this assembly gloried in their intolerance and urged the government to exterminate heresy, regardless of consequences. It was decided by the assembly, with the approval of Parliament, to compel the entire

<sup>8</sup> Of course neither body was *exclusively* Presbyterian.

population to sign the Solemn League and Covenant, a distinctively Presbyterian document. This scheme was happily frustrated by the army, which by 1647 had become radically independent in sentiment, and which was able to expel the Presbyterians from Parliament, to put an end to the work of the assembly, and to put the independent Cromwell in control. Calvinistic Baptists and Calvinistic Congregationalists were now the chief advocates of liberty of conscience. Calvinistic doctrine, in a moderate form, without Calvinistic theocratic ideas or Calvinistic church government, proved the most effective form of Christianity in the subsequent struggle for civil and religious liberty in England and America.

But it must not be forgotten that these ideas came from the old-evangelical theology, as represented by the Mennonites, and from the humanistic theology, as represented by Socinianism and Arminianism. Calvinism tended to produce a sturdiness of character that, once transformed by the infusion of the milder spirit of the old-evangelicalism and the "sweet reasonableness" of humanism, would prove mightier than any other form of Christianity in overthrowing tyranny and oppression and in winning the world for Christ. But we must not ascribe to Calvinism as such what has been accomplished by way of reaction against primitive types of Calvinism and in the face of its most deadly opposition.

## THE FUNCTION OF INTERPRETATION IN RELATION TO THEOLOGY.

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THE present paper is an essay in methodology pure and simple. It aims not to present any results in the department of interpretation, or to make any contribution to the subject-matter of theology, but to define, if possible, the relation between two great departments of study and knowledge. It will be expedient to begin with definition of terms.

1. *Definition of theology.*—The term theology, as used in this discussion, is to be taken neither in its widest nor in its narrowest sense. By it is meant neither the whole realm of knowledge which properly comes within the scope of a theological school, nor, on the other hand, that subdivision of dogmatics which treats of the doctrine of God in the narrower sense, but rather that part of theological learning which has for its task the systematic statement of the truth about the nature of God, and the relation between God and the universe;<sup>1</sup> in brief, what is commonly called systematic theology.

It is important to observe at this point that theology by its very definition has to do with truths, *i. e.*, with knowledge of things as they are. The history of philosophy is by its very nature a history of opinions. Its ideal is attained when it has stated correctly and in proper relations what men have believed.

<sup>1</sup> This, which I suppose to be the current definition, is accepted as sufficiently accurate for the present purpose. I should prefer a somewhat narrower and more practical definition. The real purpose of theology is, if I mistake not, the definition of the nature of man, the nature of God, and the mutual relations of God and man, in so far as the determination of these can in any way affect human conduct in the largest sense of the term conduct. The study of the universe by theology is not for the purpose of describing the universe, nor of determining the relation between God and the universe in themselves, but for the sake of defining man's relation to God. The substitution of this definition for the more common one would not tend to narrow

The study of literature is the study of thoughts and their expression in literary form; it is not directly concerned with the correspondence of these thoughts with fact. But it is the ideal of theology—an ideal never, of course, perfectly realized, but never to be lost sight of—to accept for its use only that which is true, and that not in the qualified sense that it correctly represents someone's thought, but that it corresponds to reality. Its task is to discover the *truths* concerning God, and the relation between God and the universe, and to coördinate these truths, as far as practicable, into a self-consistent system.

2. *Definition of interpretation.*—Interpretation is primarily an art rather than a science. Its object is to discover meanings. In itself it has nothing to do with truth except in the relative sense of the true meaning of things. The result of the process of interpretation derives its character, as respects conformity or non-conformity to reality, from the character of that which is interpreted. A fact, or a statement of facts, correctly interpreted will yield truth. But it is as really within the scope of interpretation to find out the meaning of a false statement as of a true one; and its task, so far as that statement is concerned, is complete when it has found for what thought the statement stands. The interpreter who interprets the testimony of a witness has nothing to do with the question whether the witness is speaking the truth or not. His business is to reproduce and make clear the meaning of the witness. So far as he brings into his work the question of the truth of the testimony, he is in danger of vitiating his own work as an interpreter. To make the testimony of the witness true may be to make his interpretation false. The truth, which it is the interpreter's business to present, is not the reality of things as they are, but the true *meaning* of that which he is interpreting.

Of course, this distinction between theology as dealing with the truth of things as they are, and interpretation as dealing with the field from which theology would draw, but it would perhaps limit somewhat the material actually incorporated in theology itself. In fact, probably no existing system of theology undertakes to do all that is included in its definition. The revised definition would, I think, represent more perfectly what is actually attempted by theology than does the common definition.

the true meaning of statements, is emphasized, not for the sake of implying that interpretation never leads us to truth, or has chiefly to do with falsehoods, but only for the sake of setting in a clear light the real nature of the task of interpretation, that we may, if possible, define presently its relation to theology. Before, however, undertaking this definition of the relation between the science of theology and the art of interpretation, something must be said concerning the sources of theology and the scope of interpretation.

3. *The sources of theology.*—If we are theists, we must recognize that there is no portion or aspect of the universe which can be *a priori* excluded from the field of theology. Wherever there is anything which man can know, or about which he can know something, there is a legitimate source of theology. Every science which is truly a science, or which yields any results of science, has a rightful place among the sources of theology.

The sciences of nature—chemistry, biology, geology, astronomy—with their cognates and dependencies, must all be included, since, if God be God, he is surely the author of nature. The mental sciences cannot be excluded, for, if God be God, he is the creator of man. The great group of sciences which we sometimes call the humanities—philology, literature, history, and sociology—must not be left out, if God is the God of history, and the great world-ruler. The Bible must be taken in, for surely beyond all controversy the God of the universe is the God of the Bible. The history of heathen religions and their sacred books must receive some attention; for, however inferior these books may be to our own sacred Scriptures, however little or great their intrinsic moral and religious value, it is scarcely conceivable that that literature in which the nations of the world have attempted to frame their conception of God and of human duty should afford us no information concerning God's dealings with men. Are there here any broken rays of a true divine revelation, then these are entitled to a place in the completed theology, and their very existence is a fact of no little value in determining God's relations to humanity. Are they wholly devoid of such elements of truth, this fact must of itself tell us

something concerning God's attitude toward the nations of the world, and concerning the powers and capacities of men outside the circle of special revelation. In fact, the demand that is sometimes made, that theology be wholly biblical, if it be anything more than a demand for economy of mental force by concentration of attention on the chief thing, rests at bottom on a semi-deistical conception of the universe. Its underlying, half-defined thought is, God has expressed himself only in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. It clings to the mediæval idea that the affairs of the universe at large and of human history, not included under the terms Jewish and Christian, are outside the care and control, if not even outside the ken, of the almighty God. Despite all the progress that has been made in the recognition of the unity of the universe, and of the all-inclusiveness of the divine thought and plan, we still have occasion now and again to remind ourselves of the apostle's indignant demand: "Is God then the God of the Jews only? is he not also of the Gentiles? yea, of Gentiles also, if so be that God is one."

Theology then sets no limits to its possible sources save the limits of the universe, and no limits to its available sources save the limits of human knowledge concerning the universe.

4. *The scope of interpretation.*—We have defined interpretation as the art of finding out the meaning of things. If this be the correct definition, it is manifest that the field of interpretation is as wide as the field of things that have meaning, *i. e.*, of existences back of which there lies thought. It is, therefore, by no means an exclusively biblical science. If by reason of too close attention to their own field of study interpreters of the Bible have come to think of interpretation as having to do only with the Bible, it would be well for them to remind themselves that the lawyer talks also of interpretation, and that the student of general literature is an interpreter also. Indeed, it may be questioned whether the whole legitimate business, alike of judges and of lawyers, of students of literature and of history, cannot be subsumed under the head of interpretation and the aids thereto.

But it is not the humanities only that have to do with interpretation. The geologist and the biologist also are interpreters.

Their task, too, includes that of discovering the meanings of things. No true student of the nature sciences is content merely to chronicle subjective impressions or objective events. However he may draw the line and insist upon excluding theology and philosophy when the water is becoming inconveniently deep, he does really all the time seek to discover, not only facts, but, up to a certain point at least, meanings also. It must be granted, of course, that this process by which facts are coördinated into larger facts, and these again into others still broader in scope, until we reach those which are worthy to be called truths, cannot be properly called interpretation in the strict sense, unless facts have in the strict sense a meaning. But the recognition of the possibility of such a process and of the validity of its results, when it is rightly performed, so pervades all modern scientific thought, and the use of the term interpretation to describe the process is so general, that the legitimacy of the usage need hardly be discussed here.<sup>2</sup>

But it is true that the broad scope which the word interpretation has in these modern days acquired makes it expedient that in the interest of clearness of thought we should recognize two great and, to a certain extent, distinct fields of interpretation, corresponding to which there are two somewhat distinct kinds of interpretation itself. These two fields are the fields of expression and of fact, and the two kinds of interpretation, the interpretation of expression and the interpretation of fact.<sup>3</sup>

a) All literary interpretation, as well as all interpretation of music, painting, and sculpture, is, strictly speaking, interpreta-

<sup>2</sup> I am indebted to Rev. George Dana Boardman, D.D., of Philadelphia, for calling my attention to the fact that as long ago as Bacon at least, this conception of interpretation was recognized. The full title of his famous work, the *Novum Organum*, is *Novum Organum sive Indicia Vera de Interpretatione Naturæ*.

<sup>3</sup> The inclusion of the study of facts to discover the truths that lie back of them, in other words, inductive reasoning, in the field of interpretation strictly so called, rests, as is implied above, on the assumption that facts express thought, and this again on the proposition that all events are the expression of a thinking mind or of thinking minds. To a science which, from conviction or in the interest of right method, feels constrained not to begin with the theistic postulate of an intelligent world-ruler, but to reach a belief in God, if at all, through its investigations of the world, the process would remain, so only the validity of inductive reasoning be

tion of expression. The judge interpreting a law, the literary critic interpreting a poem, the historian interpreting the records of the chronicler, the inscription on the monument, or the superscription of a coin—all these are engaged in the task of interpreting expression. The goal of this process is attained when the thought which has found expression in the chronicle, the

admitted, and its results would be recognized as valid ; it would not be entitled to the name interpretation.

From the point of view of such a non-theistic science, from which events are viewed simply as facts without reference to the thought lying back of them, the distinction between the two fields above referred to will be that the first deals with language (including every means of expression, but excluding *ex hypothesi* events viewed as such), and has for its object the discovery of the thought expressed ; the second deals with facts viewed as such, and has for its object the discovery of that which these facts prove. From this point of view, the worker in the first field has nothing directly to do with the question of the correspondence of the discovered thought with reality ; the worker in the second field has no concern with the question whether the truth discovered represents the thought of any mind. But if events be recognized as expressions of thought, then, though the line separating the two fields will be drawn at the same point, the distinction will be differently stated. Everything will now be included in expression, and all will be subject to interpretation. Only to the one department will be assigned all those expressions which, by the nature of the mode of expression, leave open the possibility — to be excluded in certain cases only on moral grounds — that the thought expressed does not correspond to reality ; here will belong all cases in which human thought is expressed in conventional symbols of any kind. To the other department will be assigned all those expressions which, by their very nature, can but represent reality. Here will belong all events of the world's history referable directly to divine activity, and all others, in so far as they are expressions of the divine nature and activity, and all deeds of men in which the real man speaks out, the actions that "speak louder than words."

The guarantee that the result of the interpretative process in the second great field of interpretation is *truth* is not furnished, of course, by interpretation *per se*, but rests upon the nature of the material interpreted — a fact which itself illustrates the essential identity of the two kinds of interpretation. Given data which are recognizable as expressions of reality, and the correct interpretation of them will, by virtue of the nature of the data, yield truth. The recognition of certain data, *e. g.*, the facts of the history of the universe, as expressions of reality rests upon the postulate which lies at the basis of all science, that the universe is not a lie, or, stated in terms of theism, that God has truly revealed himself in the universe.

While the present paper is written from the theistic point of view, it is, strictly speaking, only the terminology which is fixed by that fact. By the theologian who feels it necessary to find his doctrine of God — even of the divine existence — at the end of his investigation rather than to assume or to prove first of all the existence of an intelligent world-ruler, all that is here assigned to the second field of interpretation will be characterized rather as inductive reasoning ; but whatever validity there is in the argument of the paper will remain otherwise unaffected.



inscription, the poem, the picture, the law, has been recovered and reexpressed in terms intelligible to the person for whom the interpretation is made. In fact, the field of interpretation is exactly coextensive with the field of expression for the purpose of communicating thought. Wherever mind speaks to mind, or heart to heart, there must be, on the one side, expression and, on the other side, interpretation. It would be difficult to frame a finer characterization of the art of interpretation than that beautiful sentence of Professor Ladd: "The final purpose of the art of hermeneutics is the communion of souls." But if this be true, two conclusions of importance for our present purpose follow:

(1) The outcome of this process of interpretation is *thought*, and, strictly speaking, nothing more. Under certain circumstances the interpreter may be irresistibly impelled to compare the thought which interpretation has yielded him with something else, and to pronounce judgment on the truth or value of the thought. But, if so, he is irresistibly impelled to undertake a process which is not interpretation, but criticism.

(2) The second fact which is involved in the definition of the interpretation of expression is that to this department belongs the whole science of biblical interpretation, so far as it is concerned with the discovery of the meaning of the authors from whose pens the books of the Bible came. The interpreter who endeavors to recover the whole thought of the prophet Isaiah, as expressed in his extant prophecies, or of the apostle Paul, as expressed, *e. g.*, in the epistle to the Romans, is engaged in the interpretation of expression.

But if these two things are true, it follows that the goal of biblical interpretation thus conceived of is reached when the interpreter has found the thought of the author, of Isaiah, *e. g.*, or of Paul. With the truth of that thought, *i. e.*, with its correspondence to reality, the interpreter, in the sense in which we are now using the term, has nothing to do. Interpretation is true, not when it reaches the truth, but when it reaches the real thought expressed in that which is to be interpreted.

If any justification be needed for the emphasis here laid on

this abstract principle, it is found in the fact that much of our error in interpretation proceeds from a failure to recognize clearly the nature of the interpretative process, and that little real progress can be made in interpretation till the limits of the process are distinctly recognized. The interpreter of the Bible who more or less vaguely defines to himself the process of interpretation, not as the discovery of the meaning of the Bible, but as the discovery of the truth of the Bible, is almost of necessity impelled to test every proposed interpretation, not so much by its ability to verify itself as the thought which the writer intended to express in the language under consideration, as by its conformity to truth, to the reality of things. But since, of course, he cannot wholly escape from himself, cannot wholly divest himself of his present convictions as to what is true, in so far as he yields to this impulse to test his interpretation by truth to fact instead of by fidelity to the thought of his author, he binds the Scripture down to his already attained opinions and convictions. Only on matters on which he has no convictions is he untrammelled. He makes his own present intellectual position, with its mixture of the false and the true, the norm and standard for the Scripture writer, and under the shelter of what seems to him a reverent conviction about the Bible—in reality a false conception of the nature of interpretation—he treats the Bible with the gross irreverence of making all its writers repeat back to him his own already attained convictions. The only corrective of this unscientific and irreverent treatment of the Bible, the indispensable condition of progress in the interpretation of Scripture, is that we clearly define to ourselves the nature of the interpretative process and hold ourselves within its legitimate limits.

But when the nature of the art of interpretation, as applied to expressed thought, has been thus defined, it is evident that this branch of the hermeneutic art cannot of itself guarantee that its results are material for theology. If the process has been rightly accomplished, it yields us the thought of the author interpreted; on the question of the conformity of that thought to truth it says nothing, and can say nothing.

b) We are prepared, then, to consider the second great branch of interpretation, viz., the interpretation of facts. This has already been defined as the discovery of the meaning of facts, *i. e.*, the truth that lies behind and beneath the facts, and of which the facts are but the surface indication. Of course, the words *fact* and *truth* may sometimes be used synonymously. Raise a fact to the highest power, and it becomes a truth. Use the term truth in its lowest sense, and it may apply to a mere fact. But it still remains that prevailing usage recognizes a distinction between the terms fact and truth, and treats the latter as the higher, nobler term.

It is a fact that Isaiah preached after this manner or that to the children of Israel. But that fact is of but little significance to us, unless it bring to us some eternal truth concerning God and his relation to men. It is a fact that Jesus died on the cross at the hands of the Jews. But that fact, important as it is, derives all its importance from the truth concerning the nature of sin and the nature of God which is enwrapped in the fact and revealed through it.

It was said above that interpretation of expression is by no means an exclusively biblical science. It is equally true of the interpretation of facts. If the first great branch of interpretation finds its field wherever thought has found expression, the second finds its province wherever events have happened. The results reached in the realm of the abstract, the discoveries made with the microscope, telescope, test tube, and pendulum, all the facts ascertained by mathematics, astronomy, physics, chemistry, and biology, demand coördination and interpretation. Such interpretation may be relegated, in whole or in part, to philosophy and theology, but the demand for such interpretation is deep-seated in the human mind and will not be denied. The study of human history, whether in some one phase or in its entirety and unity, is not merely the discovery of facts from records, but includes the far higher task of finding truths in facts. It is the glory of the modern science of history that it is no longer contented to excavate and record facts, but insists upon grappling with the task of interpreting those facts and

reaching the great truths which are involved in them, and which only wait the interpreter's insight to bring them to view. The noblest part of our modern thought falls under the head of interpretation of facts. And philosophy is nothing else than the endeavor from a broad correlation of the results of the various sciences to interpret the great facts of the universe, to find the central truths that lie behind all mere events.<sup>4</sup>

5. *Relation of the two branches of interpretation to theology.*—If we have proceeded along the lines of truth thus far, we are now ready to consider the question implied in the topic announced at the outset: "What is the function of interpretation in relation to theology?" Let the inquiry be confined for the present to the interpretation of the Bible.

To some it may seem that the answer is very simple. The Bible being a book, and that book the Word of God, we have to do here only with literary interpretation. The task of the interpreter is to apply the process of literary interpretation to the several books, thus discovering the *thoughts* intended by their several authors to be expressed. The task of the theologian is to take these results and coördinate them into a system. In other sciences no doubt there must be an interpretation of facts in order to obtain material for theology, but in biblical study literary interpretation accomplishes the whole task. This simple solution of the problem certainly looks attractive. It leaves, indeed, to biblical interpretation a large task, yet one which, as compared with the entire field of interpretation, is small and manageable. Unfortunately, however, this solution does not approve itself by the test of actual work. A little experience in the work of interpretation with a view to the employment of its results in theology, a little observation of

<sup>4</sup>This statement may seem to identify philosophy with theology, as conceived of in this paper. And it is true that philosophy and theology have the same subject-matter, and that both aim at the synthesis and coördination of the results of other sciences. There is, however, a difference of form and function. Philosophy aims to coördinate the interpreted results of all science in a form suited to satisfy the demand of the intellect for a reasonable account of the universe. Theology aims at a synthesis of the same elements which shall meet the needs of man as a moral and religious being, endowed with feeling and will.

one's own processes and of the principles which necessarily underlie them, are sufficient to show that the interpretation which seeks only for the meanings of words, sentences, and books is inadequate to the purposes of theology.

Let the experiment begin with the narrative portions of the Bible. Literary interpretation can only give us events, and at the utmost set them in the relation attributed to them by the biblical writers. But these historical facts are not the material of theology. Theology deals not with events as such, but only with the truths which events in their relations yield. There are, indeed, certain great events which seem so manifestly to carry with them the truths they prove that the event itself may seem to be material for theology. Yet even here it is really the truth enwrapped in the event, not the event itself, which is incorporated into theology. So that even these great events constitute no exception to the principle that the literary interpretation of the Bible, viewed as narrative, can of itself and directly yield no material for theology. The higher interpretation, which finds the truth in facts, must be brought in to supplement the work of the interpretation of records.

Then let the experiment be tried with the didactic portions of the Bible. Take here as an example the prophecies of the Old Testament. Simple literary interpretation of these prophecies tells us that the prophet held such and such views, announced such and such principles, predicted such and such events—all in the name of Jehovah. But it cannot in itself guarantee us that its results are indeed the ultimate truth of God. Let the possibility that a prophecy may be put forth in the name of the Lord which did not in reality proceed from the Lord, be ignored though both the Old Testament and the New recognize this possibility. Pass over the question concerning the meaning of the prophetic phrase, "Thus saith the Lord," though interpretation must consider it, and take into account the results of its investigation. What is here emphasized is simply the obvious possibility that these prophecies were in some measure shaped by the exigencies of the situation to which the prophet addressed himself, that they may even have been in some

degree affected by the limitation of the prophet's own capacity to receive the divine revelation, so that what he uttered, though well adapted to meet the needs of his hearers, is not itself the absolute and final truth which theology calls for. But in so far as this possibility was realized, so far literary interpretation becomes inadequate to meet the demands of theology. In the last analysis all that literary interpretation can do is to yield us the fact that the prophet under such and such circumstances taught thus and so. Such interpretation must be supplemented by that larger, broader, deeper interpretation which, setting this fact in its relation with other facts similar or dissimilar, shall from all these, thus brought into relation, discover the *truth* which lies at the heart of them.

Indeed, there is room for the interpretation of fact even if we find that the prophet spoke absolute truth, and when we have learned what that truth is. For the very fact that he spoke as he did is itself an event of no little consequence, requiring to be set in relation to other facts, and to be examined with a view to discovering what truth these facts may yield respecting God and his relation to men. It has long been recognized that the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy, and that Old Testament prophecy can only be understood when set in relation to the revelation in Jesus recorded in the New Testament. It has long been recognized more or less clearly that the history of revelation itself conveys truths concerning God, aside from the very truths revealed. Perhaps it has not always been so clearly recognized that in these two facts there is involved the necessity of an interpretation of the Bible broader and deeper than is attained when the thought of the individual prophet is discovered, an interpretation of facts rather than of expressions.

In fact, that simple solution of the relation of biblical interpretation to theology which makes literary interpretation adequate to the whole task of preparing material for theology can be accepted only when we admit two postulates: first, that the narrative portion of the Bible is of no significance for theology; and, second, that the didactic portions of the Bible have been given by God in such way that the thoughts of the

writers are, throughout and in every part, guaranteed to us as the thoughts of God, ultimate truths uncolored by the human minds that transmitted them, unaffected by the limitations of those to whom they were first uttered.

But neither of these postulates has been proved. Nor does the evidence thus far accumulated seem to justify the expectation that they can be proved. Who will venture to assert today that the narrative portions of the Bible are of no significance for theology? True, they have been largely ignored by the theology of the past. True, there remains much work yet to be done before theology can make the largest use of them for its ends. But surely no one who has not slept a Rip Van Winkle sleep could now hesitate to admit that God is the God of all history, and, if there be anything in the claims of the Bible at all, God must be preëminently revealed in biblical history. It would doubtless be an over-statement of the truth, unless the term history be taken in a very broad sense, but it would be truer to maintain that God is revealed in the Bible only through its history than to affirm that the biblical narrative is of no value to theology.

Nor can the second postulate be defended. Where is the evidence in the Bible, or out of it, that the didactic portions of the book are severally and in every part guaranteed to us as the very thoughts of God, ultimate truths, uncolored by the human minds through which they have passed, and unaffected by the limitations of those to whom they were first addressed? Undoubtedly there are certain portions of the Bible for which a claim very like this is made. Such a claim must not be ignored. A reverent and scientific theology will doubtless feel itself compelled to inquire into the history of the transmission of these portions to us, and even to try the spirits whether they be indeed of God, but it will not ignore the claim with which such teachings are put forth. But to consider or to admit the claim by no means establishes the larger postulate which we are considering. Aside from the necessity for the testing of such a claim, what is to be said of those large portions of the Bible which are put forth with no such claim? What shall be said of

those parts wherein the prophet or apostle expressly claims to be addressing a particular group of hearers or readers, and, by implication at least, to be adapting his message to their situation? Even a divine message may take shape and form from the circumstances to which it addresses itself, and may require a translation out of local and temporary terms into universal terms before it can be employed by theology. The Old Testament legislation furnishes a familiar and unquestioned illustration. No portions of the Bible contain any more distinct claim to be given by divine authority than the statutes of the Old Testament law. Yet the words of Jesus and of the apostles compel us to regard many of them as temporary statutes, having no validity for the Christian age, even if they had such for their own. But when this principle is recognized as applicable in this instance, its applicability to other portions of the Bible must at least be inquired into; and then we find ourselves face to face with the necessity for an interpretation of facts in their relation rather than merely of sentences in their connection.

Nor, indeed, is this quite all that must be said. Adaptation of teaching to the circumstances of those that are taught, though it may make that teaching unadapted in its original form for use in systematic theology, does not involve error. But the possibility of even positive error in some portions of the Bible cannot be excluded on *a priori* grounds. It is true that certain passages of the New Testament have been interpreted as making a claim of entire freedom from error for the whole Old Testament, and that this claim has been carried over, by the argument from less to greater, to the New Testament. In an extended discussion of the subject such an argument would demand fair and full consideration. It must suffice at this time to point out briefly certain serious, if not fatal, objections to it. (a) It assumes at the outset the very fact to be proved by taking for granted the entire and absolute correctness of the New Testament view of the Old Testament. (b) It applies to the New Testament without warrant statements which the New Testament makes about the Old Testament. (c) It misinterprets the meaning of the New Testament passages. (d) It involves a conception of the



Old Testament which the evidence certainly does not sustain, and which, according to the judgment of many fair-minded students of the Old Testament, the evidence disproves. (e) It contradicts the teaching of Jesus concerning the Old Testament.

A merely literary interpretation, then, cannot yield the material which theology demands. Interpretation of the biblical record to obtain its meaning must be supplemented by interpretation of the facts to find the truth.

But this conclusion suggests another problem. Can the two branches of interpretation taken together accomplish the whole task prerequisite to theology? An attentive consideration of the nature of the two departments and of their relation to one another compels a negative answer and leads to a recognition of

6. *The necessity of biblical criticism.*—Literary interpretation of the narrative portions of the Bible yields us the statements of the narrative that such and such events occurred. But only to a limited extent does the narrative place the events in their relation to one another. Such events as are recorded in a single book may be thus placed, but that would be a very inadequate study of the biblical history which should make no effort to gain a longer and more connected view of that history than can be seen in any single book. The books of Moses, for example, contain much narrative material; the books of Samuel and Kings give us further narratives concerning the history of Israel; the prophets likewise directly and indirectly furnish much historical matter. Now doubtless some things can be learned, some truths even for theology can be discovered, from a study of the several portions of Israelitish history considered separately. Yet surely no one who has even the most general knowledge of the subject will fail to recognize that the most valuable, as well as the most certainly established, results suitable for the purposes of theology can be obtained only when the Old Testament history is read in its entirety and the historian gains that perspective and that insight which only the long vista of history can give him. God writes long sentences down the page of history, and only he who reads the whole sentence obtains God's largest thought. Or take

an example from the New Testament. We have four records of the life of Jesus. No one can deny that each of these records, apart entirely from its relation to the rest, is of transcendent value. But no one can study these narratives long without discovering that there are some problems, and those, too, problems that have something to do with theology, which can only be solved when the relation of the documents to one another can be determined, or the several narratives in some way coördinated. It is needless to multiply illustrations. It scarcely needs to be argued, so evident is it to every thoughtful student of the Bible, that we shall never grasp the great truths which the biblical history enfolds within itself until we can read, not only the Old Testament history in its continuity, not only the gospel history in its unity, but—far more than this—the entire history of biblical revelation in its unity and continuity, from the earliest fact of Old Testament prophecy or narrative to the latest line of New Testament history.

But coördination is not all that is required to prepare the way for the interpretation of the facts. Facts can be interpreted only in their relations. The material for the historical setting of the biblical narrative is indeed partly in the Bible itself, yet partly in extra-biblical sources. So far as it is biblical, it requires arrangement. Thus the narrative of the Acts and the letters of Paul require coördination into one story, as nearly continuous as may be, that we may read the divine sentence in the story of the apostolic age. But in so far as they are extra-biblical, they must be brought from without and set in their true relation to the biblical material; and of this necessity every portion of the Bible furnishes illustrations.

Nor is this all. If we are to read the teaching of history, it must be *history* that we study, with the smallest possible admixture of fiction or error of any kind. A false reverence may demand that we ignore the possibility of any error in the biblical narrative. But a true reverence will set truth above theory and presupposition, and will feel itself compelled to inquire whether in the process by which the records of the past have come to us there has, at any stage or in any way, crept in any error by the

elimination of which we may see more clearly the truth God teaches us by his dealings with men.

Thus it appears that interpretation needs the aid of an ally in its task of finding ultimate truths. That ally has a threefold function: first, it must set the several documents of the Old and New Testaments in their historical order and relationship; secondly, it must furnish the material from within and without the Bible which will provide the proper background for the interpretation of these books, and, thirdly, it must verify or correct the statements of these books on matters of fact. The ally of interpretation to which is assigned this threefold task is commonly known in modern times as biblical criticism. Its work is in part logically antecedent to that of literary interpretation, in part logically supplementary to it. In actual practice it runs parallel to interpretation, or is interlaced with it. Interpretation cannot complete its work without criticism, nor can criticism finish its work without interpretation. To the interpretation of fact it is manifestly antecedent. Only when the process of criticism and literary interpretation have yielded the facts of the biblical narrative, taking that term in its fullest sense, only then can the process of the interpretation of the facts be accomplished. And this brings us to recognize

7. *The necessity and scope of biblical history.*—Under this head is to be included, not only history in the external sense, but the history of biblical thought also, what is known in modern terminology as biblical theology. A necessary preparation for the process of interpretation of facts will be a connected narrative of biblical history. There have been those who have taken this term biblical history in a narrow and one-sided sense as meaning the narrative of external events. The new science of biblical theology has undertaken to write the history of biblical thought. Its task has been to coördinate for us the thinking of the successive prophets or groups of prophets, of the great Teacher, and of his apostles and followers, in such way as to exhibit as connectedly as possible the history of thought in that great line of thinkers whose story is told, and whose thought is preserved, in the Bible. Is it not time to look for the rise of a

new and broader science of biblical history? Will not the scholar of the future refuse to divide the living stream of history artificially into two canals, the one of external event, the other of prophetic thought, and, recognizing that one God is the God both of the body and of the spirit, of the deed and of the thought, and that both in the deed and in the thought he has wrought in and through man, will he not take for his task the writing of the history of Israel in its broadest sense, the history of redemption, and the history of revelation, not in two volumes, nor in parallel columns, but in one undivided, unified history?

8. *Biblical history as the basis of doctrine.*—When this narrative shall be written, then the interpreter will stand face to face with his highest task. With the facts before him, dealing no longer with records, but with events, searching no longer for thoughts, but for truths, his task will be to find in this unparalleled history the great truths of divine revelation. Then will he be able, on solid and substantial ground, to construct the doctrine of Scripture, the doctrine, that is, of the nature of revelation made in the Bible, and of the character of the books that the Bible contains. On the basis of such a doctrine he will be able to rear the complete and solid structure of the truth of God revealed in the Bible. And not only so, but he will also be able to verify the results thus reached by an independent process of investigation. For the same material and the same process by which he will reach *this* doctrine will enable him, in large measure at least, to reach independently the other truths which he seeks concerning God and man in their mutual relations. Possessing the material for the construction of a doctrine of the nature of Scripture, he will also possess the material for a doctrine of God and of Christ, of redemption and salvation. And when he has so learned the art of interpretation that he can formulate the one, he will be able, on the same basis of history, and by the same method, to formulate the other also.

What will be the outcome of this final process of interpretation? He who would predict in detail must either have gone a long way ahead of most of us in his biblical studies, or must

be gifted with extraordinary prophetic insight and foresight. Yet one who claims no such prophetic power may hazard a suggestion of some results which even now seem to be visible, in dim outline at least.

a) The unity of the Bible will stand out with greater clearness and force and convincing power than ever before in the history of the world—its unity, that is, in one great underlying and increasing purpose which runs through it from the beginning to the end. The unity of perfect agreement in doctrine of every part with every other part will be lost, or, rather, will be seen never to have existed. But in the place will come a unity far more impressive, far more valuable—the unity of orderly progress, of gradual unfolding of the truth, of gradual education of the human mind in power to see God. The words that have come from many men of different centuries and different circumstances will appear in the end not to be mere repetitions of the same thought, but, more remarkable still, the successive elements of one great sentence written down the pages of the whole volume. There is a tendency today in some quarters to depreciate the value of the Old Testament—to feel that, since the perfect has come, the imperfect has lost its usefulness. In a sense this is true—Jesus himself teaches it. But that we can ever do without the Old Testament is not for a moment to be believed. In it is written more than one-half the great divine sentence of biblical revelation. Here are, so to speak, the subject and the copula. The New Testament contains, indeed, the predicate, but we need the whole sentence. In part just because the Old Testament is imperfect we need it to read the whole of God's great thought concerning man, slowly unfolded through the centuries to the mind of man.

b) This unity will be seen to belong, not only to the books as literature, but even more to the history which the books record. And this second unity added to the first will be far more impressive and convincing than any mere agreement of books, or even progress of doctrinal thought. For, while it might be possible to bring together from many sources books that agree with one another, what human power, what power less than the

divine, could have shaped a history running through centuries and telling at the end one great unified story ?

c) And this naturally leads to the mention of the third result of this process which we seem already to be able to discover, viz., an immense confirmation and strengthening of the argument for the divine origin of the Bible, and still more for the divine elements in the biblical history. It has often been said that the Bible does not prove the existence of God, but takes it for granted. But when we shall be able to read the biblical history as we ought, we shall be able in that history to find a most powerful argument for the existence of God, an argument based on the very fact that that history itself can only be accounted for on the ground that God has been its chief factor.

d) But not only the existence of God, but the attributes of God, will be read in this history—his holiness, his love, his self-communication ; and these will not now rest merely on the assertion of the biblical writers, but on the evidence of the history itself.

e) The great figure of Jesus Christ will stand forth in bold and clear relief, as the central figure of this whole history, himself the one great fact which alone gives us the clue to the meaning of the rest—the supreme and crowning revelation of all that long history of the revelation of God to man, and of man to himself.

Of course, these are not all the truths which such a process will reveal. But unless we dwell today in a land of deception, unless all the present indications of the outcome of the work of biblical scholarship in interpreting biblical history are false and misleading, the sure result of that work will be a clearer perception than the world has ever had of the central place and the supreme importance of the revelation of God made in Jesus Christ, the Lord and Savior of men.

9. *The order of investigation.*—But to return to methodology—are not these, then, the necessary steps of the process by which we shall reach an organized statement of the truths revealed in the Bible ? First, in logical order, the literary interpretation

of the books of the Bible to discover the thoughts intended to be conveyed by their authors. In this process criticism is a necessary helper, but the aim is strictly exegetical. Secondly, the arrangement of this material in such a way as to exhibit the chronological order of its production and the order of the events recorded, that we may prepare the way for the construction of the history, both of external events and of the progress of thought. This task, as also that of the verification of the records, belongs to historical criticism. Thirdly, the writing of the biblical history, including biblical theology in the modern technical sense, but by no means disassociating this history of thought from the record of events which is necessary to its understanding. This is the task of the biblical historian, and is the necessary preparation for the fourth step, standing to this higher work of interpretation in a relation not dissimilar to that which criticism sustains to the lower or literary interpretation. Fourthly, we reach the task of interpreting this history to learn the great truths<sup>5</sup> which it reveals. Here at length the work of interpretation is completed, and the work of the theologian is begun. This work of interpreting history, while it belongs strictly to biblical science, will, in practice, fall perhaps still oftener to the theologian. To the latter will belong, without dispute, the important task of coördination and systematization, the statement in organized form of the great truths concerning God and his relation to the world which biblical history reveals.

These seem to be clearly the four necessary stages of work, and the order in which they are named their necessary logical order. In practice, however, it must be remembered that no one of these four steps can be completed without the others. Progress in so great a task must be even more from one horizontal stratum to another than from one section to another on the same horizontal plane. The whole work must be done once as thoroughly as our means permit. But no sooner will it be once accomplished than it will require to be repeated, this time

<sup>5</sup>On the verification of the results of this interpretation as truth, see the third paragraph of note 3, p. 57.

with the additional thoroughness which the results first reached enable us to attain, and so on, time after time, till we attain such perfection as is possible to human minds. The great matter of importance, from our present point of view, is that the nature and relation of the several stages be recognized in order that our progress may be real and definite, both from point to point and from stratum to stratum.

But it is now time to recall that some distance back in our discussion we dropped from consideration for the time being all the sources of theology save the Bible. Theology can never afford, in its actual work, thus to neglect the other great fields of divine revelation. For reasons that are obvious, it is wholly impracticable to discuss here how these other sciences of nature, of man, and of the abstract are to prepare their several contributions to theology. If all the universe be one, doubtless there will be a certain degree of uniformity, or at least of analogy, between the work in these departments and that in the biblical field which we have been discussing. Yet for each science a specific method of work will require to be developed.

10. *The possibility of a completed theology at present.*—Can we, then, have a perfected theology today? Is even biblical science ready to offer its final attested results? The answer must certainly be in the negative. Theology must wait for history; history must wait for criticism; criticism must wait for interpretation, and interpretation again for criticism. Today we are only just in the midst of the work of criticism. In some quarters the legitimacy of its undertaking is denied, or but grudgingly admitted. Those who admit its legitimacy, and perceive most clearly its necessity, see also most plainly that its work is incomplete. Much work has indeed been done in interpretation, and a noble beginning made in biblical history, both in its external aspects and in the history of biblical thought, commonly known as biblical theology. Many attempts have been made to frame a doctrine of Scripture, but it is scarcely an exaggeration to say that the result has thus far been only a multitude of working hypotheses, more or less satisfactory to their several constructors, but winning no general acceptance. A recent volume of



theological essays<sup>6</sup> elaborates the main features of its theological system on the basis of the Bible without having laid down any doctrine of Scripture, and, when finally near the end of the volume a chapter is devoted to the doctrine of Scripture, that doctrine proves to be something quite out of harmony with the use made of Scripture in the preceding chapters of the book. It is an extreme instance, perhaps, but it is symptomatic of the state of opinion on the subject. Yet how can we build up the theology of the Bible unless we either possess a doctrine of Scripture or such a knowledge of biblical revelation as will furnish the basis for such a doctrine?

But if biblical science is not ready for the perfected theology, will anyone claim that the other departments of science are ready? If much still remains to be done in the biblical field, surely it is still more true of all these other regions. The nature sciences may have something to contribute, history something, comparative religion something, and even from the infant science of sociology some material may already be obtainable. But certainly from all these sciences far larger contributions of data for theology are to be expected than have yet been furnished. Concerning metaphysical philosophy one can but hesitate what to say. If bulk of volumes be the test of value, philosophy must long ago have furnished its full quantum. But if assured results only are to be accepted, the history of the fluctuations of opinion on the most fundamental questions suggests the wisdom of drawing somewhat cautiously from philosophy in the construction of our theology. And yet a theology which has not reckoned with philosophy, and taken account of the results reached from the philosophical point of view,<sup>7</sup> certainly cannot claim finality for itself.

To say that theology is not yet a completed science is not to depreciate the value of what has been done in the realm of theological investigation. The task is great. The best minds of centuries have been working at it. That it is not yet accomplished is a testimony to the greatness of the undertaking rather

<sup>6</sup> *Studies in Theology*, by REV. JAMES DENNEY, D.D.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. footnote 4, p. 61.

than an evidence of failure on the part of the worker. Moreover, in speaking of theology as incomplete, we say only what must also be said of every other department of science. Only it is specially true of theology because of its relation to the other sciences, in that it receives its material from them, and cannot, therefore, be made perfect without them, but must, in the nature of the case, be last in the series to be completed. And it is perhaps specially necessary to insist upon the fact respecting theology, because there still lingers in some minds the impression that theology is a fixed and not a progressive science.

II. *Inferences.*—If then, as seems to be shown, a completed theology is impossible today for lack of the necessary materials from which to construct it, one or two inferences of importance seem obviously to follow.

a) The church urgently needs today honest, able, broad-minded, fully trained workers in the field of biblical science. They should be not mere linguists, and not mere critics, but men of spiritual sympathies and spiritual insight—men who have an intelligent appreciation of the value of religious truth, and of its office in bringing men into right relation to God. The art critic who has no love of beauty in his soul, no love of truth as expressed in art, may be able to pronounce a true judgment on the technique of a picture, but he can never be either an interpreter of any noble work of art or a critic whose estimate can be trusted. The student of ethics who does not love moral truth, not merely the particular truth which he knows, but moral truth as such, who does not love it with intent to obey it, is incapacitated for the highest researches in ethics. The student of the Bible who does not bring to it a sincere desire to know the truth about God and to apprehend, to accept, and to use whatever revelation of God and of his relations to men God has made, is incapacitated for the large and responsible tasks which confront biblical science. But men prepared for the work, both intellectually and spiritually, the church urgently needs today. Instead of placing them under the ban and decrying their work as dangerous, it ought to recognize its urgent need of them, since on the progress and success of this work depends

not only progress in the true knowledge of the Bible, but in the completion of the incomplete structure of theology. If some prove false to their trust, if others lose their way in the difficult path they have to tread, the remedy is not in the abandonment of the work, but in the sending out of more men better prepared, intellectually and morally, for the work, that they may correct the errors of the others and, if possible, bring back the lost. Geography may abandon the search for the north pole, as too dangerous and too little fruitful of practical results, but the Christian church can never abandon the attempt to understand its Bible to the full, or to complete the edifice of theology.

b) The church needs today a class of men who shall be to the other sources of theology what the critic and interpreter are, or ought to be, to the Bible—men who shall seek to read in geology, biology, history, sociology, comparative religion, those great sentences of truth concerning himself and men which God has written in these great realms of fact. Of course, something has been done in this direction, both by men who are chiefly engaged in scientific research and by men who are chiefly theologians. But the area is too large, the task too important to be undertaken as a mere incident of some other work. The enlargement of any field of human endeavor, whether in the realm of the practical arts or in that of pure science, calls for differentiation in service. We have reached that point in theology today. We have had defenders of theology against science, and opponents of theology from the point of view of science. Apologetics and polemics must, doubtless, still continue inside each division of science and between the representatives of different divisions. But the call today is for a class of scholars who shall interpret science to us in terms adapted to use in theology. It is certainly time to recognize that a conflict between biblical science and other science, or between theology and other science, is simply inconceivable. Theologians and scientists may quarrel; theology and science never.

c) And, in the third place, though it is suggested with diffidence, is it not true that it is the duty of dogmatic theology to

discover for itself a *modus vivendi* for this present period of incompleteness? Did this incompleteness pertain only to the peripheral truths, or the unimportant areas of theology, it might be sufficient simply to continue work along the lines of investigation indicated above. Recognizing that, as every science is incomplete, so also is theology, the theologian might toil at the parts that are incomplete. But, in the first place, every science which has any practical bearings does, in fact, in every generation seek to frame together what it has attained in a provisional working scheme, more or less distinct from the statement that would be made from the standpoint of pure science. And, in the second place, this duty to provide a working scheme of attained results is peculiarly incumbent on theology. The Christian world cannot do without a theology while it waits for the several contributory sciences to complete their quota of material with which theology is to work. But neither are thinking men willing today to accept a theology which, when forced back step by step by the demand for its evidence, appeals at length to a postulate itself unsustained, nor does it meet their reasonable demand to present a system, symmetrical and complete in form, but composed of elements of widely varying degrees of certainty, probability, and uncertainty.

What is needed is a body of theological truths so constructed as to be adapted at once to the needs of the Christian whose only interest is in right living, the preacher who is concerned to know what he ought to preach, and the investigator who desires to enlarge the area of known truth. Might not such a theology be constructed in three divisions? Represent them, if you please, as three concentric circles, or, more exactly, a central circle and two concentric rings. In the central circle let there be placed those teachings concerning God and the relations of men to God which can be verified, and are verified constantly, in the experience of men. The chief source of such truths would certainly be the Bible, and they could be urged with all the authority which that fact gives them, and confirmed by all legitimate arguments drawn from history, philosophy, or any other source whatever. But their distinguishing characteristic,

and that which would put them beyond the reach of criticism of whatever kind, would be the fact that they could be verified with the same scientific certainty that pertains to any other fact of man's mental and moral life. These teachings would be not only scientifically established upon the most solid basis possible, and thus eminently adapted to constitute the center of a system of theology, but they would be preëminently adapted also to be preached, since the testimony to their truth would, in part or in whole, be present in the experiences of the very men to whom they would be addressed. If I mistake not, it would be found also that the truths which can thus be established by experience are precisely those which are most necessary for the salvation of men.

Into the second circle or ring let there be put those truths which can be established upon the basis of results already reached in biblical criticism and interpretation, together also with such truths as the non-biblical sciences are able to furnish. This second body of truth would have the same validity as that which belongs to science in general; yet, like a large part of the propositions of science, it would be subject to revision by the further progress of investigation. It would be adapted to preaching, yet not in the same degree as the truths of the inner circle, since the hearer could not in general possess the testimony to its truth in his own experience or in the range of his personal knowledge.

Into the third circle or ring there might be put all merely traditional theology, and in general all unsolved theological problems. The purpose of thus setting them in a class by themselves would not be to leave them forever in the class of problems unsolved, but precisely for the purpose of attacking them as problems, solving them, and transferring them to the second circle as rapidly as possible.

Such a treatment of the field of theology would enable us to emphasize with all our force those truths which are revealed in the Bible and established by experience; and these are the truths which we most need to emphasize, since they are in large part precisely those that are most necessary for the salvation of

men. It would deliver our theological system as a whole from the reproach, under which it now to a great extent rests, of being speculative and unscientific. While we build into one system certainties, probabilities, and guesses, without clear discrimination of one from another, we cannot blame men if they also fail to make this discrimination and judge the whole by that which is weakest. It would enable us to see more clearly the precise relation of theological science to other sciences, diminish the unreasoning and unreasonable antagonism between theologians and other men of science, by showing clearly that theology welcomes the real results of every science. It would clearly define for us precisely what our unsolved problems are, and would enable us to address ourselves definitely to their solution.

Whether such a provisional subdivision of the field is expedient or not, the experienced theologian must judge. But whether so or not, it seems beyond doubt that the time has come to recognize frankly and without reserve five facts :

*a)* Biblical criticism and biblical interpretation are legitimate and necessary departments of theological study ; their tasks are large and difficult ; final results must be awaited with some patience.

*b)* Every science worthy of the name belongs to the field of the higher interpretation, and by virtue of this fact to the sources of theology.

*c)* There is urgent need of a class of scholars who shall by the interpretation of facts in every realm of science prepare for theology materials which these realms are capable of yielding.

*d)* Dogmatic theology, while toiling at its own task, must frankly recognize its dependence on these other sciences, especially biblical science, accept their attested results, and wait for its perfection till they have done their work.

*e)* Till the perfected theology come, dogmatic theology must give to each generation of the church a report of progress which shall distinguish certainties from probabilities and probabilities from problems, laying bare the unshakable rock on which Christian faith can stand, and giving a clear air in which Christian scholarship may solve its problems.

## THE CHRIST OF HISTORY AND OF FAITH.

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THE life of Christ, to friends and foes alike, is the citadel of Christianity. But such differences appear between Jesus as he lived among men and the Christ of the creeds, that many critics are led to assert the unreality of the Christ of faith. The gospels depict Christ's humanity, the church emphasizes his divinity. Are these irreconcilable? Through his humanity Christ is our example, through his divinity our Savior. Are these inconsistent? In a word, can the Christ of history be harmonized with the Christ of faith?

The New Testament answer to this question is so often misunderstood, that the present endeavor to do it justice may claim a hearing. "The New Testament answer," we say, because no part of the book should be denied representation. Those who reject certain writings may discount the argument accordingly.

Two preliminary statements may be useful in clearing the ground:

1. Reconciling the Christ of history with the Christ of faith is, speaking in broad and general terms, reconciling the Christ of the gospels with the Christ of the rest of the New Testament. The gospels give us the picture of Jesus as he lived among men. What they, and especially the fourth, contain beside will be considered later. The books from Acts to Revelation show what was of faith concerning Christ in the early church. They ascribe to him divine names, attributes, activities, and honors; divine relations to the Father, to angels, and to men. They contain all that is worth defending in the affirmations of the creeds, and in the claims of the church.

2. Seeing thus the two pictures of the Christ of history and the Christ of faith side by side in the New Testament, we naturally expect to find there the explanation of their dissimilarity

of aspect and identity of subject. This explanation is found in the gospels, when we carefully trace their underlying conception of the consciousness of Jesus.

We must try to approach the life of Christ from the disciples' point of view, in their acquaintance with the carpenter of Nazareth, who, after his baptism and recognition as the Messiah by John the Baptist, claimed the title and mission for himself. We must remember that his conscious life hitherto had contained, so far as we know, no abnormal element, nothing miraculous in knowledge or power. The boy Jesus in the temple was evidently unconscious of the long and anxious search of Joseph and Mary, and the miracle in Cana is expressly designated his first.<sup>1</sup> Further, we affirm that all through his ministry the extraordinary elements of his public life were manifested within certain well-defined and thoroughly human limitations of knowledge, power, and moral status.

*Knowledge.*—Except in the domain of religion, which includes morality, Jesus manifested the normal human knowledge of his time, which increased with advancing years in the home and in the school, exactly as ours does. It is sometimes said that in him omniscience was limited in one or more instances. This is self-contradictory and wholly misleading. To limit omniscience is to deny it. The gospels show Christ's knowledge to be human and normal, but with extraordinary extension in three directions: insight into character, farsight of present events beyond ordinary human kin, and foresight of the future. All the manifestations of miraculous knowledge on Christ's part can be referred to one of these three classes: insight, farsight, foresight. Thus the reference to the past life of the woman of Sychar was really insight. She could not say, "I have no husband," without her past being vividly reflected in her consciousness.<sup>2</sup> Christ's seeing Nathanael under the fig-tree, knowing of the death of Lazarus, directing the disciples where to cast their nets,<sup>3</sup> may be called farsight. His prediction of future events is too familiar to need exemplification, but the

<sup>1</sup> Luke 2:49; John 2:11.

<sup>2</sup> John 4:17 f.

<sup>3</sup> John 1:48; 11:14; Luke 5:4; John 21:6.



passage sometimes cited as a solitary exception to omniscience, where Jesus affirms his ignorance of the time of his second advent,<sup>4</sup> rather indicates an important limitation of even his prophetic vision.

It is precisely in these three directions that the endowment of the Old Testament prophet shows itself. Twice in the New Testament, also, insight into character is emphasized as the mark of the prophet.<sup>5</sup> The woman of Sychar, startled by the unveiling of her sinful life, exclaims: "Sir, I perceive that thou art a prophet." Simon, the Pharisee, when the outcast woman anoints Christ's feet, reasons: "This man, if he were a prophet, would have perceived who and what manner of woman this is which toucheth him, that she is a sinner." And once, knowledge of facts ordinarily inaccessible, or farsight, is mockingly demanded of one who claims to be a prophet. Such is the meaning of the gibe against the blindfolded Jesus, "Prophecy: who is he that struck thee?"<sup>6</sup>

Jesus was a prophet.<sup>7</sup> Like the Old Testament prophets he derived his extraordinary knowledge and power from the Spirit of God abiding upon him after his baptism. His superiority to all other prophets resulted from the completeness of this spiritual endowment.<sup>8</sup> The apostles and early Christians also displayed similar powers from the same source.<sup>9</sup> Christ's wonderful knowledge being that of a prophet, and manifested in insight, farsight, foresight, characteristic of the prophet, we naturally expect to find that in other directions his knowledge was limited like our own. Of this positive evidence is not wanting. It is true there are two passages in John where a knowledge of "all things" is attributed to Jesus, but the context shows that unlimited insight into the hearts of the apostles is really meant.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Mark 13:32; cf. BISHOP ELLICOTT, *Christus comprobator*, p. 113.

<sup>5</sup> John 4:19; Luke 7:39.

<sup>6</sup> Luke 22:64.

<sup>7</sup> Matt. 13:57; Luke 7:16; 13:33; 24:19; John 4:19; 6:14; 9:17; Acts 2:22; 3:22.

<sup>8</sup> John 1:32 f.; 3:34; Luke 4:14; Matt. 12:28; Acts 10:38.

<sup>9</sup> Acts 11:28; 13:9 f.; 20:23; 21:11; Rom. 15:18 f.

<sup>10</sup> John 16:30; 21:17.

The whole thoroughly human life of Jesus indicates by its spontaneity and naturalness that his knowledge was constantly limited like ours. For instance, every manifestation of sudden or violent emotion shows a limitation of knowledge. Again and again Jesus experiences surprise and wonder, doubt and disappointment, anger and indignation.<sup>11</sup> The incident of the barren fig tree indicates very clearly that in the ordinary affairs of everyday life, Jesus stood on our common level of knowledge. On the way from Bethany to Jerusalem, in early spring, he sees one fig tree conspicuous by a precocious growth of leaves. As the spring figs set when the leaves are coming, there might be half-ripe fruit on that tree, and possibly some of the winter figs might still be hanging unnoticed behind that leafy screen. Wayside fruit was free to all, and Jesus, being hungry, turned aside, hoping to find fruit on that tree. He failed, for the tree was barren, a fact which he, like anyone else, had to discover by investigation.<sup>12</sup> With similar limitation of knowledge he tried in vain to find rest in solitude with his disciples, after the death of John the Baptist, and the precautions, which he took at Bethany to avoid being discovered by his enemies, were rendered nugatory by the Jews following Mary in her hurried exit from the house.<sup>13</sup> It is easy to see the value of Christ's prophetic endowments in enabling him to make the best use of every interview and opportunity in his brief ministry, but omniscience would have been an incubus and a clog, destructive of all spontaneity, enthusiasm, and zeal.

This is illustrated in the most striking way by the case of Judas Iscariot. It is commonly assumed from John 6:64, 70, that Jesus knew when he chose Judas what he would ultimately become. But the contrasted tenses in the latter verse rather imply that Judas now frustrates and disappoints the purpose of Christ's original choice. "Did I not choose you the twelve, and one of you is (*i. e.*, now turns out to be) a devil." The

<sup>11</sup> Matt. 8:10; 23:37; Mark 1:43; 3:5; 6:6; Luke 18:8; 19:41; John 6:70; 11:33-38.

<sup>12</sup> Mark 11:12 f.

<sup>13</sup> Mark 6:31; John 11:20, 28-31.

sixty-fourth verse confirms this view by associating the desertion of the disciples and the treachery of Judas in a common "beginning." This suggests that both the desertion and treachery now began simultaneously from a common cause. The conduct of Jesus in seeming to alienate disciples, and to reproach Judas, when neither had shown any outward sign of disloyalty, is explained by the evangelist on the ground that "Jesus knew from the beginning who they were that believed not, and who it was that should betray him." What "beginning"? Clearly the inward beginning of the unfaith of the disciples, which soon showed itself in desertion, and the inward beginning of alienation in Judas, which ultimately developed into treachery. For on these, disclosed to him by his insight into character, were based Christ's apparently premature rebukes of the disciples and of Judas, which John explains. Judas probably sympathized with that disappointment of their worldly hopes, which led the mass of the disciples to desert Jesus, but he remained with the apostles, silently acquiescing in Peter's declaration of loyalty. Thus his treachery began. In the light of this interpretation, we can understand how Jesus, without doing violence to his own moral nature, had trained Judas with the rest, had confided to him the responsibilities of financial stewardship, and had sent him forth on a missionary tour.<sup>14</sup> Does not such a case show how the limitation, as well as the miraculous enlargement, of Christ's knowledge, ministered to his perfect usefulness?

*Power.*—The same general description which defines Christ's supernatural knowledge applies also, as we have hinted, to the miraculous powers he showed. By virtue of the Spirit of God resting upon him, miracles were wrought through him, as through the prophets and apostles.<sup>15</sup> Jesus himself ascribes his signs to the power or Spirit of God, or describes God as doing his own works through the Messiah.<sup>16</sup> Current Jewish theology defined a miracle as a wonder wrought by God through, or on behalf of, some holy man who stood high in God's favor<sup>17</sup>—often in answer

<sup>14</sup> John 12:6; Matt. 10:4 f.

<sup>15</sup> See notes 7, 8, 9.

<sup>16</sup> Luke 11:20; Matt. 12:28; John 14:10.

<sup>17</sup> John 9:30-33; cf. WEBER, *Altisynagogale Theologie*, pp. 287-9.

to prayer. Such was evidently the view taken by the spectators and the disciples of the miracles of Jesus, as was manifest in the praise often given to God for his success.<sup>18</sup> Jesus said and did nothing to controvert or modify this view. We might expect that when he came into collision with evil spirits who recognized and feared him, then if ever he would manifest his inherent dignity and personal authority in casting them out. But it is precisely this class of miracles which he expressly attributes to the power ("finger") of God, or, more specifically, to the Spirit of God.<sup>19</sup> In accordance with Jewish theology, Jesus described his miracles as God's attestation of the genuineness of his divine mission, as the credentials of his standing as a prophet, even as evidence in favor of his claim to be the Messiah.<sup>20</sup> But he never hinted that the miracles were done by his own power, nor were they ever adduced by him or by his disciples as direct evidence of his deity.

Apparent exceptions disappear when closely examined. Of most of the miracles we have meager accounts, which, however, were not liable to be misunderstood, while the Jewish theological idea of a miracle was so definitely held. That idea emphasized prayer as the human initiative. And though the prayer of Jesus is not referred to in connection with many miracles, yet no Jew would think of doubting, in his case, that dependence on God for the miracle, of which prayer was the natural expression. So we find the man blind from birth assuming that the prayer of Jesus was the means of his cure. And where Christ's prayer is given, as before the resurrection of Lazarus, its terms suggest that he claimed to work miracles only by the Father's power.<sup>21</sup>

The case of the leper, mentioned in Mark's first chapter, seems to present a grave objection to the view we are advocating.<sup>22</sup> At first sight his plea, "If thou wilt thou canst make me clean," looks like an appeal to power inherent in Jesus. But

<sup>18</sup> Matt. 9:8; 15:31; Luke 7:16; 13:13; 17:15; 18:43.

<sup>19</sup> See note 16.

<sup>20</sup> Matt. 11:2-5; John 3:2; 5:20-23, 36; 6:14; 7:31; 10:25, 36-38; 14:10-12; 15:24.

<sup>21</sup> John 9:31; 11:41 f.; cf. note 32.

<sup>22</sup> Matt. 8:2 f.; Mark 1:40 f.; Luke 5:12 f.; cf. 2 Kings 5:1-15.

consider the historical situation. So far as we know, this was the first time that Jesus cured a leper. His disease was regarded among the Jews as belonging in an especial sense to God to inflict or to heal.<sup>23</sup> This was, we are told, an aggravated case. To attribute to Jesus an inherent power to cure leprosy would have been almost tantamount to investing him with the attributes of Jehovah. We cannot suppose that this leper, who had only heard of Jesus, and that (in his enforced seclusion from society) only in a very fragmentary way, could have meant to deify him. We might, however, expect that he would regard Jesus as a prophet. But in that case, how are we to explain the language he uses? The case of Naaman is an instructive parallel, because it shows such language was used without theological stringency of meaning. The little slave-maid says, "Would God my lord (Naaman) were with the prophet that is in Samaria! then would he recover him of his leprosy." This, taken strictly, would seem to imply that the power to cure leprosy resided in Elisha. But when the request comes to the king of Israel, he exclaims, "Am I God, to kill and to make alive, that this man doth send unto me to recover a man of his leprosy?" and regards the message as seeking a pretext for war. Thus the king interprets the request strictly, and states it as an incontrovertible fact that only God can cure a leper. Yet, of course, the king felt himself as unable to be the medium of a cure as to be its divine cause. But Naaman, heathen though he is, and in spite of the fact that the little maid has apparently spoken of Elisha as able to cure lepers, takes no such view of the possibilities of the case. For when he comes to describe the way in which he supposed the prophet would proceed to heal him, he says: "Behold, I thought he will surely come out to me, and stand, and call on the name of Jehovah his God, and wave his hand over the place and recover the leper." In other words, the cure is to follow as the result of the prophet's intercession with Jehovah. The words, "recover the leper," are the same whether spoken by maid, king, or leper. The prophet is said to cure the leper, but

<sup>23</sup> Exod. 4:6 f.; Lev. 14:34; Num. 12:9-15; Deut. 24:9; 2 Kings 5:3, 7, 11; 2 Chr. 26:16-21.

that means the cure will be mediated by his intercession with Jehovah. The leper in Mark probably used language in a similar way. Under the circumstances his faith in the possibility of cure through Jesus is most remarkable. Naturally such marvelous faith gives itself extraordinary expression: first, in act, by breaking through the sanitary regulations imposed on lepers, for which Jesus rebukes him; second, in word, "If thou wilt, thou canst make me clean." Historically it is most improbable that he meant to ascribe to Jesus an inherent power to cure this disease. Rather was he trying to express the strength of his faith in Jesus, that is his confidence in the efficacy of his intercession with God, even in behalf of one "full of leprosy." The response of Jesus, "I will, be thou made clean," is in the same tone. It might naturally be understood by the leper to mean: "for such faith as thine my intercession is always ready, always successful." For we must not forget how much the power of Jesus to work miracles was connected with faith among the people.<sup>24</sup> It is not inappropriate to add, as illustrating Jewish modes of expression, that in Talmudic writings miracles attributed to famous saints are described in language no less strong than that of this leper in implying omnipotence on the part of the miracle worker.<sup>25</sup> Yet such expressions are clearly recognized by the Jewish mind as having no real basis beyond the fact that the worker was the channel of the miracle, not its source.

Some scholars attribute to Jesus an inherent healing power, not a divine attribute, conceding that his other miracles were done by God's power. I do not think the gospels put the healings into a different category from Christ's other miracles, nor that their theology would allow that anything short of God's omnipotence could heal the incurably diseased. Yet any such theory would harmonize with my present contention, which is that the divine attributes of knowledge and power were not manifested during Christ's life on earth.

*Moral status.*—The keynote of Christ's moral life is struck

<sup>24</sup> E. g., in Matthew alone (8: 10; 9: 18, 22, 29; 13: 58; 14: 36; 15: 28; 20: 33).

<sup>25</sup> WEBER, *Altsynagogale Theologie*, p. 289.

in Luke's words: "And the child grew and waxed strong, filled with wisdom, and the grace of God was upon him." . . . "And Jesus advanced in wisdom and stature, and in favor with God and men."<sup>26</sup> The former verse evidently refers to his emergence from infancy, the latter to his growth from boyhood to manhood, for an incident of his boyhood intervenes. Both passages speak of development, outward and inward. The inward development is mental, but also moral and spiritual, "advancing in wisdom and in favor with God and men." Yet as the New Testament everywhere ascribes sinlessness to Jesus, so here there is a certain absoluteness in the statement that he was "*filled* with wisdom, and the grace of God was upon him." His mental and spiritual capacities were constantly enlarging, but their growth only measured his perfection, for he was "filled with wisdom and grace." Jesus was always perfect, yet his perfection constantly developed from more to more. This is *normal* human development, normal, because sinless. Such progress implies relative infirmity, relative imperfection, such as made Christ's earthly life liable to temptation, and therefore composed of a series of struggles to maintain moral purity. It is probably in this sense that Jesus disclaims the title *good*: "Why callest thou me good? None is good save one, even God."<sup>27</sup> In the sense in which God alone is good, absolute, perfect, unassailable goodness, Jesus, who has to "suffer being tempted," to be "made perfect through sufferings," to "learn obedience by the things which he suffered,"<sup>28</sup> is not good. That is, his goodness is in process of achievement, it is not an accomplished fact; it is human, and does not possess the sublime and immutable perfection of the divine goodness.

Accordingly we find the earthly life of Jesus characterized by absolute dependence upon God. This appears in his attitude and in his activities. His attitude is best described by the word *faith*, which the epistle to the Hebrews<sup>29</sup> emphasizes as characteristic of the Messiah. Again and again Jesus implies that his miracles are wrought through faith in God, and he tells the disci-

<sup>26</sup> 2: 40, 52.

<sup>28</sup> Heb. 2: 10, 18; 5: 8.

<sup>27</sup> Mark 10: 18.

<sup>29</sup> Heb. 2: 13; 12: 2.

ples that they fail because they lack faith.<sup>30</sup> As the natural expression of this faith, prayer is the constant source of Christ's strength to do or to suffer, prolonged prayer prepares him for the crises of his life and work,<sup>31</sup> and prayer is often, perhaps always, the first step towards a miracle.<sup>32</sup> Christ's activities are summed up under two heads, teaching and "works." He never ceases to affirm his absolute dependence on the Father in both. His teaching, he asserts, is not his own, and it is the Father who is doing his own works through him. Of both Jesus is the channel, not the source. Accordingly his whole life, the very purpose of his coming and mission, is described as doing, not his own will, but his Father's. It is a life of self-denial and cross-bearing, whose line is traced by obedience to the Father, since Christ's very sustenance is to do the Father's will. The motive of this obedience is love to the Father, and its reward is the love of the Father. Christ's object is to please the Father, and his success in this insures continued communion with the Father. He abides in God's love on the condition of steadfast obedience. It is this love which makes possible that continual coöperation with God which fills the life of Jesus; it is because "the Father loveth the Son" that "he showeth him all things that himself doeth." Thus controlled by love and obedience, "the Son can do nothing of himself." God's testimony to him is: "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased."<sup>33</sup>

This thoroughly human and religious aspect of his life is visible also in his relations to other men. He asks the Baptists' coöperation in order "to fulfill all righteousness," and emphasizes his work as the duty of the disciples as well as himself: "*We* must work the works of him that sent me while it is day: the night cometh when no man can work." He characterizes himself as meek and lowly in heart, and therefore able to help

<sup>30</sup> Matt. 14:31; 17:20; 21:21; Mark 9:29; Luke 8:25; 17:6.

<sup>31</sup> Mark 9:29; Luke 5:16; 6:12; 9:18, 28; 10:21; 11:1; 22, 32, 41; John 17.

<sup>32</sup> Matt. 14:19; 15:36; 21:22; 26:53; Mark 7:34; 9:29; John 9:31; 11:41f.

<sup>33</sup> John 7:16; 14:10; 5:30; 6:38; Luke 9:23; 14:27; John 4:34; 14:31; 15:10; 8:29; 5:19f., 30; 8:28, 42; Matt. 17:5.



the laboring and heavy-laden. Often he manifests keenest sympathy with human suffering.<sup>34</sup>

Finally we have a clear demonstration of the purely human character of the moral and religious life of Jesus in the way in which he uses it as an example for his disciples: "If ye keep my commandments, ye shall abide in my love; even as I have kept my Father's commandments, and abide in his love." Here he opens wide the door of his religious life and bids them enter in. If there is not open to the disciple a life really like the Master's in motive, action, and result, these words are mockery. Two truths are here involved: First, that we can enter into the sphere of Christ's earthly life and live in it; second, that as the earthly Christ in his humiliation lived in constant dependence on the heavenly Father, so we on earth are to live in constant dependence on the heavenly, the glorified Christ. The most pervasive thought of Christ's last counsels to his disciples is this, that the inspiration of the life of the disciple is to be found in the glorified Christ, even as the earthly Christ found his in his heavenly Father. Christ's love to the disciples is to be the light of their lives, as God's love was of his. Christ's love is also to be their example; his joy, his peace, his sense of God's encircling love are to be transferred to them, because their separation from the world and their mission in the world are like Christ's and demand a similar consecration.<sup>35</sup> Thus disciples enter into the secret of the earthly life of Jesus and possess it.

The moral status of Christ on earth has shown itself to us as thoroughly human; first, directly, in a brief analysis of its character; second, indirectly, as reflected in the exemplary value for his disciples, which Jesus ascribed to his earthly life. His apostles, in their turn, and Paul with them, have set this example before all the followers of Jesus. But, as already implied, this exemplary character of Christ's earthly life is possible only if he lived under the limitations of knowledge, power, and moral

<sup>34</sup> Matt. 3:15; John 9:4; Matt. 11:29; 9:36; 14:14; 20:34; Mark 1:41; John 11:35.

<sup>35</sup> John 15:9-12; 13:27; 17:13-26.

status, which we have tried to define. For if Jesus walked this earth in the halo of divine glory, clad in the might and majesty of the divine attributes, perfect in knowledge, in power, in changeless holiness, then he is no example for us, save as God himself presents a moral ideal. For then Christ bore little more than the semblance of human infirmity, and experienced only the shadow of temptation. This last point is well put by a recent writer in a dialogue between two of his characters:

"He triumphed over sin," said my visitor, "as if a text or a phrase were an argument." "A cheap triumph," I said. "You remember that Roman emperor who used to descend into the arena, fully armed, and pit himself against some poor wretch who had only a leaden foil which would double up at a thrust. According to your theory of your Master's life, you would have it that he faced temptations of this world at such an advantage that they were only harmless leaden things, and not the sharp assailants which we find them."<sup>36</sup>

A consciously omniscient, omnipotent, immutably holy being, walking this earth, could hardly even act the part of the weak and weary, the sorrowing and suffering, the tempted and tried. To such a one nothing could be contingent, nothing doubtful, nothing dangerous. How could one consciously possessing all power be tempted to seek right ends by wrong means? What effort would be necessary in one consciously omniscient to recognize Satan's voice and meaning in the most subtle suggestion of evil? What suffering could there be for divine immutable holiness when brought face to face with sin in any form, except the shock of the repulsive contact?

What progress in moral achievement is possible in the life of one whose stainless perfection and perfect holiness are consciously and unchangeably assured by his essential nature and attributes? Yet moral progress is the necessary foundation for example. Christ is our example, because, in all essentials for moral and religious living, he was a man like ourselves. Phillips Brooks entered a protest against that seventeenth century theology "whose Christ was a mysterious and unaccountable being, a true spiritual Melchizedek, without vivid and real human associations, without age, without realized locality, a dogma, a

<sup>36</sup> A. CONAN DOYLE, *Stark Munro Letters*, pp. 285f.

creed, a fulfillment of prophecy, an adjustment of relations, not a man."<sup>37</sup>

Such a Christ is like the saint in a painted window, glorious, indeed, with a light that is not of this world shining through it, but flat and cold and lifeless as an inspiration and an example to men.

The glorified Christ of faith does not fit into the circumstances of his earthly humiliation. The picture greatly transcends the frame.

But immediately the question presses: Have we not ransomed Christ's humanity at the price of his deity, his example at the expense of his saving power? On the contrary, his full and proper deity is possible only if it was hidden, not manifested, during his earthly life. The phrase, "God manifest in the flesh," is not found in the Revised Bible, and ought to be dropped by theologians, for it is a contradiction in terms. It is when we try to find in the miraculous powers of Jesus the attributes of his deity that we imperil that deity. Undoubtedly, in knowledge, power, goodness, he surpassed all others. Yet these endowments fell far short of the omniscience, omnipotence, perfection of absolute deity. And when we try to make of these earthly endowments the divine attributes of the glorified Christ, their limitations become the limitations of his deity—again a contradiction in terms. Thus Christ would become a being intermediate between God and man far below the standard of the divine. This is false, not only to theology, but also to history. Not only are Christ's earthly endowments inadequate as direct evidence of his deity, but they were never treated as such by him or by his disciples.

They were manifested, according to the New Testament, only after the baptism, as the result of that anointing for service, bestowed in the descent of the Spirit upon Jesus. And his moral status, while it included two correlate factors not found in other men, sinlessness and unbroken communion with God, was, nevertheless, entirely and consciously human. His sinless perfection was the result of conflict against temptation, waged

<sup>37</sup> *Influence of Jesus*, p. 79.

with no weapons which we cannot wield, and his relation to God was religion, humble, devoted, prayerful.

But far more conspicuous than the human limitation encircling Jesus in his humiliation on earth is the divine glory which surrounds the Christ in his exaltation at God's right hand. The unconscious restraint in the gospels is much less evident than the untrammelled freedom of the other books. Their authors almost seem to vie one with another in the splendor of the predicates lavished on the Great Head of the church. "The Lord" supreme is his most constant title,<sup>38</sup> and with it is associated the frequent and unreserved application to Christ of Jehovah passages from the Old Testament.<sup>39</sup> Omniscience,<sup>40</sup> omnipotence,<sup>41</sup> omnipresence,<sup>42</sup> immutability,<sup>43</sup> eternity<sup>44</sup> are recognized as his attributes. Divine honors of prayer and praise, of worship and adoration, are paid to him by these Jews, to whom worship of man or angel would be blasphemy.<sup>45</sup> It is a striking fact that probably the earliest name for Christians was "worshippers of Jesus." By this they were distinguished from the Jews, who shared with them the worship of Jehovah.<sup>46</sup> In all religious relations to the church and the individual Christian, Christ is supreme. The only limit observed is a subordination to the Father, not of essence or attribute, but of office and work.<sup>47</sup>

But here a final question confronts us. We have tried to show the consistency, the underlying unity, between the Christ of history and the Christ of faith. Yet we must still inquire how the first disciples made the transition from one to the other. The

<sup>38</sup> *E. g.*, 1 Cor. 8:6; Phil. 2:11; 2 Cor. 4:5; 1 Cor. 12:3; Jude 4.

<sup>39</sup> *E. g.*, Rom. 10:13; 1 Cor. 2:16; 10:9; Heb. 1:10 f.; 1 Pet. 3:14 f.; Rev. 2:23.

<sup>40</sup> Rev. 1:14; 2:23; 1 Cor. 4:5.

<sup>41</sup> Eph. 1:20 f.; Phil. 2:10; Col. 1:18; Heb. 1:3; Rev. 19:16.

<sup>42</sup> Rev. 5:6; Eph. 1:23; Matt. 28:20.

<sup>43</sup> Heb. 1:12; 13:8.

<sup>44</sup> 1 John 1:1 f.; John 1:1 f.; Rev. 22:13; Heb. 7:3.

<sup>45</sup> 2 Cor. 12:8; Acts 7:59 f.; 1 Thes. 3:11 f.; Rev. 5:8-14; Phil. 2:10; 2 Tim. 4:18; Acts 10:25 f.; 14:14 f.; Rev. 19:10; 22:8.

<sup>46</sup> Acts 9:14, 21; 1 Cor. 1:2; *cf.* ZAHN, "Adoration of Jesus," *Bibliotheca Sacra*, April and July, 1894.

<sup>47</sup> *E. g.*, 1 Cor. 15:24-28.

biblical answer is simple and unmistakable: It was under the guidance of the Holy Spirit. The first preaching of the Christ as risen, glorified, seated at God's right hand, the Lord supreme, is the initial manifestation of the Spirit's power. As the advent of the Spirit is the fulfillment of Christ's promise, so his work is the glorification of Jesus as Lord.<sup>48</sup> But this work would have been incomprehensible, well-nigh impossible, unless it was founded on the teachings of Jesus. On this foundation we can trace the development by the Spirit of two lines of connection between the Christ of history and the Christ of faith; the identity of his office as mediator, and the identity of his person as divine

*First*, the identity of office. As formerly on earth, so now in heaven, with widest difference of attribute and circumstance, Christ is still the mediator of the moral law and the forgiveness of sins, of salvation and resurrection, of judgment and life eternal. This identity of office manifests identity of person, because the mediatorship attaches primarily neither to the attributes nor to the circumstances of the Christ, but to his person, whether in humiliation or exaltation; though, of course, the attributes and circumstances of each sphere are necessary to the development of his mediatorial ability. Thus only as mortal can he become the propitiatory sacrifice, only as divine can he officiate as the eternal High Priest; yet on the earthly offering is based the heavenly intercession.

*Second*, the identity of Christ's person as divine. Here the process of development is the same. The synoptic gospels give us premises which the Spirit would use. The claims of Jesus override all earth's dearest affections, even that for life itself. He emphasizes the unique character of the reciprocal relation which includes God and himself and excludes all others. He promises to exercise omnipotence and omnipresence in behalf of his disciples in their world-wide work.<sup>49</sup> Especially in the whole picture of the second advent and the final judgment, which the prophets had brought into the foreground of the

<sup>48</sup> Acts 1:4 f.; cf. John 16:7; 1 Cor. 12:3; cf. John 16:14; 14:26.

<sup>49</sup> Luke 14:26; Matt. 11:27; 28:18, 20.

national hope, Jesus replaces the central figure of Jehovah with himself. This is manifestly the lead which the New Testament writers followed, in the freedom with which (as we have seen) they applied Old Testament Jehovah passages to the Christ.

Yet the tradition underlying the synoptic gospels is inadequate to account for the fullness with which the teaching of Christ's divinity was developed in the apostolic church. The words of Weizsäcker (in 1864) are still worth citing: "The strong apostolic faith which has assured to Christianity its permanent existence in the world can be explained only on the assumption that the life of Jesus stood on such a lofty plane as the fourth gospel permits us to discern. We have every reason to suppose that this derivation of the belief in the higher nature of Jesus from his own words and deeds sprang from a historical conviction of the writer himself. For this delineation of Jesus exactly corresponds to the mighty effect produced by the whole personality, and is necessary in order to explain how the faith in this person so soon came to be the essence of Christianity."<sup>50</sup> In a word, a self-attestation of Jesus, such as the fourth gospel gives, is necessary to account for the faith of the apostolic church.

This is clearly seen in the apostolic teaching concerning the preëxistence of the Son of God. We hear of the preëxistence doctrine of Paul, of Hebrews, of the fourth gospel, and of the apocalypse. Strictly speaking, such doctrines do not exist. We have a Pauline doctrine of justification by faith, and of Christian freedom from the law, for we find Paul arguing on these subjects and seeking to establish his views. But in the New Testament there is no argument for the fact of the preëxistence of the Son of God, nor for its eternity, nor for its divine nature. A belief in the eternal, divine preëxistence of the Son of God underlies, not only the differing expressions of the various writers, but also the faith which they presuppose in their readers. This is assumed, nowhere argued or established. It is assumed as the faith of Christians in Rome, in Corinth, in Galatia, in Philippi, in Colossæ, among the Jews addressed in Hebrews,

<sup>50</sup> *Untersuchungen*, pp. 287 f.

and the Gentiles for whom the Johannean writings were destined. There is no trace of its being even an inference independently drawn by each writer from common premises ; rather is it one of the fundamentals of the common Christianity.

I do not see how it is possible to explain the universal assumption<sup>51</sup> of the eternal, divine preëxistence of the Son of God, in the apostolic church, unless Jesus himself claimed it. And this is an illustration of a wider truth. It is, unless I greatly err, impossible to account for the Christology of the apostolic church, unless Jesus was such a person and made such claims as the fourth gospel represents.

We have endeavored to mediate between the Christ of history and the Christ of faith by indicating the consistency and connection between them in the New Testament teachings. May not those who today feel acutely the differences between Jesus as "manifested in the flesh" and as "preached among the nations" profit by the experience of the apostolic church ?

<sup>51</sup> 1 Pet. 1 : 11 does not preclude, though it does not imply, belief in the *personal* preëxistence of the Son of God.

## ELEMENTS OF PERSUASION IN PAUL'S ADDRESS ON MARS' HILL, AT ATHENS.

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IN ORDER adequately to estimate the elements of persuasion in Paul's address on Mars' Hill, we need to look briefly at three preliminaries: Paul's aim in his discourse; the character of the audience; and the surroundings amid which he spoke. Masterly speech must always take account of these.

Paul's aim was so to present the subject of the nature of the one true God and his relations to men as to lead his audience to conviction and repentance of the sin of idolatry and to faith in Jesus Christ.

Paul's hearers were the same whom he had reasoned with in the market just prior to going to Mars' Hill. They were Athenians. Some were philosophers. These were of the Epicurean and the Stoic schools, the practical philosophers of the time. Their doctrines were in irreconcilable conflict with the teachings of Christianity. The Epicureans opposed the claims of the gospel by the indulgence of their sensual natures; the Stoics by the self-sufficiency of their intellectual pride and of their moral rectitude. Others, though not philosophers, belonged to the educated class, priding themselves, doubtless, upon their mental culture, their nice æsthetic sense, and the profusion of the works of art adapted to minister to it. Still others were the more ordinary persons found in every center of population. Most of the audience must have been idolaters. The entire company was characterized by intellectual curiosity and moral frivolousness. As we study the address, we shall see how admirably it was fitted to the foregoing classes.

Paul spoke on Mars' Hill,<sup>1</sup> of all spots in Athens the best

<sup>1</sup> Professor Ramsay thinks that the speech was not delivered on the hill. The



adapted to sober his hearers into at least a temporary seriousness. It was here that the Athenians held their solemn judicial assemblies, as on the neighboring hill of the Pnyx were convened their political gatherings. The top of Areopagus was reached by passing out of the Agora and up sixteen steps cut out of the rock on the southeastern angle of the hill. The philosophers may have been seated on the stone bench facing the south, reserved for the Areopagite judges when the court was in session. The others of the audience occupied the stone steps and the surface above. Paul stood facing the east. At his right, on the edge of the Areopagus, stood the temple of Mars, for whom the hill was named. Beyond the temple of Mars stretched the Agora, on the opposite edge of which was the Pnyx. On his left, also on the edge of the hill, stood the temple of the Eumenides, and beyond it, towards the north, was situated the temple of Theseus. In front of him was the Acropolis, with its magnificent entrance, the Propylæa, at the right of which stood the temple of Victory. Still beyond, crowning the Acropolis, was the Parthenon. At the left of it rose the colossal statue of Minerva, armed with spear, and helmet, and shield, the protectress of Athens. In every direction were numerous smaller temples, and a forest of images. Amid such surroundings Paul delivered his matchless address.

"It was," as Canon Wordsworth says, "in perfect congruity with the place in which he was addressing his hearers. Nothing could present a grander, and, if we may so speak, a more picturesque and scenic illustration of his subject than the objects with which he was surrounded. In this respect, nature and reality painted, at the time and on the spot, a nobler cartoon of St. Paul preaching at Athens than the immortal Raffaele has since done." Dr. Hackett, speaking of the influence of the environment upon himself, says: "The writer can never forget the emotions of thrilling interest which were excited in his own mind as he read and rehearsed the discourse on that 'memorable rock.'" And Dr. Edward Robinson, writing under the impres-

writer cannot see that Professor Ramsay has made out his case. Professor Mahaffy says: "On the whole, the top of the hill seems to me more likely."

sion produced by a personal survey of the scene, remarks that "Masterly as the address is, as we read it under ordinary circumstances, the full force and energy and boldness of the apostle's language can be duly felt only when one has stood upon the spot." If, then, we shall study, to best advantage, the persuasive elements of the address, we shall need the continual aid of the imagination in picturing the audience and the surroundings.

Paul himself was a persuasive force on Mars' Hill.

The central value, perhaps, of Phillips Brooks's noble *Yale Lectures* consists in the emphasis he puts upon the personalness of powerful preaching—a truth uniquely true of his own preaching, and largely the secret of its rare fascination and influence. "Truth through personality," he says, "is our description of preaching. The truth must come really through the person, not merely over his lips, not merely into his understanding and out through his pen. It must come through his character, his affections, his whole intellectual and moral being." Analysis of the sources of all effective utterance always discloses the prominence of the personal element in the speaker. When, however, we study a particular speaker for the purpose of discovering precisely what persuasive qualities he contributes to his speech, how delicate, how baffling the task! This is due to the mysteriousness of human personality. It is comparatively easy to pick out, by a process of analysis, the leading characteristics of great orators. But it is surpassingly difficult to put together again, by the opposite process of synthesis, those characteristics, possessed largely in common, it may be, by a number of eloquent speakers, and to pronounce why it is that in one man they are so much more powerful than in another. Doubly difficult though it is in the case of a man of Paul's rich personality to find the sources of his personal effectiveness in speech, we may yet discern some of them as he spoke on Mars' Hill.

The following were prominent: his deep-seated monotheistic conviction, owing to the fact that he was a Jew; his Christian faith and love, the very core of his inmost being; his consciousness of apostleship; his thoroughly stirred sensibility, the result

of the discussions in the market from which he has just come; and, combined with this last, his complete self-mastery, the two working together to make on the audience the impression of reserved power, a prime requisite in powerful speech. All these were heightened by his wonderful personality, that was swayed by his regnant aim in his discourse, intrinsically so noble, and so admirably fitted to his hearers. With all these oratorical forces in harmonious and potent coöperation, what indefinable intensity and boldness must Paul have imparted to his words, and with how subtle a fascination must he have chained his hearers and subdued them, so far as their frivolous natures could be subdued by his impressive eloquence!

Turning now to the address, we find that its persuasive qualities inhere mainly in three things: in the materials themselves; in Paul's treatment of the materials; and in his management of his hearers.

It has sometimes been maintained that Paul's usual wisdom in address largely failed him at Athens. This has been inferred from his statement to the Corinthians: "I determined not to know anything among you, save Jesus Christ, and him crucified;" as if, in his own opinion, he had made a mistake in the character of the contents of his speech to the Athenians; as if, once, which was enough, he had tried to convince an intellectual and philosophical audience by the use of their own methods, and had failed; but now turned to the one theme of "Christ, and him crucified," to which he would ever after cling. Nothing could be wider of the mark. If ever the apostle manifested a remarkable sagacity in fitting the contents of his speeches to the character of his audiences, he did so conspicuously at Athens. It is impossible to see with what other kind of materials he could have gained and held the attention of his fickle hearers and made the slightest serious impression upon their shallow natures. If his remark about himself was true, anywhere or at any time in his apostolic ministry, it was notably true at Athens: "To the Jews I became as a Jew, that I might gain Jews; to the weak I became weak, that I might gain the weak; I am become all things to all men that I may by all means save some."

That Paul erred in the choice of his materials and in his method of presenting them has been maintained also upon the ground of the failure of his address on Mars' Hill. Was it a failure? "Certain men clave unto him and believed; among whom, also, was Dionysius, the Areopagite, and a woman named Damaris, and others with them" (Acts 17:34). If Paul's Athenian converts are both weighed and counted, his success will be seen to have been not inconsiderable. Should a Christian preacher of our time, through a single sermon that an audience would not permit him to finish, persuade to faith in Christ a judge of a high court, and several others, would not his success be counted extraordinary? All too long have good men disparaged and even misrepresented the influence of Paul's address on the Areopagus. Canon Wordsworth truthfully says: "St. Paul's speech at Athens—both in what he does say and in what he does not say—is the model and pattern to all Christian missionaries for their addresses to the heathen world." And the writer has been informed by one of our ablest, most skillful, and most successful missionaries that he instructs his native preachers to make a large use of this speech in their first approaches to their heathen hearers, and that it is found to be excellently adapted to awaken attention and to gain entrance for the gospel.

An analysis of the contents of the address shows that it moved almost entirely within the realm of what we call natural theology—the only theology that lay next to the mind and heart and conscience of Paul's audience. Nearly the whole speech is divided between theology and anthropology (vss. 22–29). The closing part moves out of the field of natural theology into that of Christology (vss. 30, 31). The nature of the one true God and his relations to mankind, as they can be learned from the material universe and from human nature, are nearly the sole burden of what Paul says. And when we see what truths touching the Godhead he derived, either explicitly or implicitly, from this twofold source, we are amazed at the wealth of the convincing material he put before his hearers. Those truths are such as God's unity, personality, spirituality, independence or self-sufficiency, omniscience, omnipotence, omnipresence, benevo-

lence, righteousness, providence, immanence, and transcendence. Apart from Paul's skillful handling of such materials, there is an intrinsic contrast between them and the external temples and idols, and the opinions and conduct of the Athenians that must have made its own proper appeal to those who listened to him as he presented them with all the force of his profound conviction, touching their truthfulness, and of his stirred, yet restrained, sensibility.

If, however, the very materials of the speech contained a persuasive element, how much more Paul's masterly treatment of the materials!

The logical structure of the address was exactly adapted to his cultivated hearers, and must have had some influence in gaining and holding their attention, and in producing conviction. In respect to its method, it is the most finished of all Paul's addresses that have been preserved to us; and, on general principles, we should say the most finished that ever fell from his lips. It has the four chief parts of a well-ordered public discourse—the introduction (vss. 20, 23); the proposition (vs. 23); the development (vss. 24–28); the conclusion (vss. 29–31)—which takes two forms, an inference (vs. 29) and an application (vss. 30, 31).

There are several characteristics of the style that constitute its persuasive quality. Prominent among these, in Luke's report of the speech, are: First, coherence—the parts of the address, its very sentences and words, are held together in the firm grip of logical consecutiveness. Next, compactness—there is a kind of density in the expression of the thoughts which, while it does not make them heavy in the ordinary rhetorical sense of that term, imparts to them both "weight and speed;" "and that combination," as Professor Phelps says, "is always power; it is like the power of the cannon ball." Further, pertinency—every word is aimed straight at the mark, and is winged thither with the unerring certainty of the severe purpose of the orator to carry his point. Lastly, clearness, energy, elegance, simplicity, boldness, mark the speech—all of which are requisites in effective utterance.

There is one characteristic of Paul's unfolding of his theme so prominent and intrinsically so impressive and convincing in eloquence that it must be singled out and dwelt upon in our study of the address—the principle of antithesis. It has been said already that in the character of the materials themselves there is at least a latent contrast that could hardly have been without influence upon the audience. But when we see the tact with which Paul marshaled his materials, how, at every turn, he made the truth of the Godhead stand out against the error of idolatry, we are profoundly impressed with his consummate oratorical genius. This element of antithesis is, on the whole, the most commanding one in all the addresses of Peter and of Paul recorded in the Acts. There is a notable example of it in Peter's speech in the temple, as found in Acts, chap. 3, especially in vss. 13, 14, 15. It occurs in every part of Paul's discourse on Mars' Hill. It marks the beginning of it, but appears more conspicuously, of course, in the unfolding of his argument. Perhaps the paraphrasing of his proof will most effectively set forth the antithesis that pervades the address. We shall be aided in this by keeping in mind Paul's ruling object in speaking to his Athenian hearers. In the course of his reasoning he makes four chief characterizations of idolatry, and this he does by constantly setting God over against idolatry—the superflu-ousness of idolatry (vss. 24, 25), its falsity (vs. 26), its absurdity (vs. 29), its wickedness (vs. 30). With such a fourfold arraignment of the statues, the temples, and the worship of the Athenians, the wonder is that they suffered him to continue as long as they did. It certainly bears ample witness to Paul's commanding skill in address.

The first section of the development deals with theology proper. The antithetical element here is directed against both the idol worshipers and the two schools of philosophy represented in the audience. Both the Epicureans and the Stoics would go with the apostle in his thrust against idolatry as superfluous, for they did not really believe in idolatry. But they would not allow the conclusions touching their own views, that must inevitably flow from his premises.

The God who created the world, and all things that are, and who, because of his creatorship, is sovereign in heaven and on earth, cannot be confined in these sanctuaries on the Acropolis, and scattered about the city, which were built by human hands. Such a Being must be omnipresent. An idol can be nothing to him. Besides, the very operations of the one true God in giving out of himself to all, and sustaining in all "life and breath, and all things," preclude his being served by the gifts and offerings that are brought to the shrines of idols, as though he needed these for the completing of his perfections. Such a Being is self-sufficing and independent of his creatures. Idolatry is superfluous (vss. 24, 25). Moreover, this doctrine of God, as an omnipotent and omniscient Creator, sweeps away the notion of the Epicureans here present, who affirm, in their unfounded speculations, that the material universe is the product of the fortuitous concurrence of blind atoms. Further, the doctrine of providence involved in the universal Lordship of the all-powerful, all-knowing, and all-sufficing God cannot tolerate the Epicurean teaching of the divine indifference, and the Stoical doctrine of fate.

The second section of the development is concerned with anthropology (vss. 26-28). Here Paul brings the antithesis to bear upon the following chief topics: the falsity of idolatry (vs. 26), the race pride of the Athenians (vs. 26), God's ethical purpose in his providential dealings with the nations (vs. 27), their benighted condition notwithstanding the divine purpose and immanence, and "the divine affinity of man" (vss. 27, 28).

Idolatry is false. The falsity of nature worship, as it appears in polytheism, is evident from the fact of the unity of mankind, which fact is grounded in the unity of the true God who is the sole author of the various nations on the face of the whole earth. Moreover, the race pride of the Athenians, who think that their origin is unique, and who boast of its superiority over that of the rest of mankind, is rebuked on the ground of their absolute dependence—together with all the nations of the world—upon God, the common creator and sustainer of men for both the very place of their abode and the time of their continuance

as a people. This dependent relation to God should lead them to turn away from the falseness of idol worship, and should awaken within them respectful and obedient heed to his communications to them of his will (vs. 26). And it was God's ethical purpose in his creation of, and wise beneficence to, the nations of the earth, that they should seek and serve him. He intended all things to be for the glory of his will, that he might be all in all. "God is the Author, the Governor, and the End of the world's history; from God, through God, to God." This was his plan. But men have broken away from it. And the consequence is that the heathen nations are in a benighted condition, notwithstanding God is so near to them, and his immanence has been recognized by the heathen themselves, as expressed by one of their own poets. This very recognition by men of their dependence on God should have led them to acknowledge him in his true nature, and have preserved them from the falseness and sin of idolatry (vss. 27, 28).<sup>2</sup>

Passing out from the body of the speech into the conclusion (vss. 29-31), we find that in the first part of it, the inference (vs. 29) Paul continues his attack upon idolatry with the same weapon of antithesis that he has so skillfully handled in his main argument.

Idolatry is not only superfluous, not only false, it is absurd. Its absurdity appears from the concession of one of their own poets that men are the offspring of God. If men are thus conscious of their kinship with God, it is the height of absurdity for them to liken the Godhead unto materials such as gold, silver, stone, so heterogeneous to themselves. If men are living, spiritual beings, they bear witness within that the Godhead, whence they are sprung, must possess spirituality. And this cannot be a property of dead, material idols. Indeed, by their course in idolatry they give practical denial of their avowed consciousness of their divine origin. It is a flagrant and strange violation of their duty to suppose that the products of their artistic workmanship in metal and stone can possess a divine

<sup>2</sup> Reference to the Greek text is essential to a full appreciation of the nice exactness with which Paul expressed himself, and of his striking use of antithesis.



quality. Could intelligent men be chargeable with a more unaccountable and humiliating absurdity?

In the remainder of the conclusion (vss. 30, 31)—the christological portion of the discourse—which contains the application of the principal argument, and of the inference at the beginning of the conclusion, Paul still arraigns idolatry by the use of antithesis.

Idolatry is not only superfluous, not only false, not only absurd; it is wicked. Its very absurdity increases its wickedness, and places men under moral obligation to repent of its wickedness. This obligation is now vastly deepened on the ground that, although God, in his forbearance, overlooked the former times of ignorance, he now commands men that they should all everywhere repent. And this he does because of their exposure to the retributions of a future righteous judgment appointed of God, and to be held by a God-appointed representative, an assurance of which God has given to all men in raising their Judge from the dead. Under these circumstances the wickedness of idol worship is clearly manifest, and those who refuse to abandon it are counted verily guilty before God, and will receive from him condign punishment.

Having considered the elements of persuasion that mark Paul's treatment of his materials, we turn to those that are found in his management of his hearers. This may be the better appreciated by premising two things which show his great disadvantage before his audience at the outset of the address:

First, the intrinsic difficulty of his task in view of his ruling aim, which was, as we have already seen, to point out the folly and the guilt of idolatry in such a way as not only not to give offense to his hearers, but also, and chiefly, to induce them to abandon it as wicked, and savingly to believe in Jesus Christ.

Secondly, the difficulty of presenting such a theme, with such an aim, to his hearers in their present temper. Both their intellectual and emotional natures were strongly against him. It must be borne in mind that they were fresh from the Agora, where Paul had thoroughly aroused their antagonism by crossing their pride and their prejudice in persistently arguing about

Jesus and the resurrection. Thus Paul and his hearers were oratorically very wide apart when he stood up to address them. His first and chief task was to bridge the chasm. Surely, his was a hard undertaking on Mars' Hill! His consummate tact in prosecuting it marks him as a man of rare homiletic instinct.

Paul's first step in securing common ground with his Athenian audience consisted in the order in which he addressed the different parts of their natures: first, the sensibility; secondly, the intellect; thirdly, the conscience. There was persuasiveness in this.

His second step was the way in which he addressed their religious sensibility, the most sensitive region, and the quickest to respond, in the majority of his hearers. This he did by a most aptly framed conciliatory introduction. When Paul went up to Mars' Hill he was resting under the accusation from his audience of being "a setter forth of strange Gods." Before he could gain a hearing for his argument, and have any influence over his audience, he must remove the force of that accusation by showing that he was no mere innovator or iconoclast. He at once allayed their prejudice against him by speaking of their religiousness, which was so great that they could not be satisfied with worshiping the statues that were erected to the circle of their mythological divinities, but had an altar dedicated to "an unknown God." The presence of this altar with its inscription was evidence of their zeal to recognize all the divine powers of the universe. He was the preacher of that "unknown God," whom they and he alike acknowledged. He knew more of Him than they did. Then, with a skillful turn of the sentence, he passed from his conciliatory exordium to the statement of his theme. What they were worshiping in partial ignorance he would fully and plainly set forth to them. This was to be his one endeavor in his entire address. There was thus something persuasive in the bare wording of his proposition. The audience was now in his power.

Having gained common ground with his hearers at the very beginning of his discourse, he held it by three masterly persuasive strokes. The first, by quoting from a heathen poet, a Greek

poet at that, in confirmation of an important statement of the speech at a critical juncture in the progress of his argument — just as he is about to pass to an inference with which he wishes to probe their consciences. The second, by identifying himself with his hearers in rebuking them of the sinfulness of their idolatry: "We ought not to think that the Godhead is like unto gold or silver, or stone graven by art and device of man." "What a delicate and penetrating attack on heathen worship!" says Meyer. And Bengel remarks: "Clemens locutio, præsertim in prima persona plurali." The third, in repressing the name of Christ, while centering attention at last upon him in connection with the judgment and the resurrection. To have mentioned his name in that part of the address would have been oratorically fatal, since it was that name, together with the resurrection, that had so intensely excited his hearers as Paul argued with them in the market just before going up to Mars' Hill for the fuller unfolding of his doctrine. Had the apostle been permitted to finish his address, he might, as was his wont, have presented the name of Christ joined with an appeal to the exercise of faith in him as the only Savior of mankind.

In closing this study of the elements of persuasion in this carefully wrought address of Paul on Mars' Hill, it is pertinent to remark that there is a vital alliance between apt, well-ordered discourse and the work of the Holy Spirit, the real source of efficiency in Christian preaching. He and the preacher are coworkers for the glory of God in starting and in building Christian character. The best work of the Holy Spirit upon human nature, in his sphere, is conditioned largely, if not wholly, on the preacher's best work upon human nature, in his sphere. The Spirit is no sanctifier of ignorance, of blundering in the ministry. It is the function of the preacher to present as persuasively as possible, in conformity with the constitution of the human soul, Christian truth to the mind, the conscience, the heart, and the will of the hearer. It is the function of the Holy Spirit to use the well-directed Christian truth, that the preacher has placed at the Spirit's disposal, in imparting divine life to the hearer. Indeed, it is not too much to assert that, apart from the

preacher's nicest psychological adaptation of means to ends in attempting to secure persuasion, it is wrong to expect the coöperative aid of the Holy Spirit. Nay more: by neglecting to observe the conditions of effective discourse, so far as it lies in the preacher's power to furnish them, he dishonors that Spirit, since he actually hinders the Spirit's working. Paul used his largest wisdom, and took the utmost pains, to fit the substance and the form of his discourse to the minds and hearts and wills of his hearers. Every preacher who is sincerely and earnestly striving for the largest success in his ministry should seek to imitate the apostle in this. True are the words of Phillips Brooks, with which he ends his lecture on "The Making of a Sermon," and they appropriately close this study: "Today I have been thinking of one whom I knew—nay, whom I know—who finished his preaching years ago and went to God. How does all this seem to him?—these rules and regulations of the preacher's art, which he once studied as we are studying them now. Let us not doubt that, while he has seen a glory and strength in the truth which we preach, such as we never have conceived, he has seen also that no expedient which can make that truth a little more effective in its presentation to the world is trivial or undignified, or unworthy of the patient care and study of the minister of Christ."

## CRITICAL NOTES.

### THE STRUCTURE OF THE SONG OF DEBORAH.

THE Song of Deborah occupies an especially prominent place in old Hebrew literature. The most radical criticism does not venture to doubt the genuineness of the song, and regards it in general as a contemporary poem, which describes the events and delineates the conditions as seen by an eyewitness. The song, which arose about the twelfth century B. C., is also remarkable from the fact that the canon has transmitted to us the old and original division into linear arrangement. In spite of these favorable conditions, I have hitherto been unable, after repeated attempts, to discover the strophical structure of the song. Very recently, however, I believe that I have found the key to the strophical construction, which is indeed very complex. It would, perhaps, not be uninteresting to state the method by which I acquired the knowledge of its structure.

Starting with the assumption that rigid thought-divisions must be the mark of a strophical paragraph, and that either parallelism or antithesis must bind together two successive strophes, I recognized in vss. 24-27 and in 28-30 two such paragraphs. Of these, the first delineates the tragical overthrow of Sisera in the tent of Jael, where he sought hospitality and found death; the second describes the anxious waiting of the mother of Sisera, who is solicitous for the long delay of her son, and as well as she can seeks to console herself. Two situations more different in fact and in thought, yet intimately connected, can scarcely be the product of poetical phantasy. A glance at the text convinced me that, as it is presented to us, it is in full harmony with the rhythm; that it numbers in the two paragraphs *twelve* and *eleven* lines respectively, in which I believe that I have recognized the trace of the strophical construction. Aside from the parallelism in thought of the two strophes, their last three lines exhibit, by the repetition of the same thought in similar words, a certain symmetry in construction.

After a further examination of the song I was convinced that vss. 12-15<sup>abc</sup> and 15<sup>de</sup>-18 form a similar pair of strophes. In the

one, the willingness to fight, and the self-sacrifice of the tribes who took part in the battle, are praised; in the other, the preference of private interests to the common good is held up to contempt and censure. Both strophes again exhibit  $12 + 11$  lines and several traces of parallelism in word and subject-matter, and are thereby shown to be a counterpart to the pair of strophes at the end of the song.

Between the two pairs of strophes stand vss. 19-23, which picture the overthrow, and delineate, in an exceedingly concise and vivid way, the *battle*, the *victory* (or *defeat*), and the *flight*. This middle section, a kind of *entre-filet* between the two pairs of strophes, exhibits a peculiar structure. It falls according to thought and subject into three parts of  $4 + 7 + 4$  lines. The *first* short strophe gives a picture of the charge of the allied kings, who fought, not with the cowardice of mercenary troops, but with desperate courage, yet to no purpose, because (as stated in the *second* strophe) the forces of nature had combined against them, the stars of heaven and the brook Kishon had fought against them. That this unified strophe, which delineates the battle, was consciously constructed by the poet in two paragraphs (the charge and the resistance) is shown in the double parallelism in the first two lines of each strophe (נלחמנו). The two paragraphs together number eleven lines, but since these are divided into two subparagraphs of four and seven lines respectively, symmetry requires another four-line paragraph, which is furnished in vs. 23. In this verse the inhabitants of the adjacent territory are censured because they had taken no part in the battle, nor in the pursuit of the fleeing enemy. The additional short strophe is again, by a double antithetic parallelism (אורי), in the first two lines of each united with the following strophe (חברך). Consequently, the result is a complete, symmetrical structure:

$$(12+11)+(4+7+4)+(12+11).$$

It remains to consider the prologue of the song, which is given in vss. 2-11. This falls, according to its content, into three paragraphs:

The *first* (vss. 2-5) contains the address, the praise of Jahweh, and the remembrance of his powerful and mighty appearance in *former times*.

The *second* paragraph (vss. 6-8) brings to mind the wretched conditions in the *immediate past*, before the uprising under Deborah, when the tribes, rent asunder by diversities of worship, were not able to withstand any enemy.

The *third* paragraph (vss. 9-11), whose first two lines correspond

to the first paragraph, delineates the self-sacrificing uprising under Deborah which terminates in victory. Metrically, the introduction forms a descending strophical formation ( $11+10+9$ ), in which 11 again appears as a metrical unit.

The entire song concludes with two lines which gather up the moral of the narrative. This has been added, perhaps, by the poet himself; perhaps by a later writer.

I exhibit below the strophical structure of the song according to my conception of it, retaining the traditional division into lines :

## JUDGES, CHAP. 5.

## TRANSLATION.

1	ותשר דבורה וברק בן אבינעם ביום ההוא לאמר	Then sang Deborah and Barak the son of Abinoam thus :
2	בפרע פרעות בישראל בהתנדב עם ברכו יהוה	When a leader arose in <i>Israel</i> , <i>The people offered themselves willingly— praise Jahweh!</i>
3	שמעו מלכים האזינו רזנים אנכי ליהוה אנכי אשירה אזמר ליהוה אלהי ישראל	Hear, ye kings, give ear, ye rulers ! I, to Jahweh I will sing, I will play to Jahweh, Israel's God :
4	יהוה בצאתך משעיר בצעדך משדי אדום: ארץ רעשה גם שמים נטפו גם עבים נטפו מים הרים נזלו מפני יהוה	Jahweh, when thou wentest forth from Seir, When thou marchdest from the fields of Edom, The earth quaked, even the heavens dropped down, Yea, the clouds dropped water. Mountains dissolved (quaked violently) before Jahweh,
5	זה סיני מפני יהוה אלהי ישראל	This Sinai before Jahweh, Israel's God.
6	בימי שמגר בן ענת בימי יעל חדלו ארחות והלכי נתיבות ילכו ארחות עקלקות חדלו פרוץ בישראל חדלו	In the days of Shamgar the son of Anath. In the days of Jael, the highways were a waste And travelers sought out byways. There was no leadership in Israel, there was none,
7	עד שקמתי דבורה שקמתי אם בישראל מגן אם יראה ורמה בארבעים אלה בישראל יבחר אלהים חדשים אז לחם שערים:	Until thou, O Deborah, didst arise, Didst arise as a mother in Israel. Neither shield was seen nor spear, Among forty thousand in Israel; They (the people) chose new gods, Then war was at their gates.
9	לבי לחקקי ישראל	My heart (belongs) to the leaders in Israel

<sup>1</sup> Vs. 8 has been transposed;  $8a + b$  after

המתנדבים בעם ברכו יהוה	<i>Who offered themselves willingly with the people—praise Jahweh!</i>	
רכבי אתונות צהרות	They who ride on reddish white she-asses,	10
ישבי על מדין	They who recline on [choice] coverings,	
והלכי על דרך שיחו	They who travel on the highway—proclaim it!	
מקול מחצצים בין משאבים	Louder than the voices [of those that tread the gravel-walk <sup>2</sup> ] between the water drawing,	11
שם יתנו צדקות יהוה	They praise there the victories of Jahweh	
צדקות פרוצונו בישראל	The victories of his leadership in Israel	
אז ירדו לשערים עם יהוה	Since he came down to the <i>gates</i> of Jahweh's people.	
<hr/>		
עורי עורי דבורה	Rouse thee, rouse thee, O Deborah!	12
עורי עורי דברי שיר	Rouse thee, rouse thee, strike up the song.	
קום ברק ושבה שבדך בן אבינעם	Up, Barak, and bring in thy booty, son of Abinoam!	
אז ירד שריד לאדירים עם	Then came down the little band of heroes,	13
יהוה ירד לי בגבורים	Jahweh's people came down with the heroes.	
מני אפרים שרשם בעמלק	Out of Ephraim (they come), whose root is (mount) Amalek.	
אחריד <sup>3</sup> בנימין בעממך	After him thou followest, O Benjamin, with thy tribes.	14
מני מכיר ירדו מחקקים	From <i>Machir</i> (Manasseh) the leaders are coming down	
ומזבולן משכים בשבט ספר	And from Zebulun those who wave the commander's staff.	
ושרי ביששכר עם דבורה	And the princes of Issachar with Deborah	15
ונפתליו <sup>4</sup> כן ברק	And [ <i>Naphthali</i> ] as Barak's	
בעמק שלח ברגליו	Into the <i>plain</i> on foot they rushed headlong.	
בפלגות ראובן	In the valleys of Reuben—	
גדלים חקקי לב	Were there great heart-decisions.	
למה ישבת בין המשפחים	Why did you remain among the flocks	16
לשמע שריקות עדרים	To listen to the pipings of the herds (-men)?	
לפלגות ראובן גדלים חקרי לב	In the valleys of Reuben were there great heart-decisions.	
גלעד בעבר הירדן שכן	<i>Gilead</i> (Manasseh) abides beyond the Jordan	17
דן למה יגור אניות	And Dan—why does he tarry in the ships?	
אשר ישב לחוף ימים	Asher sits by the seashore	18
יעל מפרציו ושכן	And remains quiet by its bays.	

<sup>2</sup> *J. e.*, those that walk on the gravel-walk to draw water.

Read אחריו.

<sup>4</sup> *TM.* ויששכר.



זבולון עם חרה נפשו למות      Zebulon (on the other hand) is a tribe  
 ונפתלי על מרומי שדה      that exposed itself to death  
 And *Naphtali* on the heights of the field

- 19 באו מלכים נלחמו      The kings came, they *fought*,  
 אז נלחמו מלכי כנען      Then *fought* the kings of Canaan,  
 בחענד על מי מגדו      At Taanach by the waters of Megiddo  
 בצע כסה לא לקחו      Not a piece of silver did they gain.
- 20 מן השמים נלחמו הכוכבים      From heaven the stars fought,  
 ממסלותם נלחמו עם סיסרא      From their paths they fought with Sisera.  
 21 נחל קישון גרפם      The brook Kishon swept them away,  
 נחל קדומים נחל קישון      That ancient brook, the brook Kishon.  
 תדרכי נפשי עז      Trample them down, O my soul, with  
 courage.
- 22 אז הלמי עקבי סוס      Then pranced the hoofs of the horses  
 מדהרות דהרות אביריו      Pursuing, their heroes pursuing.
- 23 אורו מרוז אמר מלאך יהוה      Curse ye Meroz, cries the messenger of  
 אורו אורו ישביה      Jahweh,  
 כי לא באו לעזרת יהוה      Curse Meroz, curse the dwellers therein,  
 For they came not to the victory of Jah-  
 weh,  
 לעזרת יהוה בגבורים      To the victory of Jahweh among the  
 heroes.
- 24 תברך מנשים יעל      Blessed above women be Jael,  
 מנשים באהל תברך      Above women in the tent shall be *blessed*  
 אשת חבר הקיני<sup>5</sup>      The wife of Heber the Kenite!  
 25 מים שאל חלב נתנה      Water he asked for, she gave him milk,  
 בספל אדירים הקריבה חמאה      In a splendid bowl she gave him cream.  
 26 ידה ליתד תשלחנה      She stretched out her hand to the (tent-)  
 pin,  
 וימינה להלמות עמלים      And her right hand to the workman's  
 hammer,<sup>6</sup>  
 והלמה סיסרא מחקה ראשו      And hammered Sisera, crushed his skull,  
 ומחצה וחלפה רקתו      And pierced his temples, through and  
 through.
- 27 בין רגליה כרע שכב<sup>7</sup>      At her feet he sank, he lay,  
 בין רגליה כרע נפל      At her feet he sank, he fell,  
 באשר כרע שם נפל שדוד      Where he sank, there he fell crushed.
- 28 בעד החלון נשקפה ותיבב      Through the windows she peers and  
 mourns,  
 אם סיסרא בעד האשנב      The mother of Sisera, through the lattice:

<sup>5</sup> In the text 24c precedes 24b.<sup>7</sup> MT. כרע נפל שכב.<sup>6</sup> Cf. 4: 21, ויעת וימת.

מדוע בשש רכבו לברא  
מדוע אחרו פעמי מרכבותיו

Why is his chariot so delayed in coming?  
Why tarries the tramping of his chariot 29  
steeds?

חכמות שדיה תענינה לה  
אה היא תשיב אמריה לה  
הלא ימצאו יחלקי שלל

The shrewdest of her princesses reply,  
Yea, she herself answers her question :  
They are finding spoil, they are divid- 30  
ing it,

רחם רחמתיים לראש גבר  
שלל צבעים לסיסרא  
שלל צבעים רקמה  
צבע רקמתיים לצוארי שלל

One or two damsels for each man,  
Plunder of dyed stuff for Sisera,  
Plunder of dyed stuff, variegated,  
Colored, worked on both sides, from the  
neck of the plundered !

כן יאבדו כל אויביך יהוה  
ואהביו כצאת השמש בנבורתו

So may all thine enemies perish, Jahweh, 31  
But those who love thee, as the sun when  
he rises in his power.

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## THE BABYLONIAN REPRESENTATION OF THE SOLAR DISK.

IN Dr. Friedrich Delitzsch's late publication, *Die Entstehung des ältesten Schriftsystems*, which I am very glad to see dedicated to our three American explorers of Niffer, Messrs. Haynes, Hilprecht, and Peters, I find on pp. 128-30 a discussion of the meaning of the four sets of waving lines which appear in the sun-disk, as represented on the table before the seated sun-god Samaš on the famous tablet of Abu-habba, figured in W A I, V, 60, and often reproduced. Separated from its accessories the disk takes the form of the accompanying cut. Professor Delitzsch supposes these waving lines to represent waves of light. He says :



Die Wellenlinien malen die von der Sonne aus sich ergießenden Strahlen, und wenn mit eben solchen Wellenlinien, der Richtung der sitzenden Körpergestalt folgend, die ganze Person des Sonnengottes bedeckt ist, so will dies andeuten, dass der Sonnengott in ein Strahlengewand eingehüllt ist : Licht ist das Kleid, das er anhat. Genau die nämlichen Wellenlinien, nur in horizontaler Richtung, finden sich zu den Füßen des Sonnengottes . . . um das Wasser abzubilden. Wir brauchen zum Verständniss dieser bildlichen Darstellungsweisen nicht lange von den Wechselbeziehungen zwischen Licht und Wasser, ihrer beider Wellenbewegung, ihrer Klarheit u. s. w. zu spre-

chen, können auch darauf verzichten, an einer grösseren Zahl von Beispielen darzuthun, wie die menschliche Rede beide Begriffe, "Wasser" und "Glanz," eng mit einander verknüpft.

Professor Delitzsch thus supposes that the waving lines represent rays of light, but finds a close resemblance to the usual conventional representation of water by waving lines. The only difference he discovers seems to be that in the usual representation of water they are horizontal, while in this sun-disk they are inclined at an angle of  $45^{\circ}$ .

This explanation differs from that which I have given in my Handbook No. 12 of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, entitled *Seal Cylinders and Other Oriental Seals*. In the general description, p. 13, of the seal cylinders which represent the seated sun-god, I say:

The cylinders numbered 74-142 offer us representations of the sitting Shamash. In his earlier forms he is represented with rays from his shoulders, or with streams of water pouring on each side of him from a vase over each shoulder, or from a vase held in his lap, or with both [rays and streams]. The rays represent the sun rays; and the two streams represent that the supreme sun-god also supplies the fertilizing waters, whether rains or from the Euphrates or Tigris. The streams are often accompanied by fishes. The streams and the rays were later united in the conventional emblem of the sun, which is frequently represented as a circle, inclosed in the moon's crescent (the moon, Sin, was the father of the sun, Shamash). Inside the circle are four radiating angles, and between these rays are four sets of waving lines representing water, thus combining water with light and heat as the gift of the sun.

A good deal of study of these very numerous representations of the sun's disk convinces me that these waving lines really represent water and not light. By far the finest figure of the sun-disk is that of Abuhabba, mentioned by Professor Delitzsch. But on the cylinders of the middle Babylonian period, say from 1000 to 2500 B. C., the sun-disk appears scores of times, usually embraced in the crescent, and always having the waving lines alternating with the angular rays; only the disk is so small that one does not easily notice these details.

The reasons for supposing these waving lines really to represent water are:

1. That water is thus usually represented. The presumption is that waving lines mean water. It is no serious objection that water is usu-

ally represented by horizontal lines. That is, because the surface of water is usually horizontal. But water is often represented at other angles, as when streams are represented, falling from a vase. Besides, in this case it is not possible to represent water by horizontal lines, because the space where they could thus be drawn is already taken up by the angular rays.

2. Water, as well as light, is a perfectly familiar gift and attribute of the sun-god. He is often represented seated, with streams of water flowing from a vase held in his lap, or from vases over his shoulders. Generally he is the seated Šamaš, but sometimes is the conventional standing Šamaš, with one foot lifted on a low eminence representing a mountain. To allow no question that these are streams of water, fishes are frequently represented along with the streams. The rays of light are differently represented, by radiating lines rising from the upper part of the body. One out of many cases of the sun-god figured with streams may be seen in Lajard's *Culte de Mithra*, XXIX, 2. The Metropolitan Museum has two cylinders, in which both the rays and the streams appear. Now, if both appear with the seated figure of the sun-god, and if, as is the fact, the streams of water appear more frequently as his attributes than do the rays of light and heat, then we are at liberty to interpret the waving lines in their natural way, when seen in the disk of the sun.

3. Further, in the sun-disk the rays of light are represented in a different way, namely by the angular rays that alternate with the waving lines. That they represent light is made perfectly clear from the usual representation of Venus, or Ishtar. The sun, the moon, and Venus appear together, in a smaller size, on this same Abu-habba stone. Venus has eight angular rays, and is thus represented scores of times in Babylonian and Assyrian art. They can represent nothing but light, but in the sun half of these rays of light are replaced by water streams.

Why the sun should be regarded as the giver of flowing water it is not now necessary to explain, as the fact is so clear. The water represented is probably not the rivers Tigris or Euphrates, although the double streams sometimes seem to suggest it; but these streams rather represent the rain coming down from the abode of the sun in the heavens. This appears from the vases, the "bottles of heaven" (Job 38:37), out of which the streams issue that appear with the seated Šamaš. These same vases many times appear alone on the cylinders as a conventional symbol, we may suppose, of Aquarius. If with us it

is a common, popular belief that the sun is "drawing water" when towards sunset his rays, breaking through rifts in clouds, seem to converge from the horizon, then the sun, in his beneficent aspect, may have been supposed by the Babylonians to supply the needed rains out of the clouds behind which he had hidden himself. If it be objected that the giving of rain would naturally belong to Ramman, I would reply by asking if Ramman was not probably imported into the Babylonian pantheon at a period long after the rôle of Šamaš had been established, as I have stated in my handbook of seal cylinders, p. 26.

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## RECENT THEORIES AS TO THE COMPOSITION AND DATE OF SOME OF THE NEW TESTAMENT EPISTLES.

THE publication of Harnack's *Chronology of Early Christian Literature* will doubtless give a fresh impetus to the study of early Christianity. In his preface he admits that a more sober criticism is beginning to prevail in Germany, and that the present tendency is, on the whole, to reaffirm tradition. But there still remain important exceptions. Harnack, *e. g.*, believes that the Johannine writings are not the work of the apostle, but of John the presbyter; that the epistles of St. James, St. Peter, and St. Jude were not written by the apostles whose names they bear, and that the pastoral epistles are largely interpolated. In this paper I propose only to discuss certain points which have been raised in regard to the epistles of St. James, and 1 Peter, and also the question of St. Paul's Roman captivity. To take the last first. Did St. Paul suffer martyrdom at the end of his first Roman imprisonment, or was he released, and able to continue his missionary work for some five years longer? This latter supposition is, of course, absolutely necessary, if we are to establish the genuineness of the pastoral epistles, for it is quite impossible to fit them in at any point in the apostle's life prior to his first imprisonment at Rome. And if he was released, the further questions arise: How did he spend the period between his two Roman captivities? Did he go to Spain? Are any other of his epistles, in addition to the pastoral epistles, to be attributed to this period? And did he suffer martyrdom together with St. Peter, and, if not, how long after St. Peter?

Harnack has endeavored to show that chronology proves that St. Paul was released from his first Roman captivity, for his martyrdom

cannot be placed earlier than the outbreak of the Neronian persecution in July, 64 A. D., and the Acts of the Apostles only carry us down to 59 A. D. Moreover, portions of the pastoral epistles are undoubtedly genuine, and the notices of St. Paul's journeyings in the East in these epistles are only explicable on the supposition of a second Roman captivity. But the question of chronology is at best uncertain, and Ramsay has recently challenged Harnack's position in the *Expositor* (March, 1897).

A very interesting contribution to the solution of these questions is contained in Spitta's essay on the two Roman captivities in his book *Zur Geschichte des Urchristentums*, Vol. I. He follows Schürer's chronology of St. Paul's life, according to which St. Paul would have arrived in Rome not later than the beginning of 61 A. D. But his general conclusions would be much strengthened if he followed Harnack in accepting the Eusebian date, which would be about 57 A. D. A year and a half is quite too short an interval between the two captivities, if, as Spitta believes, St. Paul during this brief period both visited Spain and made those journeys in the East referred to in the pastoral epistles. And yet no doubt it is difficult to believe that the apostle survived the Neronian persecution. The tradition which associates his martyrdom with that of St. Peter is a very early one, although, if we may believe Spitta, the earliest tradition would imply a short interval of perhaps a few months between their deaths.

But apart from the evidence of the pastoral epistles, is there any proof that St. Paul was released at the end of the two years? Spitta finds such both within and without the limits of the canon. To begin with the extra-canonical evidence. The author of the Muratorian Canon states that St. Luke in the Acts only set down what he saw, and therefore omitted all mention both of St. Peter's martyrdom and of St. Paul's journey to Spain. This certainly would imply the release of St. Paul from his first imprisonment, especially when taken in connection with a similar reference to the Spanish journey in the "*Passio sanctorum apostolorum Petri ac Pauli*," which opens with the words "Holy Paul having come to Rome from the Spains." Clement's statement that St. Paul reached "the extremity of the West" must also surely mean some point further west than Rome. Spitta also traces a continuous belief in the apostle's double Roman captivity and Spanish journey in the writings of the Fathers. More ingenious is the evidence which he draws from the epistle to the Romans. He suggests that this epistle really consists of two letters thrown into one, chaps.

12:1—15:7, and 16:1–20, forming a shorter letter, deliberately added to the earlier and longer letter, as a practical conclusion, or to form one “*corpus doctrinæ*.” This supposition, if true, would certainly offer a simple solution of the vexed question of the salutations, and the later of the two letters would necessarily prove St. Paul’s release, being addressed to the friends he had made during his first captivity. The salutations do seem to imply a congregation of which the apostle had personal knowledge, whereas he had never visited Rome at the date usually assigned to the whole of the epistle. Commentators have been driven to suppose that many friends of the apostle had migrated to Rome, but this has never seemed to me a quite satisfactory solution of the difficulty. Nor can it be denied that the epistle shows traces of more than one ending, though Spitta burdens his theory unnecessarily by endeavoring to trace two beginnings in the first chapter. If the epistle in its later and more personal part really dates from the latest period of the apostle’s life, would not this explain its position at the end of the list in the Muratorian Canon? It will be replied that other epistles are quite out of place there. Galatians, *e. g.*, comes after the epistles of the first captivity, and the epistles to the Thessalonians are placed last but one. But is the early date of these epistles so absolutely certain? It may be that they show clear marks of having been written in close succession, but do not such passages as 1 Thess. 1:7, 8, and 2 Thess. 2:2, imply a later date than is usually assigned to them? The former passage speaks of the widespread fame of the Thessalonian church; the latter implies that St. Paul had sufficient fame and authority in the church to make it worth while to circulate forged epistles in his name. And is it not equally possible that Galatians may have been written after the Roman captivity? Its tone is certainly different from that of Romans, though the logic may be similar. In fact, it may be that the order of the Muratorian Canon, which would seem to be that of the roll of St. Paul’s epistles used by the writer of that fragment, is the original, and, in its grouping at all events, the historical order.

I pass now to the epistles of St. Peter and St. James. Harnack has made it very probable that the former was originally a sermon, perhaps even a sermon of St. Paul’s, to which the title and subscription were subsequently added by the forger of the second epistle of St. Peter. Should he not add that the two short paragraphs about the descent into hell are probably interpolations? Would not the connection of thought be clearer without them? And have we not an

exact parallel in the gospel of Peter, where vss. 38-44 similarly break the sense, and introduce not only the preaching to the spirits of the dead, but two gigantic angels whose heads touch the sky, and who recall the later superstitions of the Elkesaites? The writer of the epistle of St. James would seem to have used 1 Peter, or *vice versa*. Harnack sees no reason why 1 Peter, in its original form, should not have been written in the "sixties." But even so Spitta would consider St. James prior to 1 Peter. He has written a most interesting and valuable commentary on St. James in Vol. II of his *Zur Geschichte des Urchristentums*, which has also been separately printed. After a careful consideration, however, of his arguments, I believe his theory must be rejected. The epistle of St. James, in its present form at any rate, must be dated not earlier than the time of Trajan. Harnack thinks it may possibly consist of short addresses of a well-known teacher, which he himself subsequently collected. This would account at once for its loose connection of subject and for the unity which nevertheless runs through the whole. The decisive point as to the date lies in chap. 2 : 6-7. If the use of *βλασφημεῖν* in Hermas and St. James be compared, it must be admitted that blaspheming the Holy Name in St. James, 2 : 7 must be equivalent to "blaspheming the Lord" (*maledicere Christo*) in Hermas. The following passages in Hermas seem to me conclusive : *Similitudes* 8 : 6 : 4 ; 8 : 8 : 2 ; 9 : 19 : 3 ; 9 : 28 : 4. In the last-mentioned instance it is said that the martyrs, when dragged before the magistrates, refused to deny Christ. This refusal to deny their life is often referred to, and contrasted with the conduct of those who "blasphemed the Lord." It is difficult to see what prosecutions before the law courts, in connection with which rich Jews "blasphemed the Holy Name," could possibly be referred to, if, as Spitta supposes, the persecutions of the time of the epistle were Jewish only, as, *e. g.*, the expulsion of the Jews under Claudius.

Spitta has endeavored to show that everything in St. James' epistle is purely Jewish, and that the author may very well have been a Jew who wrote before Christ. A similar view has been taken by Massebieau, *L'Épître de Jacques est-elle l'œuvre d'un Chrétien ?* But the reminiscences of the Sermon on the Mount in St. James can hardly be explained by the supposition that both he and our Lord used similar sources. It is not merely the letter but the spirit of the Sermon on the Mount which animates St. James. Moreover, if the name of Christ is never mentioned in the epistle (Spitta tries with some plausibility to show that the name is interpolated in chaps. 1 and 2), neither is Christ mentioned



by name in *Hermas*,<sup>1</sup> and yet *Hermas* is undoubtedly a Christian work. The force of this fact remains, even if Spitta be right in supposing our present *Hermas* to be a Christian "working over" of an original Jewish *Hermas*. He supposes this original *Hermas* to date from apostolic, or pre-apostolic, times. But in fact this theory of an interpolated *Hermas* breaks down. Harnack's explanation of the facts is much more satisfactory. He supposes that the writer himself gradually enlarged his own work, and that its composition was spread over some twenty or thirty years. There are undoubtedly signs of an enlargement of the original plan, but the style is the same throughout, and the same dominant idea prevails throughout, viz., that *Hermas* is specially called to repentance, and to warn the sinful Roman church that they, too, must repent, and that only one opportunity of repentance will be granted them. This is the thought which dominates the earlier as well as the later *Hermas*: and no theory of an original *Hermas* could eliminate it. Even if one supposed that the original *Hermas* was written as a call to repentance, we could hardly duplicate the idea of there being only one repentance, which must have been peculiar to the Christian *Hermas*, and yet these passages are left by Spitta as uninterpolated, nor could he cut them out without destroying his whole theory.

Harnack also points out that Spitta fails to account for what St. James does not contain, viz., any references to legal and ritual ideas such as a purely Jewish composition would infallibly contain. It is, indeed, only necessary to study carefully the references to the epistle of St. James in *Hermas* to convince oneself that both must be products of the same environment. These references prove an actual use of the former by the latter, though it is never actually quoted. But the striking thing is that both writers deal with a similar environment. They rebuke the pride and selfishness of the rich and their love of the world; also their strife and contentiousness. They both refer to services in the synagogue, which is clearly here used of Christian assemblies. They both rebuke adultery, though *Hermas* would admit even adulterers to repentance, for which concession Tertullian sternly rebukes him. Again, the phraseology of St. James would seem to be largely that of the preachers of the day, for *Hermas* often recalls St. James where an actual reference to his epistle seems out of the question. Thus similar ideas, such as the opposition of that which is "from above" and that

<sup>1</sup> He is referred to as the Son of God in a few passages; generally as the Lord, as in St. James.

which is "of the earth," similar phrases in different contexts, and similar "catchwords," above all *δίψυχος* and *διψυχία*, "doublemindedness," frequently recur. This last, as also a similar use of Old Testament passages (Lot's wife, Rabab, etc.), is also found in Clement of Rome, who is referred to by Hermas in his earliest vision as a contemporary. But they can only have been contemporaries for a very short time. It is otherwise with St. James and Hermas. The spirit and phraseology of St. James run, like the woof through the web, throughout Hermas, whereas the coincidences with Clement are very occasional. May we not, therefore, conclude that St. James was a venerated contemporary *διδάσκαλος*, who exercised a profound influence upon Hermas? Is not this much more likely than that he should have been so greatly influenced by a pre-Christian Jew who lived nearly a century before?

I have assumed with both Harnack and Spitta that St. James the apostle is not the author. If the work had been regarded as apostolic, why is it not quoted as such before Origen? And why is it not mentioned in the Muratorian Canon? The writer seems to have been a man of considerable education, and one of his sources is clearly the *Book of Wisdom*. We know this book was popular in Rome in the second century, as it is included in the Muratorian Canon. This again points to a Roman author. Possibly Harnack is right in supposing the title to be a later addition, but if the writer were really a James, but not an apostle, Origen may not have known this fact, which the author of the Muratorian Canon would have known.

But while dissenting from Spitta's conclusions, there can be no doubt that his commentary on St. James, explaining as it does an early Christian writer from his Jewish antecedents, as found in such apocalyptic authors as he may be supposed to have known, is an admirable new departure in exegesis, and one which might with profit be followed in the case of other New Testament writers.

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## RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

LECTURES IN THE LYCEUM; or, Aristotle's Ethics for English Readers. By ST. GEORGE STOCK. London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1897. Pp. 376, with index.

THIS work is an attempt to throw the Aristotelian treatises on moral science into a form in which they can interest and appeal to ordinary readers of English. The author must have felt that a mere literal translation of the *Ethica ad Nicomachum* is rather jejune to those who, unlike Oxford students of *litteræ humaniores*, have not read the original Greek. Moreover, there are other works of Aristotle, especially the *Magna Moralia* and the *Eudemia Ethica*, which deserve to be consulted in order to yield any complete presentment of Aristotle's moral system. Accordingly he has cast his results into the form of a dialogue between Aristotle, his son Nicomachus, his disciple Eudemus, and Theophrastus, his successor in ancient Athens. This device enables the writer to introduce, where requisite, not only matter from the other treatises we have mentioned, but brief remarks also, in which he glances at the contrast between Aristotelian and Jewish or Christian ideals of good.

We owe to Aristotle nearly all our moral categories. He fixed once and for all the great conceptions of state and individual, end, good, happiness, moral habit, purpose, wish, voluntary and involuntary, courage, temperance, justice, and the other virtues. It is his thought, rather than his master, Plato's, which has dominated all subsequent attempts to reflect in a systematic way on all that is meant by moral character. Mr. Stock has, therefore, rendered a service to all by composing a presentment of Aristotle's moral philosophy, popular and fresh, yet learned, succinct, and just to the great master mind which he interprets to us.

We cite a few striking passages from the book. The following is from the first chapter, in which Mr. Stock exhibits Aristotle's ideas of the right method to be followed in the moral sciences:

The sciences with which you are most familiar are those which deal with the laws of space and number. These are called "exact" sciences, because

the truths with which they deal are absolute, admit of no exceptions, and hold true equally at all times and in all places. Now the science upon which we are about to enter is not one which lends itself to an exact treatment. Ideas of right and justice, which are the subject-matter of political science, are of a nature essentially relative; no statement can be made about them which admits of no exceptions and holds true equally at all times and in all places. . . . And this leads me to remark that very few people know what kind of evidence to ask for, or what kind of evidence to be satisfied with. It requires education to understand that so much exactness only must be required as is in keeping with the nature of the subject. You might just as well accept an appeal to probability from a mathematician as demand demonstrations from an orator. For a man to be a good judge of any subject he must know that subject. . . . It follows from what we have been saying that the young are not fitting students of our present science. For it deals with life and conduct; it is these which furnish the premises, and it is to these that the conclusions relate. Now it is just here that the young are deficient—namely, in experience of life. Experience is an essential element in wisdom, because we must have felt the force of a maxim before we can thoroughly know it. The young man may, indeed, be taught moral truths just as he may be taught mathematics; but he will not realize them until they have been brought home to him by the great teacher—life.

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THOUGHTS ON RELIGION. By G. J. ROMANES, F.R.S. Third Edition. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Co., 1897. Pp. 180. Cloth, \$1.25; paper, \$0.50.

EVOLUTION AND RELIGION; or, Faith as Part of a Complete Cosmic System. By JOHN BASCOM. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1897. Pp. iv + 205. \$1.50.

AT THIS date it is probably unnecessary to present anything in the shape of a review of Romanes' posthumous work. Those who enjoyed the author's friendship must rejoice that this fragmentary volume has attracted so much attention as to call for a third edition thus early. No doubt some regret what they are pleased to call Romanes' surrender to dogma. But no one with special sources of information can possibly admit this contention. The book is the result of long travail of soul. And not only this: it is a most significant evidence of the times. Nothing is now more pressing than a reconsideration of scientific pre-suppositions in the light of rational criticism, and a readjustment of our conceptions of spiritual life on the basis of the results which this

criticism is destined to precipitate. Had Romanes been spared, his complete work on religion would probably have been the first installment of a reply to these imperative questions. As it is, we must be thankful that Canon Gore's circumspect and reverent editing has served to present us with many suggestive side-lights, particularly with materials for realizing more and more clearly that the life of the spirit, after all, conditions everything else. The book needs no recommendation. Everyone who has not read it should do so at once; everyone who has perused it will admit that its pages ought to be conned again and again.

Mr. Bascom's book, although a product of similar contemporary conditions, demands attention for entirely different reasons. It bears no sign of the travail that everywhere marks the Romanes fragments. Yet, for this very reason, it is eminently attractive. Well written, dispassionate, suggestive, and strikingly sane, it ranks with, perhaps above, anything that its prolific author has already given us. On the whole, it would be difficult to find a small book on the subject which one could recommend to the attention of the clergy with greater confidence. Here they will discover numerous hints regarding evolution, not merely valuable in themselves, but also thought-provoking and well calculated to dispel that stupid antagonism which occasionally afflicts the clerical mind and harrows the unclerical soul. Mr. Bascom is reasonable to a degree in his attitude towards evolution; yet he never permits himself to be mastered by the doctrine, preferring rather to press it into his service, yet without altering its nature or blinking its obvious consequences. Throughout this process the author finds safety in his strong common sense, while the intellectual, rather than spiritual, tone of his book saves him from the vapoing mysticism and almost immoral accommodation that so frequently disgrace works of this class.

The treatment falls into four parts: "Evolution as a Conception;" "Evolution as giving Unity to the Field of Knowledge and Action;" "Evolution in its present Spiritual Phases," and "Evolution in the Proofs it offers to Spiritual Beliefs." Of these the second and third are the best. But all of them abound in happy characterizations (*e. g.*, at pp. 12, 38, 50, 71, 81, 84, 94, 110, 125, 159, 162, 203). Occasionally one lights upon a brilliant remark. "The attack on miracles, regarded as pivotal points in faith, arose no more from science than from philosophy. It was the very uses of the miracle in the mind itself that gave way" (p. 41). "Virtue is the hold of the feelings on the spiritual

world, and truth is the hold of the thoughts on it. Neither hold can be fully maintained without the other" (p. 88). In the course of the discussion, evolution itself; the relation between religion, science, and philosophy, and between the natural and the supernatural; the social nature of knowledge; conversion; the moral law; religious liberty; the person of Christ; the doctrine of the Trinity; everlasting punishment, and immortality, are made the subjects of some illuminating study. Taken as a whole, the work is one that possesses peculiar merit.

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NIRVĀṆA. Eine Studie zur Vorgeschichte des Buddhismus.  
Von JOSEPH DAHLMANN, S. J. Berlin: Felix L. Dames, 1896.  
Pp. xii + 197. M. 5.

THE German Jesuits of Exaeten, Holland, have developed of late quite a commendable activity along the lines of historico-philosophical research. Hermann Gruber has shown an indefatigable activity in his writings on modern philosophy; Victor Cathrein has devoted himself to the study of socialism; and Joseph Dahlmann has accomplished some creditable research work on the literature of ancient India. Hermann Gruber is undoubtedly one of the maturest of all, for his books on modern positivism and his essays on education are distinguished by a rare breadth of mind and an impartiality which in Protestant countries is not expected of a Jesuit *pater*. Joseph Dahlmann is a sprig of the same tree. His book on the *Mahābhārata*, viewed as an epic and a lawbook, shows a painstaking diligence and has found favor with many Sanskritists.

Dahlmann's present book on *Nirvāṇa* falls in the same line of work and will not fail to excite the interest of specialists, not because they will agree with the author's results, but because it shows scholarship and skill in the formulation of an important problem.

According to Dahlmann the Buddhist term "*Nirvāṇa*" is an heirloom of the pre-Buddhistic period of Brahmanism. This has been recognized by almost all the Sanskrit scholars, although Dahlmann does not mention the fact. Sir Monier Monier-Williams, for instance, mentions the *Nirvāṇa* ideal as a notion that at Buddha's time was one of the common possessions of all schools. But Dahlmann differs from other oriental scholars in so far as he believes that the evolution of the *Nirvāṇa* ideal reached its perfection and completion before Bud-

dha and that the Buddhist descriptions of Nirvāṇa in positive terms are mere reminiscences of the ancient conception of the Brahma-Nirvāṇa. Thus the Nirvāṇa ideal of the pre-Buddhistic Brahmanism appears in Dahlmann's interpretation as the keystone of a definite and consistent system, while the noble features of the Buddhist Nirvāṇa form an actual contradiction to the other doctrines of Buddhism.

Dahlmann praises Brahmanism as original and methodical, and contends that Buddhism, being a product of the Sāṃkhya philosophy, lacks all originality. But the Sāṃkhya's Nirvāṇa ideal is as much atheistic as the Buddhist Nirvāṇa; how, then, can the positive conception of Nirvāṇa as immortality be derived from the Sāṃkhya school? Here Dahlmann offers as a solution of the problem the assumption of an older Sāṃkhya which must have formed the common basis of both the Vedānta and the younger Sāṃkhya, and believes that, while the younger Sāṃkhya, which is the historical Sāṃkhya, has the appearance of being atheistic, the older Sāṃkhya was decidedly theistic. The Sāṃkhya is called *Aniṣvara*, i. e., without an *Iṣvara* (a personal God and Lord), but this, according to Dahlmann, does not mean atheistic. The term, he claims, refers merely to the method of attaining the union with Brahma by cognition and not by belief in Brahma (p. 105). As a proof of his hypothesis Dahlmann adduces a passage in the Mahābhārata in which the science of Brahma (*brahmavidyā*) is called "Sāṃkhya." If Dahlmann were right in his contentions, the harmony of the various philosophical systems in the Mahābhārata would not be the product of a conciliatory treatment at the hands of its author, but simply the recapitulation of an older philosophy which, although it appears to have been a synthesis of both the Vedānta and the Sāṃkhya, would have to be regarded as their common source. This hypothetical older system, the theistic or older Sāṃkhya, the Sāṃkhya of the epic age, as Dahlmann calls it, is supposed to be the connecting link between the Upanishads and the younger or classical Sāṃkhya.

Buddhism, which is commonly treated with respect and even admiration by both its friends and its bitterest enemies, is singularly censured by Dahlmann; and it would seem that he is not sufficiently acquainted with its history and doctrines. "Buddhism," says our author, "sought to construct a new system. In its eager pursuit of salvation it refused to discuss such questions as God and soul, forgetful that it thus deprived the Nirvāṇa ideal of its foundation. Therefore, the Buddhist Nirvāṇa is like the foliage of a tree without the

trunk. The classical schools of Indian philosophy neglect the term, but the web and woof of the whole show it in its vigorous vitality. The Buddhists restore the word to its pristine glory, but they deprive it of its real significance" (p. 189). "They tear down the two main pillars which carry the mighty dome of religion, the ideas Brahma and Ātman" (p. 190). "The ideal of salvation is based upon a philosophical system which reached its highest expression in the Brahma-Nirvāṇa. The building stones of Buddhism have been quarried from the Sāṃkhya of the epic age; and this system was a strict Brahman, not a Buddhist philosophy. It rested upon revealed wisdom and was supported by logical inquiry without being rationalistic. Although it excluded in its theoretical department the worship of a highest Lord, it accepted as its aim and ideal the belief in Brahma" (p. 190).

Dahlmann defends his position ably, but we do not believe that he will convince any Sanskritist of prominence. The existence of an older Sāṃkhya school, such as he assumes to have been, is an ingenious but highly improbable hypothesis. The proofs which he adduces in the present book are, to say the least, insufficient.

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THE PREACHING OF ISLAM. A History of the Propagation of the Muslim Faith. By T. W. ARNOLD, B.A., late Scholar of Magdalene College, Cambridge; Professor of Philosophy, Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College, Aligarh, India. Westminster: Archibald Constable & Co., 1896; New York: New Amsterdam Book Co. \$3.50.

THIS is a book which had to be written. That it should come was inevitable, and it is well that it has come, for it marks a definite stage in the development of our knowledge of Islam. How one-sided that knowledge once was it is hardly necessary to say. It was misleading, inaccurate, and generally wrong-headed. That stage is passing, and such a book as this will help it to pass. We have here another side, strictly *one* other side, equally misleading and wrong-headed with the old view, but, as a complement to it, unavoidable and, therefore, to be welcomed. It is a distinct movement forward, though forward on a slant; some day we shall get the resultant of all these movements and shall find what is the real drift.

The object of the book is given excellently in the chief title, *The Preaching of Islam*. It is an attempt to give a history of the propaga-



tion of Islam by what we would call missionary methods. It thus fills a gap which Arabists and students of the Muslim East have long painfully felt. It also reveals a side of Muslim life which will probably be very new and very surprising. That Islam is a great missionary religion would perhaps be granted in a dim kind of way; how great it is as a missionary religion probably few, even of the readers of this JOURNAL, have realized. Its spread in Africa we know after a fashion—Africa is prominent just now—but the rate at which it is covering the Malay archipelago will probably come as a surprise to most. Still more of a surprise is it to learn that there are about twenty or thirty—one authority says seventy—million Chinese Muslims. The shock is not nearly so great to learn that there are a hundred or two of Teutonic and Latin blood. Then, after that, we are hardly at all surprised to learn that “the faith of Islam extends from Morocco to Zanzibar, from Sierra Leone to Siberia and China, from Bosnia to New Guinea,” and that “Indian coolies have carried the faith of Islam to the West India islands and to British and Dutch Guiana.”

Mr. Arnold's arrangement of his material is simple. First comes an introductory chapter in defense of the missionary character of Islam. Next a chapter on Muhammad as a preacher and as a pattern for the Muslim missionary. His life is told so far as it bears on that side of his works, and the idea put before us is that of a prophet with a new religious teaching reluctantly forced into founding and building up a temporal power. To this view of Muhammad's life we shall also have to return. Then the spread of Islam among the Christian peoples of western Asia is sketched; the causes in both cases, and their condition under Arab rule; finally, the approximation which grew up between the Muslims and the crusaders. Then, in a series of chapters, he treats of the spread of Islam in Christian Africa, in Spain, among the Christian nations of Europe under the Turks, in Persia and central Asia, among the Mongols and Tartars, in India, in China, in Africa, in the Malay archipelago. This part of the book is very well done and exhibits great width of reading and skill in marshaling facts. Of course, exception can be taken here and there to particular statements, and a general exception could be taken to the tone, but this is the part of the book which makes it worth reading and using. In the earlier chapters and in the concluding chapter the writer holds a brief for Islam and lacks the clear, simple objectivity that marks the true historian. His associations and professorial duties have evidently given him a bias similar, but opposed, to that which dominated the

earlier European writers upon Muhammad and Islam. He has not reached the balance of the modern, especially the German, investigators in this department; he has read the books of Goldziher, von Kremer, Snouck Hurgronje, Krehl, Robertson Smith, and the rest, but has not perfectly caught their spirit. His weakness is not, as he seems to fear in his preface, the accuracy of his statements of fact, but the interpretation and scheme of history into which he too often forces these facts. Over the condition of the pre-Muslim Arabs, the origin of Islam, the story of Muhammad, and the earliest development of Islam and its state, there have been and still are furious conflicts, but the dust is now beginning to clear away, and the picture shaping itself before us is not in all respects that which Mr. Arnold champions.

I shall now enter into some details of criticism, general and particular. In the first place—and this is the most general criticism which I shall have to bring forward—the subtitle is, to say the least, unfortunate. It is true that this book is about “the preaching of Islam,” but it is not about “the propagation of the Muslim faith” in the broad sense, but only about the propagation as worked by preaching and missionary effort. Muhammad certainly never taught, though some of his followers may have done so, that force should be used to make converts, but that is not to say that the spread of the faith he preached was due to preaching only. The great point to grasp is that Islam is not simply a religion, a faith, but is a political and legal system as well; Islam covers all corporate as well as private life. If the scheme of Pope Gregory VII had been carried out and the papacy had become the temporal as well as the spiritual head of Christendom, the Christian religion, as codified and developed by the Roman See, would have been in the position of the faith of Islam; otherwise not. Muhammad as a private preacher at Mecca could be compared to a missionary in the western sense, but there is no comparison possible between such a missionary and Muhammad at Medina, the absolute sovereign of Arabia, however zealously he might preach the faith and proclaim that there should be no compulsion in Islam. And, so, wherever the Muslim faith goes, it is incomplete until it embodies itself in a Muslim state. In the history of Christian missions the aims and aspirations of the Society of Jesus have come nearest to those of the Muslim propagandists. It is true that Muslim missionaries are individualistic to a degree. They go out each for himself, and have no such organization directing and controlling them as that of the Society of Jesus. But the results of their efforts are, or seek to be, the same;

they do not simply spread a faith, they found states. That is what is actually happening in Africa; it is what happened in the Malay archipelago, until checked by European influence; it is what is feared in China, and it is what would certainly happen in India if the English rule were removed. This difference is hardly to be met by saying (p. 33) that "it was no part of his [Muhammad's] teaching to say, 'My kingdom is not of this world.'" It is so emphatically of this world that its ideal can only be reached by controlling and shaping all the institutions of this world, political as well as religious. It was certainly not preaching and missionary effort that carried Islam within a century to Samarqand, beyond the Oxus, and to Tours in southern France, and founded the widest empire that has ever been; nor could these have brought the Turks twice to the walls of Vienna; nor could even Muhammad's eloquence have made him the absolute ruler of Arabia before he died. The point remains firm that Islam spreads by what we would call missionary effort only when it is debarred from spreading by its own weight, and Mr. Arnold shows this when he remarks (p. 346) on the fact that it has been preached most zealously in countries where Muslims did not rule, and that missionary efforts died down where Muslims did rule. Nor can this difference be put aside by drawing attention to Charlemagne's bloody conversion of the pagan Saxons, or to the violent labors of the Teutonic knights, or the Jesuit missionaries. The story of those things would have to enter a history of the propagation of the Christian faith, however they might be viewed by the historian. And, similarly, a history of the propagation of the Muslim faith, to be complete and balanced, must take account of all things that have gone to spread it, whether direct persecution, weight of state influence, burden of taxation, personal insecurity, or peaceful preaching. And then there remains the essential difference that Christianity deals with religious things only, but Islam only realizes its own ideal in a Muslim state; these things are excrescences on the Christianity of a time, they inhere in the essential nature of Islam.

Again, on p. 4, Mr. Arnold speaks of "that mythical personage, the Muslim warrior, with sword in one hand and Qur'ān in the other," and wishes to put in his place "the quiet, unobtrusive labors of the preacher and trader." The Muslim warrior exactly as so described is certainly mythical, but a very little change in the description will bring out a true historical figure. The alternative was not of sword or Qur'ān, but of sword, Qur'ān, or tribute. This Mr. Arnold himself states on p. 46, and it shows at once the nature of a Muslim con-

quest. It is a conquest in a real sense, but the burden of conquest is on a religious basis. Further, what was the nature of this "tribute"? Mr. Arnold has used von Kremer's *Kulturgeschichtliche Streifzüge*, but he does not seem to have grasped the true character of the constitution of 'Umar, which von Kremer was the first to state clearly in that little book. For the inhabitants of Arabia under that constitution the choice was Qur'ān or exile—Arabia was to be reserved as a sacred soil for Muslims. Outside of Arabia no Muslim might hold land; when a country was conquered, it was left in the hands of its original owners, with the obligation of paying a heavy rent tax for it to the Muslim state, also of paying a poll tax for each non-Muslim, and of furnishing all the necessities of life to the Muslim army of occupation which inhabited the camp cities built to hold the conquered countries. Thus the Muslims were preserved as a warrior caste, a fighting machine, with fighting as their only work; they were supported by the subject peoples. This system was communistic, but it was a one-sided communism, in favor of one class. The Muslims would not buy—were not permitted to—and their fellows could not, for with the land went the rent tax. They could only embrace Islam, and, then, if they did, their land was taken from them and distributed among their former coreligionists; they themselves passed into the favored caste and received their share of the money paid into the state treasury. Naturally, they did embrace Islam, and to such an extent that the revenues were very seriously affected by the falling off in the poll tax. For this reason the constitution of 'Umar eventually broke down; converts were compelled to pay the poll tax or a part of it, and Muslims began to hold land outside of Arabia. It was revived for a time by the pious Umayyad Khalifa 'Umar II [A. D. 717-20], but after his death again ceased. Under such a system as this it is easy to see how Islam spread.

Returning to the life of Muhammad, as sketched here, we find the position taken up that all his wars were defensive,<sup>2</sup> that he was forced into a career of conquest. There are strong elements of humor here. Of course, it may be possible to contend that each forward movement on the part of Muhammad was forced from him by his enemies, but it is remarkable how these forward movements gradually brought him to the complete sovereignty of Arabia.

Again, passing to the account of the early conquests of the Muslims after the death of Muhammad, much too great stress is laid on their religious fervor as a cause of their success. Undoubtedly, Islam

unified them and made their national existence more permanent, but Muhammad, the prophet, would have effected little, had he not also led a national movement and been succeeded and aided by great leaders. This character of the movement is shown by the fact, which Mr. Arnold himself gives (p. 44), though to prove quite a different thing, that Christian Arabs fought side by side with Muslims in the early wars.

Four appendices of great interest are added to the book. In the first of these the meaning of *jihād* is discussed, and all the passages in the Qur'ān where the root occurs are quoted. It is contended (1) that the Qur'ān does not teach forcible conversion, (2) that it does not authorize unprovoked attack on unbelievers, (3) that the use of *jihād* in the sense of "warfare against unbelievers" is post-Qur'ānic. The first point we can readily admit; the second we may admit also, but when the rider is added that all the wars of Muhammad were defensive, we can only admit that in a very Pickwickian sense; the third is quite improbable, and it is hard to see how it can be maintained in the face of such passages as ix: 41, 82, 87, with their distinction between those who fought and those who stayed at home. In the second appendix the well-known letter of al-Hāshimī (whoever he was) addressed to al-Kindī (whoever *he* was), inviting him to embrace Islam, is given in translation. The whole question of the apology of this al-Kindī has still to be worked out, but I cannot agree with Mr. Arnold that the document has necessarily been mutilated. Third comes a brief appendix upon controversial literature between Muslims and others, and, fourth, one of great interest upon converts to Islam who have not come under direct missionary influence. The greater part is taken up by a translation from the *Tuhfatu-l-adīb* (not *arīb*, as printed) by 'Abdu-llāh ibn 'Abdi-llāh, a Christian priest who went over to Islam. He wrote in 1420 and gives in his work, an attack on Christianity and defense of Islam, an account of his own early life and conversion. Mr. Arnold seems to accept this as trustworthy throughout. To me the story of Nicolas Martīl, the aged priest of Bologna, and how he secretly expounded to 'Abdu-llāh the Paraclete of John 14: 16, 16: 7, as a prophecy of Muhammad, is only a degree less evidently apocryphal than the similar story Sale translates from the preface to the Muslim Spanish form of the gospel of St. Barnabas, in which Pope Sixtus V and his private library play a part. It is curious that in this story there is no reference to the corruption of *περικλυτός* into *παράκλητος* that appears so often in Muslim apolo-

getic. That 'Abdu-llāh ibn 'Abdi-llāh had been a Christian priest, and one, too, of some learning, the quotations from his book given by Hughes in the *Dictionary of Islām* (pp. 212 f.) seem to make certain. That he told lies about his early life seems to me equally certain.

I have marked a number of other points of interest, but can touch here upon only one more. On p. 50 Mr. Arnold gives the well-known instructions issued to the army of Syria by Abū Bakr on its first expedition. As commonly translated, a distinction was made between hermits and priests; the former were to be left in peace, but the latter slain. The last phrase *fakhfiqūhum bis-sayfi khafqā* he translates *touch them only with the flat of the sword*, and explains this as done in sign of authority. This rendering is certainly borne out by the regular meaning of the root *khfq* and gives a fairly good meaning, though not so pointed as the older version. Still, when we consider that *daraba 'unqahu* does not mean simply *he struck his neck*, but *he cut off his head*, *khfq* may have had a stronger meaning. Yet it is only fair to add that ath-Tha'ālibī in the *Fiqh* gives *khfq* as the word to use for a blow with a shoe (*na'ī*), but *ḍrb* for a sword.

But what, it may be asked, is the net result of this book? Undoubtedly, we have in it a clear picture of one side of Muslim religious activity, which has been dim to us, if not quite unknown. We see here the single Muslim missionaries, belonging, perhaps, to some one of the great Darwīsh fraternities, perhaps quite unattached, perhaps merchants traveling for gain, perhaps prisoners in a foreign land; theologians and men unlettered, wandering mystics with strange claims to miracle, and men of business with an eye to the main chance, kings and beggars, men and women, we see them all doing their work in the station to which God has called them for the spread of their faith. Undoubtedly, the conquests of the Muslim faith, so preached, have been great. Almost all lands have known them; almost all have yielded them converts. And when the convert has been gained, he has been gained to an extent that modern Christian missions have not accomplished. The African Muslim and the Chinese Muslim stand beside the Arab, the Persian, and the Indian in close social fellowship. It has always been so. Christianity, too, in its earlier days, with its earliest missionaries, had this power; then it, too, was a real brotherhood that stood solid against all the powers of the outside world. But that seems irrecoverably past; the Christian nations, for better or worse, have reached a stage of development that cannot assimilate the half-savage convert. Except in the rarest instances, he remains out-

side the pale, perhaps accepting his position, perhaps repelled by it to rejection at last of the faith itself.

Another point that has greatly aided the success of Muslim missionary efforts is the character of that faith. Although it has given birth to a theology of the greatest elaboration and subtilty, it can be put in a form understandable to the most primitive mind. In this not the very crudest form of "evangelical" Christianity can equal it. Thus it has appealed and must appeal to half-savage races, which can be reached and moved by its rationalism in faith and practical realism in life and morals, far sooner than by the idealism taught by Christianity in both spheres. And, with this help thus given them, there can be no doubt as to the advance made by many of these races. This has especially been seen in the Muslim negro states growing up in central Africa. Islam has certainly meant a new life for them. It has been maintained—and the position is at least defensible—that for the negro in his present state Islam is fitted to do more good than Christianity; it is undoubted that it has spread more easily and spontaneously. What, however, will be the future of those races, whether they will ever emerge from the *cul-de-sac* which Islam has proved to be for every other race, lies in the future; we can only fear.

Finally, I would most earnestly urge upon all who are interested in missions the importance of reading this book carefully. There is much to be learned from it. They will see in it Islam at its best, a living and life-giving Islam which must be known to be met. Our organized mission effort can learn from the absolutely unorganized work of the Muslims what single men can do; it can learn how the missionary must adapt himself; and it can learn, most of all, how the old brotherhood in Christ must be restored, if his kingdom is to come.

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DIE NATURWISSENSCHAFT IN IHREM SCHULDVERHÄLTNISS ZUM CHRISTENTHUM. Eine religionsgeschichtliche Skizze. Von Lic. MARTENSEN LARSEN, Pfarrer in Vejlbj bei Aarhus. Berlin: Verlag von Reuther & Reichard, 1897. Pp. iv+90, 8vo. M. 1.60.

THIS brochure of 90 pages, translated by the author himself from the Danish into German, aims, as its title states, to show the indebtedness of natural science to Christianity. The motto, taken from the late

eminent professor of physiology in Berlin, Du Bois-Reymond, is striking: "However paradoxical it may seem, modern natural science owes its origin to Christianity."

The author thinks the fundamental idea he advocates may seem new and surprising to some of his readers. At first it impressed him in the same way; but its truth was confirmed by the study of the history of the ancient religions and by the views of modern investigators, particularly of Du Bois-Reymond and F. A. Lange, author of the *History of Materialism*. He regards as equally unfounded the fears of Christians respecting the irreligious effects of natural science and the opposition of scientists to Christianity. Faith and knowledge have long been wedded, and in the case of many Christians they are still firmly united. Has it now been made necessary, since knowledge has become science, to sever this union?

The author admits that the church cannot claim always to have been the friend and promoter of science. It obliged Galileo to recant, refused to accept the results of geological research respecting the age of the earth, and opposed Darwinism. The Renaissance had to break the yoke of ecclesiasticism before science could flourish. The inference that Christianity itself is hostile to science is, however, a mistake. Christianity and the variable dogmas of the church in different ages cannot be identified. It is wrong to attribute to the Christian religion what was done by the church after it became a state institution.

Science has never flourished in heathen nations. In the sense in which we take the term science now, as involving exactness and finality, even the Greeks and Romans were but children. When Christianity came and entered the heathen nations, the Christians were naturally affected by their environment. Their mission to save the world made religious interests supreme. The failure of the Middle Ages to promote science is not due to Christianity, but to the superstitions, the culture, and the philosophies of the times. Even in more recent periods decisions have been made in the name of philosophy which are apt to be ascribed to religion. The author mentions the fact that the Jesuit Scheiner discovered the spots on the sun and informed his superior of the fact. The latter answered: "I have read Aristotle from beginning to end and found nothing about spots on the sun. Be convinced, therefore, my son, that the spots are in thy glass or in thy eyes, but not in the sun."

We cannot follow the author in his argument to show that Christ and the Scriptures are favorable to natural science. In opposing tra-



ditionalism, in concentrating the attention of his disciples on spiritual objects, and in refusing to meddle with things not included in his special mission, Jesus laid the basis for the freedom of investigation required for the development of science.

The conclusion reached is that science is indebted to Christianity, and the church is indebted to science. Views of science based on atheism and materialism, and that reduce all that takes place to physical mechanism, are, of course, hostile to religion. Here is the conflict, the question being whether these views are correct. Even the scientist needs Christianity to teach him that there is something else than this crass materialism, that the soul and freedom and God are realities. Religion and science, God and nature, all are needed by man. The closing words are: "Thus history has shown us that it was Christianity which helped man to understand and rule nature. History has also shown that a knowledge of nature has taught many to appreciate Christianity more fully. We have found what we sought: the memories of the past, in which Christianity and natural science were united. If we ask history whether the two should be severed, a decided No is the answer; and the same response is given if we ask the human heart."

This brochure is a valuable apologetic contribution to the controversy between religion and natural science. It is calculated to remove misapprehensions on both sides, and to promote friendly relations, and even coöperation, where now antagonism prevails. Especially is credit due to the author for distinguishing so clearly between pure Christianity and the failings of the historic church.

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URTEXT UND UEBERSETZUNGEN DER BIBEL IN UEBERSICHTLICHER DARSTELLUNG. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1897. Pp. iv + 240. M. 3.

IT WAS a very happy idea of the editor and the publishers of the new (third) edition of Herzog's *Real-Encyclopædie* to publish the articles on the text and translations of the Bible in a separate volume, thus making this part of the new edition accessible to many students who do not care to buy the new edition of the *Protestantische Real-Encyclopædie*.

The first article (pp. 1-15) treats of the text of the Old Testament. Originally written by the late Professor Dillmann, it has been revised by Delitzsch's successor, F. Buhl. The literature is more complete than in the former editions. But the space being limited, Buhl did not enter into details. This gap is now filled by the stupendous work of Ginsburg, *Introduction to the Massoretico-critical Edition of the Hebrew Bible*, London, 1897.

The second article (pp. 16-61) treats of the New Testament text, the written as well as the printed. Originally written by the famous Tischendorf, it is now published in a revised form by Oscar von Gebhardt. This article is far superior to the work of the late Professor Schaff in his *Companion to the Greek Testament*. The literature recorded by Gebhardt is surprising. There is hardly a European periodical which is not mentioned; and the author has with all diligence collected everything pertaining to his subject. As a matter of course, we find here things old and new, but the New Testament student will peruse this article of Gebhardt with great profit, in spite of what he finds in works like Scrivener's.

The articles on the versions begin with that on the Septuagint, originally written by O. F. Fritzsche, but now prepared by Eberhard Nestle. This scholar has no equal in this department. He is a very careful writer, and, though a great deal has already been written on the Greek versions of the Old Testament, Nestle contributes something new. Thus he tells us a little story of the late Professor Hitzig, who always introduced his lectures in the theological seminary at Heidelberg with these words addressed to the students: "Gentlemen, have you a Septuagint? If not, then sell all that you have and buy a Septuagint." This in illustration of the importance of that version. The list of works referred to in the literature is surprising, although we miss the reference to several articles published in the *McClintock and Strong's Cyclopaedia*.

The article on the Greek versions (pp. 62-84) is followed by that on the Latin translations (pp. 85-118), also by Fritzsche-Nestle. The hand of the reviser is visible everywhere. The article concludes with these words: "The time for Latin translations is gone, new translations would be an anachronism. The duty of the present and future is the hard task of translating into living languages, and to study most thoroughly the oldest Latin versions and make use of them."

The third article on versions refers to the German translations

(pp. 119-44), and is by Fritzsche and Nestle. The fourth, on the Egyptian version (pp. 144-7), by the same; the fifth, on the Ethiopic (pp. 147-50), is by Praetorius; the sixth, on the Arabic (pp. 150-55), is by Fritzsche and Nestle, from whom also comes the article on the Armenian versions (pp. 155-7). Gregory, of Leipzig, has prepared the article on English translations (pp. 157-60). The article on the Finn and Lapp versions is by Belsheim (pp. 160-61); that on the Georgian by Fritzsche and Nestle; on the Hebrew New Testament by Dalman; on the Judæo-Aramaic (Targumim) (pp. 163-70) by Volck and Nestle; that on the Celtic (pp. 171-3) by Zimmer; on the Lithuanian and Lettic (pp. 173-5) by Leskien; on the Magyar (pp. 175-8) by Balogh; on modern Greek (pp. 178-9) by Ph. Meyer; on the Dutch (pp. 179-84) by Nestle; on the Persian (pp. 184-5) by Fritzsche and Nestle; on the Romance (pp. 185-205) by Reuss and Berger; on the Samaritan Pentateuch (pp. 205-6) by Nestle; on the Scandinavian versions (pp. 206-11) by Belsheim; on the Slavic (pp. 211-23) by Leskien. In the last-named section the author treats (1) of the ecclesiastical version of the Slavs of the Eastern Church (Bulgarians, Servians, Russians); (2) of translations into the vernacular of the Russians, Bulgarians, Servians; (3) of other translations of Slavic nations belonging either to the Roman Catholic or Protestant churches (as Sloven, Croat, Bohemian, Polish, Wend, the latter divided into lower and upper). The closing article treats of the Syriac versions (pp. 227-38) and is by Nestle. Here again we see the master hand of one of the best Syriac scholars of Europe. Speaking of the translations of the Bible in the service of missions, especially as produced by the British and Foreign Bible Society, whilst admitting the great love and zeal bestowed on such work, Nestle cannot forbear remarking that this wholesale production of versions is not a mere victory of genuine Christianity. With these words the volume ends.

Of the volume as a whole it must be said that the specialist cannot do without it. Whether we subscribe to the statement of Nestle as regards the versions or not, certain it is that from a mere literary point of view they are of great interest. It may be added that the English student who wishes to acquaint himself with that which has already been accomplished in the field of Bible translation will find much material for his purpose in the articles in the *Cyclopædia of Missions*.

B. PICK.

THE CLAIMS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT. Lectures delivered in connection with the sesquicentennial celebration of Princeton University. By STANLEY LEATHES, D.D., Professor of Old Testament Exegesis in King's College, London. New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1897. Pp. 73. Cloth, \$1.

THE purpose of these lectures, as announced by their author, is "to investigate the reasons for which we accept the Old Testament as the record of a revelation possessed of divine authority, and inquire how far they are affected by recent theories and speculations concerning it" (p. 1). This is a question which the intelligent layman is competent to discuss, for, as Kuenen says: "The critic has no other Bible than the public, nor does he profess to find anything in his Bible that the ordinary reader cannot see" (p. 2).

The presence of the supernatural in the Old Testament does not invalidate its claims, because it professes to be the record of a covenant made by God with men, and the formation of such a covenant inevitably involves the supernatural. The ultimate question is, therefore, one as to the veracity of the records. In favor of the truthfulness of the records is to be urged their antiquity, their directness and simplicity, the absence of any external evidence against them, and also the relation existing between the Old and New Testaments, for the records of these two covenants are mutually interdependent. Professor Leathes pays his respects also to the opinion that the moral and spiritual lessons of the Old Testament are unaffected by the critical conclusions concerning the documents, and argues that the moral value of records which are either mythical or fraudulent cannot be very high, while the moral teaching which has been deduced from these narratives is left absolutely without foundation. This may be illustrated by Deuteronomy, for "no one could maintain that the ethical value of Deuteronomy would be the same whether it were fiction or the narration of a fact" (p. 45).

The authenticity of the records is also supported by the impossibility of accounting for the origin of the narratives, if they are only the productions of a later age. The historical books and the Psalms find their simplest and most natural interpretation in the setting which is given to them in the Old Testament itself, while the explanation of the prophetic books is just as simple on the traditional as on the modern critical theory, for no dissection and distribution of these books can eliminate "that feature of anticipation and foreknowledge which characterizes the Old Testament as a whole" (p. 64).

The author has made a strong argument in favor of the traditional

view of the Bible, and the fact that this argument has been made by so competent a scholar as Professor Leathes should serve to check the zeal of those enthusiasts who would compel the adoption of the recent critical theories by the sheer weight of the authority of modern scholarship.

WALTER R. BETTERIDGE.

ROCHESTER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

BEITRÄGE ZUR ISRAELITISCHEN UND JÜDISCHEN RELIGIONS-  
SCHICHTE. Von Lic. Dr. ERNST SELLIN, Privatdozent der  
Theologie in Erlangen. Heft II: *Israels Güter und Ideale*.  
Erste Hälfte. Leipzig: A. Deichert'sche Verlagsbuch-  
handlung Nachf. (Georg Böhme), 1897. Pp. viii+314.  
M. 6.

THE first part of the *Beiträge* discussed "Jahwes Verhältnis zum israelitischen Volk und Individuum nach altisraelitischer Vorstellung." The present volume properly assumes the conclusions reached in the earlier one, viz., in brief, that Israel's belief, existing from the time of Moses, that Jahwe had chosen them as his own from among other peoples, and the development of this belief in the course of their history, are to be accounted for by nothing less than an actual revelation of himself to Moses, and a real educating process conducted by him through command and providence. The purpose of the present volume, and its successor, promised after a year's interval, is to discuss the relation in which the Israelite stood to Jahwe in daily life; his thoughts about goods and gifts expected from him and about the forms of life which most fully accord with his will, and in which there was the nearest approach to him. In what goods and gifts was his favor to be seen, and what occurrences of life revealed his wrath? What did the Israelite think of the natural goods of life, what others did he recognize, and did he acknowledge God as the highest good? If so, how did this consciousness develop?

Israel's history is, for the present purpose, divided into four periods. The first closes with David's reign, the second Sellin entitles the prophetic reaction against the secularization of the people, from Solomon to the Babylonian exile. The third and fourth periods, Israel under the influence of the prophetic reaction from the reform of Hezekiah and Josiah to the Maccabean times, and post-canonical Judaism, remain to form another volume.

Sellin's critical prepossessions are seen from the results of his

former volume. He does not admit an essential change from the early (popular) to the later (prophetic) religion. In literary criticism, also, he departs in not unimportant particulars from the Wellhausen school, although the whole plan of the *Beiträge* vouches for his essential accord with current views.

The "natural" goods of life as recognized in ancient Israel, such as strength, freedom, country, peace, joy, but especially victory, material prosperity, and children, were to them not natural, but gifts from Jahwe. Their strong faith in him as working immediately in the world, together with their simple cultural condition, prevented a general emphasis upon second causes. In his gifts they saw the means to religious ends, for they expressed his thought and disposition toward them.

Even in early times there were beginnings of a conflict between, *e. g.*, the religious and the secular valuation of the goods of life, between the desire to gain them and obedience to the moral law of God which often stood in the way, between the theory of divine blessings and retributions in their life and actual facts observed. And yet he finds in this period no systematic reaction against the high valuation of natural goods. The pessimism of Gen. 2—11 is not an importation from the East, but is the Israelitish view of what life is outside the limits of the chosen people of Jahwe. The rise of prophets, priests, and Nazirites was not for the sake of a protest against such high valuation.

In the second period the conditions that had favored a religious valuation of natural goods were altered. Second causes contributed more evidently to happiness and prosperity; commerce, business, army organization engrossed the attention. Natural goods were valued more for their own sake. Moral obligations did not weigh so heavily. Rewards and punishments in this life lost their quondam force. Against this secularization appeared the prophets. They did not attempt to restore cultural conditions which had gone forever; they accepted the present so far as it was inevitable. Natural goods, with their earlier religious value, are by the prophets projected into the future as an ideal to be realized in Messianic times. In the meantime they held before Israel, in their place, moral and religious goods, and divinely appointed and used means of grace.

Attractive as the book is in its general aim, the details of the discussion involve still more interesting features, which cannot be further mentioned. The religious history of Israel is not like a stream flow-

ing from a single spring within a straight channel, but like one constantly varied by the various contour of its banks, and ever and anon receiving brooks and rivulets to swell its volume. The limitations and exceptions, by no means rare, the numerous controverted questions, and the valuable exegetical matter require, and reward, a diligent study of the book.

OWEN H. GATES.

OBERLIN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

THE HEBREWS IN EGYPT AND THEIR EXODUS. By ALEXANDER WHEELOCK THAYER. Peoria: E. S. Willcox, 1897. Pp. v + 315. \$1.50.

ACCORDING to Mr. Thayer the great roll extending from Genesis to Kings, inclusive, was written in Babylonia between 536 and 517 to prevent a return of the Davidic dynasty. It consisted of two compilations, D or Deuteronomy, made in the reign of Hezekiah, and B, comprising material from different ages. The Mosaic period furnished the decalogue, the itineraries, the earlier genealogies, the description of the temple-tent. Parts of the law were used as text-books in Samuel's "prophetic schools;" while some apocryphal stories of Joseph and of Moses were inserted *ca.* 350 by the "great assembly." As to the topography, Succoth was only a row of booths, Baal Zephon an idol, Migdol a tower, Yam Sûph a continuation of the Heroöpolitan gulf, Shur a kind of Chinese wall, Paran a strip of land running through Negeb into Et Tih, Sinai the modern Jebel Araif. Joseph came into Egypt in the time of Mer en Ptah. The Hebrews were never in bondage. But in the reign of Ramessu IV they desired to return to Canaan, and sent Moses and Aaron to the court at Thebes to secure a permit. On leaving, the Hebrew princes emancipated and brought with them the king's Palestinian slaves. Yam Sûph was crossed between lakes Timzah and Ballah. At Sinai the slaves were adopted as the seed of Abraham. But many of these freedmen were subsequently put to death for worshipping a golden Apis bull.

Genesis-Kings may have been one historical compilation. But the chief evidence of this is the use in Joshua-Kings of those pentateuchal sources Mr. Thayer ignores. Their present of a golden crown for Zerubbabel's coronation indicates the sympathies of the Babylonian Jews. 2 Kings 18:4 is too weak to bear the weight of Deuteronomy. The decalogue reflects the teaching of the prophets. The forty stations seem to have been created to correspond with the forty

years of wandering. A luxuriant family tree is with all races an object of desire, and the wish is the father of the thought. Mr. Thayer's chronology is based on the line Levi, Kohath, Amram, Moses. Would not Joseph, Ephraim, Beriah, Rephah, Telah, Tahan, Elishama, Nun, Joshua do as well? It is the Egypt of the twenty-sixth dynasty the Elohist knows. If Samuel used "the law" in his seminaries, he must have given a pretty liberal construction to his standards. No local name has been satisfactorily identified. Not even Pithom. The objections of Lepsius have never been met, and Revillout still rejects the identification with Tell el Maskhuta. On Naville's Pihachiroth-Pike-rehet *cf.* my observations in *Hebraica*, X, p. 161. In Num. 14:25 (Je), 21:4 (E), 1 Kings 9:26 (J) Yam Sûph is the Aelanitic gulf. According to Müller there was no great wall, *cf.* *Asien und Europa*, p. 45. Stade, Wellhausen, Sayce, Winckler, and Moore think that Hebrew tradition placed Sinai east of the 'Aḳabah. Deut. 1:2 is against Jebel Araif. The story of the Rutennu slaves and their emancipation and adoption belongs to the realm of pure fiction. Ramessu II may have suffered undeserved obloquy as "the Pharaoh of the oppression." But Mer en Ptah, who in Palestine "devastated Israel and left it without grain," can no more be Joseph's benefactor than "the Pharaoh of the Exodus." Signs are multiplying of the presence in Palestine long before Ramessu IV (1208-1202) of tribes and tribal names playing an important part in later Hebrew history. "Israel" is now one of these.

NATHANIEL SCHMIDT.

CORNELL UNIVERSITY.

DE ELOHISTÆ PENTATEUCHICI PRIORIS, QUI VOCATUR, ETHICA. Dissertatio Theologica, quam ordinis theologorum summe reverendi auctoritate in Academia Friderico-Alexandrina Erlangensi ad honores licentiati theologiæ rite capessendos die XXV. mensis Julii MDCCCXCVI, hora X, in aula publice defendet JUSTVS KÖBERLE, *cand. theol.* MDCCCXCVI. Typis Friderici Junge typographi aulæ regiæ Bavaricæ et universitatis Erlangensis. Pp. 98.

THIS dissertation does not consider at all pentateuchal analysis as such. It assumes, as already proved, the existence within the Pentateuch of different documents with well-defined limits. One of these documents, more often known as the Priests' Code, but called by the author the Former Elohist and represented by the symbol P, is discussed by him with reference to its ethical teachings. The similar



code H, the Law of Holiness, existing within P, is included in the discussion. P is treated simply as a book, and not at all with reference to the historical circumstances of its origin.

The author seems to define ethics in the following rather vague terms: "whatever things are done by man endowed with free will for the sake of attaining some definite end," and says that, therefore, the present discussion is concerned with "whatever things should be observed by the people and by individuals in order to attain the end set before the people and individuals by God." This "end" he finds to be the communion of God and Israel, which was brought about by the covenant between them. The way for the people to attain this end was by holiness, because God is holy. The holiness of God is defined as his perfection, which is opposed to all impurity, and hence it is practically equivalent to purity. Nearly all the regulations of P are designed to show ways to escape various kinds of impurity, in other words, to be holy as God is holy. The reasoning by which the author seeks to show that the holiness of God is the underlying principle in the different cases is ingenious, but not always convincing.

The author touches on many controverted points, and, therefore, it would not be surprising if no one should agree with him in all his conclusions. His fairness and clearness of statement, however, are usually noticeable. A few criticisms may be offered. It is rather a serious omission that so few books were consulted which are printed in other languages than German. The author makes some inferences not fully warranted by the evidence in trying to find in P a symmetrical ethical system. The consideration of customs and institutions among other Semitic nations similar to those of Israel, *e. g.*, in reference to sacrifices, is designedly omitted, and yet it would have helped to truer conceptions at certain points. The idea of the omnipotence of God cannot fairly be deduced from the phrase *אֵל שֶׁכֵּן* alone, as the author does on p. 5, even if the usual derivation of *שֶׁכֵּן* be the correct one. The word *נָכַר* (Deut. 23:21) is on p. 88 apparently confused with the words *נָרַ* and *חֹשֶׁב*. Minor typographical errors are not infrequent.

This thesis has an indirect bearing on the question of pentateuchal analysis. The fact that the ethical system of P is not entirely complete, but must be supplemented from the other codes, which is recognized on pp. 10, 25, 30, and 40, may suggest that the current analysis is not so certainly correct as the author assumes it to be. The book also contributes directly much material which will be found very helpful in

the consideration of the ethics of the Old Testament in general. No one can fail to find the book stimulating and instructive, if not at all points conclusive.

GEORGE RICKER BERRY.

COLGATE UNIVERSITY.

BEITRÄGE ZUR ENTSTEHUNGSGESCHICHTE DES PENTATEUCHS. Von  
D. AUGUST KLOSTERMANN.

THIS is the title of a series of articles in the *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift* (January–May, 1897), a continuation of some previous articles on the same subject, which were subsequently republished in book form. The object of the present series is stated to be, not the discussion of all the various archæological and historical questions which might be raised, but simply the literary and historical investigation as to authorship, date, and original form of the primitive pentateuchal narrative. In the execution of this purpose the writer confines himself to two features of that narrative: (1) the description of the Mosaic sanctuary and (2) of the arrangement of the Israelitish camp (Ex., chaps. 25–31 and 35–40). These two features are selected as central points, as it were, of great importance, around which all other subordinate matters are grouped.

After briefly setting forth the fundamental nature of these two subjects as treated in the pentateuchal narrative, the writer next proceeds to an investigation of the state of the text. The different Hebrew and Greek texts, as they stand today, show traces of many different recensions. While remarkable differences exist between the Greek and the Hebrew, *e. g.*, in those sections which treat of the construction and furnishing of the sanctuary (Ex., chaps. 36–40), it must also be noted that the different Greek texts differ among themselves. Even the pre-hexaplar Greek text must have presented a mixture of different translations, or different recensions, and investigation shows also that the Vatican text, as compared with Origen's *Hexaplar*, goes back to a simpler and briefer type differing materially from the present Hebrew text. In its present form, however, it resembles the Hebrew text more closely. This, however, is the result of later changes and additions. As it now stands, even those portions, *e. g.*, certain verses in chaps. 35, 36, and 37, which seem to be most literally translated from the Hebrew, when studied more carefully, make the impression of careful arrangement and fitting together of different fragments. The conclusion is reached, accordingly, that the Hebrew text of Ex., chaps. 25–40,

is, in the main, unquestionably more original and trustworthy than the Greek texts, as they now stand, although even the Hebrew text presents traces of different recensions.

One such trace is discovered in the use of the terms *עדות* and *ברית*. The confusion with which these terms seem to be used leads to a special investigation of their use and significance. As the result of this investigation of the symbolism embodied in the ark it is maintained that in the original pentateuchal narrative the ark was called the ark of the *ברית*, because it contained the tables of the *ברית*, or, briefly, the *ברית*. It was called the *עדות* ark, or the *עדות*, because it symbolized the invisible presence of God, who is enthroned among the cherubim. At a later time this distinction was lost sight of, and the expressions "ark of the *ברית*" and "ark of the *עדות*" were regarded as synonymous, and hence "tables of the *עדות*" and "tables of the *ברית*" were used interchangeably, and finally a recension took place which substituted *עדות* for *ברית* in many places. This substitution, however, was not accomplished with such uniformity in the Septuagint as in the Hebrew.

Another point taken up is the relation of the expressions *אהל מועד* and *משכן יהוה*. These terms seem to be used interchangeably, and yet careful investigation shows that the expression *אהל מועד* is inserted in many places where it does not belong.

As a result of these investigations it is maintained that: (1) At a very early period the pentateuchal narrative was a literary unity, but a composite unity, so to speak, formed by combining three elements, (a) fragments of narratives and anecdotes using the expression "ark of the Covenant," "ark of Jehovah," and in which the sanctuary was called *אהל מועד*; (b) liturgical directions which also used the term *אהל מועד*; (c) an account of the divine command to erect a sanctuary and an account of the fulfillment of this command, in which the ark was called "the ark of the *עדות*" or "the *עדות*," and the sanctuary was called "the *משכן* of the *עדות*," or "the *משכן*." In order to bear out this last-named point, however, the text of the passage (Ex. 33:7-11) must be changed so as to make it contain an account of the command of Jehovah to erect a sanctuary. (2) It is maintained that the modern designation of P as the author of Ex. 25-31 and 35-40, and of the bulk of Leviticus, is misleading, useless, and meaningless.

On the one hand, a merely superficial examination of the vocabulary of the present Hebrew text furnishes a very uncertain criterion on which to form a judgment as to identity or diversity of the authorship

of the various portions, for the specific occurrence of specific terms is often the result of subsequent recensions. And, on the other hand, a more careful study of these different terms, *e. g.*, משכן עדר ברית and אהל מועד, shows that P itself is by no means homogeneous, but a composite. To divide the Pentateuch into J and P and D is like the tailors dividing the world into tailors and non-tailors.

In regard to this whole investigation and its results, it must be observed that both Klostermann and some of his critics and reviewers lay too much stress on minute differences of vocabulary as the ground of analyzing the Pentateuch into its supposed documents. That, although a strong, is by no means the strongest ground of the supposed division. A much stronger ground is the study of the history of Israel. That study reveals (or is alleged to reveal) an evident gradation in the laws of the Pentateuch (or Hexateuch), discrepancies between alleged laws and the real historical situation and transactions, and correspondence between historical periods and the ascertained strata of laws. After considerable ingenious speculation on the symbolism conveyed in the pentateuchal narrative concerning the ark and its belongings and surroundings, some rather arbitrary and capricious emendations of the text, similar to those which have been noticed in the writer's commentary on the books of Samuel and of Kings, and some fanciful theorizing as to what the narrative might have contained in its original form, the fourth and last installment of these articles takes up the question of the probable date of the composition of these chapters.

The current hypothesis of Wellhausen is subjected to a keen criticism. This hypothesis finds one of its supports in the vision of Ezekiel. Ezekiel, it is alleged, draws upon his fancy and depicts a new temple and describes its cultus, with the intention of having this temple and its cultus adopted in the religious life of the people. In the same way the pentateuchal narrative is a deliberate fiction for the purpose of foisting a new system of cultus upon the people. Klostermann, however, points out the difference between Ezekiel and the pentateuchal narrative. Ezekiel is professedly a prophet, who consciously and avowedly speaks of the ideal and the future. The Pentateuch, however, is a narrative, and professes to relate sober and well-authenticated facts. The desire to influence the cultus of his people or impose innovations of cultus is nowhere hinted at.

It might easily be argued against Klostermann, however, that the very fact that Ezekiel, speaking in his own name as a prophet and

using the form of prophetic vision, did not succeed in actualizing his ideals of cultus might easily have led the supposed author of the Pentateuch (or P) to try the other plan of anonymous historical narrative as more likely to produce the desired result.

Again, Klostermann argues that the story of the ark and the tabernacle in the wilderness was not likely to have been suggested by the erection of Solomon's temple, because Solomon's temple derived its sanctity only from the presence of the ark.

The difficulties and objections in the way of accepting the current Wellhausen hypothesis are presented in a masterful manner. On the supposition that it was a deliberate fiction, the difficulties in the way of inducing the people to accept it as truth, and the further difficulties of making them adopt the cultus therein described, are enormous. For, granted that the people were persuaded to accept the narrative as true, how could it be made to appear that cultus regulations alleged to have been given ages ago and under entirely different surroundings were applicable and binding in times and circumstances as they then existed?

It might be argued, on the other hand, however, that this reasoning proceeds upon a misunderstanding of what took place according to the current hypothesis. It is not maintained that a narrative and a system of cultus were manufactured, so to speak, and imposed on the people. But, beginning with a sacred tradition derived from remote antiquity, there was a real germ of accepted cultus prescriptions. This germ developed itself in a very gradual, but perfectly natural, process of development. The forces that contributed to its development and that effected in time its modification or the substitution of one form or one set of laws for another were subtle, multifarious, and complex. At no time was there a conscious break with the traditions of the past. At no time did conscious and intentional fiction enter in as an element of these transmuting forces.

Dr. Klostermann is on surer ground and argues with greater show of reason when he shows the absurdity of maintaining that the rich and varied Hebrew literature — Job, Psalms, Proverbs, deutero-Isaiah, and the Pentateuch — all originated during a period of comparatively few years, in exilic and post-exilic times.

The reasoning from the light which may be thrown on the history of the Pentateuch from the study of German religious, social, economic, and political history is very felicitous. It is doubtless true, as he says, that modern scholars are influenced more by learned books,

gotten up in the retirement of libraries, and setting forth the unfounded theories and speculations of other scholars, than by a first-hand knowledge of affairs and actual personal study of the field. In the light of Harnack's recent utterances on the subject of New Testament literature, the conclusion does not seem unwarranted that the current pentateuchal hypothesis will eventually meet the same fate that befell Baur's reconstructions of the New Testament literature.

In conclusion Dr. Klostermann states the reasons which convince him that the narrative under consideration goes back to David, and from him to its historical kernel in the wilderness.

The reasonableness, consistency, and inherent probability of the narrative as it stands, particularly in regard to the arrangement of the Israelitish camp and the constructive furnishing of the sanctuary, are put forth with convincing power.

That Moses should have been favored with a divine vision to instruct him as to the sanctuary which he was to construct is argued to have been probable, both from the nature of the case, which demands that divine worship shall be based on divinely communicated regulations, and from various considerations and experiences which prepared him psychologically for receiving such a vision. These were, *first*, the naturalness of entertaining the idea of preparing a place and a sanctuary which should embody the newly revealed idea of the covenant; *second*, the recollection of the sanctuary which God himself erected, with all its sacraments and sacred acts and occupation, for our first parents [this reason is rather fanciful]; *third*, the contemplation of the army of nomadic Israel, dwelling in tents, in the midst of whom Jehovah dwelt; and, *fourth*, his familiarity with the Egyptian practice of using material things, as the letters of a symbolical alphabet, by means of which intelligent expression might be given to important spiritual and sacred truths.

ABEL H. HUIZINGA.

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THE CAMBRIDGE BIBLE FOR SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES. *The Books of Joel and Amos*, with Introduction and Notes. By REV. S. R. DRIVER, D.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University of Oxford. Cambridge: At the University Press; New York: The Macmillan Company, 1897. Pp. 244, 16mo. Cloth, \$1, net.

THE volume upon Joel and Amos will prove one of the most popular issues in the Cambridge Bible series. In it may be observed that

sober judgment and conservative temper for which the author is distinguished, the same learning and discrimination he has manifested in former works, and perhaps an even greater degree of skill in condensation. Students of Driver's *Introduction* will find that the author's views of the prophecy of Joel have sustained no substantial change—the conclusions there stated being simply reinforced and elaborated—but he has presented a new section on the interpretation of the prophecies, one of the most satisfactory parts of the book. In this he concludes that the scourge of locusts mentioned in chap. 1 the people had actually endured, and that from this was suggested to the prophet's imagination the still more formidable swarms of the second chapter, which he regarded as the immediate precursors of Jehovah's day. This day of Jehovah Driver regards as containing the central thought of the prophecy, suggested to Joel, as to other prophets, by extraordinary visitations of God, and including the idea of Jehovah's final interposition in the affairs of men to punish wrong and establish right. According to Driver, the chief difference between Joel and his predecessors lies in the emphasis that Joel throws on "the distinction between Israel and the nations" rather than between "the righteous and the wicked in Israel itself," an emphasis which, in Joel, led to no real extravagance, though made the occasion perhaps for the later "particularistic" idea of the Jews, and itself but a partial view of God's attitude to the nations.

In the introduction to Amos are two sections, for the most part new, on the "characteristic teaching of Amos," and on "some literary aspects of Amos's book." In the first the writer calls attention to the emphasis placed by Amos upon moral standards of living as applicable to Israel no less than to the other peoples, and in the second, with some reservation, he is inclined to reject the views of several of the best interpreters of Amos when they question the *genuineness* of portions of the present book.

In the exposition are set forth in compact form the accomplished results of modern scholarship, or the precise nature of the uncertainty, where opinions are still divided. It would be easy to multiply illustrations, but it is sufficient to refer to the many and valuable geographical notes to be found in the appropriate places, to such notes as those on *locusts* and their ravages, *wine, winds and rain, implements of peace and war, threshing-board, tithes, mourning customs, offerings, musical instruments, Jehovah of hosts, Virgin of Israel, Torah, Nazirites, slave dealing, return to God, spiritual gifts, visions.*

The book here reviewed will be a very convenient commentary, and will undoubtedly have a wide circulation.

CHARLES RUFUS BROWN.

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Newton Center, Mass.

ISAIAH. A Study of Chapters I-XII. By H. G. MITCHELL, Professor in Boston University. New York and Boston: T. Y. Crowell & Co., 1897. Pp. 263, 12mo. \$2.

THE last critical commentary on Isaiah by an American scholar appeared in 1847; fifty years is surely long enough to wait for another. The progress of half a century is indicated by the list of more than a hundred works on Isaiah, three-fourths of which have been published since Alexander's portly volumes. These authorities are not paraded, but cited appositely, one or more of them on almost every page, old and new mingling freely, Calvin, Vitranga, and Henry with Cheyne, Duhm, and Skinner. The only important commentator omitted is Drechsler; and Orelli's revised edition should have been used, as it differs from the first. Frequent and judicious remarks on grammatical points exhibit the solid basis that underlies the exposition. A good measure of independence is manifest in the critical and exegetical conclusions, the reasons for which are commonly stated with brevity, sometimes with fullness and with much force, as on 7:14; 9:5-6. Here and there conjectural emendations of value are suggested, *e. g.*, at 10:13, 25, 27 f.

The translation, occupying pp. 60-81, is to be highly commended as a whole; it combines the best features of Cheyne and Skinner, sometimes improving on them both. Occasionally it misses the vividness of the original, as in the prosaic insertion of *but, which, and as for* in 1:6, 7, or of *and* in 10:9. In 1:13 "vegetable offering" is not only unrythmical, but incorrect; see W. J. Beecher, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, V, 73. A misleading paronomasia, where the original has none, is introduced at 1:11 (fat of fatlings), and a double one at 2:21 (rents of rocks, and clefts of cliffs). Other instances of oversight are due partly to errors of proof; it is important to correct 8:7 (p. 92) to 8:16, and the word "latest" (p. 33) to "earliest."

The author frequently opposes, with native good sense, the critical theories of Cheyne and the recent German critics; but when the question relates to authorship, the historical tradition is too often held



guilty until proved to be innocent. Out of a total of 252 verses, fifty-six whole verses, besides numerous parts, are pronounced ungenuine; and yet, as everyone knows, these twelve chapters were given, until recently, to Isaiah *en bloc* by the analysts themselves. Metrical considerations have some weight in these judgments, but are seldom decisive. Our author remarks (p. 30): "Oriental poets allow themselves greater liberty than is permitted occidental singers. . . . [Isaiah] seems not to have permitted himself to be trammelled by metrical considerations, but freely to have lengthened and shortened his lines and strophes to suit the flow of his thought." This is well said, but Professor Mitchell inclines to forget it; moreover, he has neglected a golden opportunity of working out this subject of meters in detail.

Objection to the genuineness of a given passage is oftener made on account of its unlikeness to the acknowledged writings of Isaiah, either in style, spirit, or religious development; but, on the other hand, 9: 15 falls under suspicion because it *resembles* the Isaian passage 3: 12. In fact, subjective arguments play an undue part; as when it is stated (p. 236) that *עַל כָּל הָאָרֶץ* is "clearly" an interpolation, whereas Dillmann regards that very phrase as characteristic of Isaiah; or as when Duhm is followed again in throwing out 8: 23, no notice being taken of Skinner's answer. A tone far too confident appears at p. 113: "Isaiah cannot have foretold the universal prevalence of the Hebrew religion. That idea was a later development;" and again, p. 249: "The final touch was not given to this picture by Isaiah. He did not see the entire breadth of Jehovah's purpose." What Isaiah could not foretell, and did not see, no man now living is wise enough to say.

The last paragraph of the book compares Isaiah with the unknown prophet who published chaps. i-xii centuries later. Those who feel the need of such a supplementary prophet (as distinct from an editor who revises with a few brief touches) are wont to refer to the wide difference in religious development between Isaiah's time and his; to the divergence of tone and outlook and ideas between the old and the new Israel. Professor Mitchell shows that the future of God's people lay close to the heart of Isaiah, and that the same was true of this prophet X. Isaiah confessed that Israel's sins merited divine displeasure; X confessed the same of his people. Isaiah believed in, and labored for, their restoration; so did X. There can be no doubt of the matter, for this very phrase, "there can be no doubt what they

taught concerning it" [the future of God's people], is Professor Mitchell's own. If it is replied that, after all, he has represented the twelve chapters as containing irreconcilable fragments, one has only to turn from the end of the book to the beginning, and find there an elaborate analysis, binding the whole into a logical unity.

Professor Mitchell has done excellent service by putting in popular form the arguments for a plurality of authors, whence it appears how slight those arguments are.

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GRAMMATIK DES NEUTESTAMENTLICHEN GRIECHISCH. VON FRIEDRICH BLASS, Ph.D., Litt.D. (Dublin), ordentlichem Professor der klassischen Philologie an der Universität Halle-Wittenberg. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1896. Pp. xii + 329. M. 5.40.

FRIEDRICH BLASS, of Halle, is certainly one of the great scholars of Germany — acute, incisive, learned, sane. He is one of the few university professors of that country who began their career as teachers in gymnasia, and perhaps he owes to this pedagogical experience part of the practical sense which he displays in his writings. His greatest work is a history of Attic eloquence in four large volumes. In connection with this he has edited the extant texts of almost all of the Greek authors, has published a judicious commentary on some of the orations of Demosthenes, and has written a history of later Greek oratory. No other man has done so much as he to recall the important observations of the ancient rhetoricians on the arrangements of words and clauses. He discovered the principle of rhythm in the orations of Demosthenes and others, pointing out the exact balance of clauses, and showing that Greek rhetorical rhythm was based on the metrical quantity of the syllables, and that the world's greatest orator avoided a succession of three short syllables. These principles were applied rather boldly by the discoverer to the constitution of the text, and in some cases his views have varied, but always openly. Professor Blass has edited, with notes, also several lives of Plutarch. One of his earliest philological writings was a treatise on the pronunciation of Greek, which has been enlarged in successive editions and now is translated into English — a work of sound learning and good sense on a subject which has stimulated many writers to foolish absurdities, men in general being fond of daftness of their own system of pronun-

ciation. He has published also a convenient edition of Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens*, and has shown his scholarship in the field of lyric poetry. To him we owe the excellent treatises on criticism, hermeneutics, and palæography in Müller's *Handbook of Classical Philology*. Of special importance in connection with the work at present before us is his revision of the first half of Kühner's *Griechische Grammatik*, in two large volumes, which is the fullest statement yet made of facts with regard to the sounds and inflections of the Greek language. The range of his scholarship is manifest, and in each department he is a master. No other classical scholar of such distinction, except Lachmann, of Berlin, has given in this century serious attention to the interpretation of the New Testament. Most scholars, therefore, were astonished two years ago when Blass published an *Editio Philologica* of the Greek text of the Acts of the Apostles, "sive Lucæ ad Theophilum liber alter," with critical apparatus, Latin commentary, and index of words. In his preface he showed a humorous appreciation of the criticism which would be passed upon him, a classical philologist, for preparing an edition with Latin critical and exegetical commentary of a writing of the New Testament, and that, too, not with the intent to dissect it and to show that Luke could not have written the book of the Acts, but simply to elucidate its meaning and composition. One of his aims in preparing this edition may have been to maintain the claims to consideration of the form of tradition which is best represented by the Codex Bezaë, and in 1896 he published in Leipzig a text edition of the Acts, "secundum formam quæ videtur Romanam," thinking quite possible the view that this was derived from the first draft of Luke's work. Within the last weeks he has published a critical edition of the gospel of Luke, "secundum formam quæ videtur Romanam," explaining ingeniously why the Roman copy of the gospel should be later than that of Antioch, while the Roman copy of the Acts appears fuller and earlier than that from which the *textus receptus* is derived. He has recently received the honorary degree of Doctor of Theology from the University of Greifswald for his services to theology. In the introduction and commentary of his larger edition of the Acts he made such acute and interesting observations on the language of the New Testament that scholars were prepared to welcome from him such a grammar as lies before us.

Classical philology is no longer the mere hand-maid of theology, but theology still needs the service of philologists, and will gain immensely if reverent scholars like Blass will apply to the study of the

New Testament the principles of criticism and interpretation which they have long applied successfully to the investigation of the thought and language of Plato, Demosthenes, and Aristotle. A classical philologist must regret that so large a proportion of the teachers of New Testament Greek in this country are primarily theologians and only secondarily philologists, if indeed they are philologists at all. Professor Thayer and Professor Burton have too few like-minded colleagues in America. The writings of the church Fathers, where studied at all in our land, are generally studied in English translations, for theological doctrine; and the Septuagint translation of the Old Testament is studied chiefly in the hope of gaining new light for text criticism, rather than for gaining a better understanding of the language of the New Testament.

Blass's *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch* devotes seventy-one pages to sounds and forms, 226 pages to syntax, and thirty pages to indexes, including one of passages cited. It thus gives a rather larger proportional space to sounds and forms than Winer and Buttmann had done, although it, too, assumes familiar acquaintance with the classical language, and gives no paradigms. It is condensed almost to the last degree, abbreviations being used of many familiar words, and references being made with ingenious brevity,—“IC15,” being used for the ordinary “1 Cor. 15:9.” The pages are printed very “solid,” and contain much matter. Perhaps the book would have been more readable and attractive to the eye if the condensation had not gone so far.

The author acknowledges his special indebtedness to Professor Burton's *New Testament Moods and Tenses* and to Viteau's *Étude sur le Grec du Nouveau Testament*. He cites the readings of MSS., not those of editions, as is usual in such works; and this is distinctly instructive and a great aid toward securing an independent judgment of the value and characteristics of the different MSS. He has nothing to say about higher criticism, but cites as Pauline all of the epistles which have come to us under the name of Paul, though he separates the apocalypse from the gospel and epistles of John. In general he thinks the church would do well to keep the *ὁμολογούμενα* apart from the *ἀντιλεγόμενα*. The references to the Septuagint version are many, but the author avows openly that for these he is largely indebted to others. He expresses a wish, which many have thought, that we had a grammar of the Septuagint Greek. He draws many illustrations for the vulgar dialect of the Greeks from documents recently found on Egyptian papyrus of the time of Christ, and from the modern Greek language,

as well as from the epistles of Barnabas and of Clemens Romanus, the Shepherd of Hermas, and the Clementine homilies,—showing how this vulgar dialect, the *κοινή*, stands between the classical language and the modern tongue, which is the last stage in the development of Greek speech.

The reader will be interested in some observations which are taken from this volume : The writings of the New Testament are composed in the language of the Hellenized Orient where, by the side of the native tongue, Greek was the speech of everyday life, but where the people were only slightly affected by Greek culture and had only slight acquaintance with Greek literature. The *κοινή*, which is the basis of the language of the New Testament writers, and of which the use was extended in the East by Alexander's conquests, was a modified later Attic dialect, avoiding certain Attic peculiarities (such as *ττ* for *σσ* in *θάλαττα*), having no dual (being derived from the later Attic), and abandoning the dualistic distinctions between comparative and superlative, between *πότερος* and *τίς*, and between *ἐκάτερος* and *ἐκαστος*. The endings of the first aorist were transferred to the second. An effort was made to secure uniformity and simplicity. In truth, the Hellenistic language is regular enough, but without literary development. In the writings of the New Testament, the Hebrew influence is to be observed, proceeding from three sources : from the mother tongue of the writer, from familiarity with the Old Testament Scriptures, and from the original form of the gospel story (the *παράδοσις*). The influence of Latin is chiefly lexical and phraseological, but it occasionally affects the formation of words and still more distinctly the syntax. Paul before Agrippa used a more elevated form of speech, and in general employed a more careful literary style in writing to his pupils and associates than in addressing the churches. But the epistle to the Hebrews is the only work of careful literary composition in the New Testament. Paul in general, in spite of all his eloquence, and passages which all Greek orators would admire, does not take the pains to compose such elaborate sentences as the author of the epistle to the Hebrews, while he often allows abrupt changes of construction, and the most disturbing parentheses which are to be found in all the New Testament writings. *Χρησταινοί* (which Blass considers the original form) was a name given by heathen, at Antioch, who were led by the instinct of popular etymology to change the unfamiliar *Χριστός* to the familiar *Χρηστός*.

Whether the New Testament writers used any punctuation marks, no one knows ; still less do we know what their punctuation was. The

punctuation of modern editions has no ancient authority. The interrogation point was used first, so far as we know, in the ninth century of our era. Elision is not customary in MSS. Doubtless Paul recognized 1 Cor. 15 : 33 as an iambic trimeter, whether he wrote *χρησά* or *χρήσθ'*.

The New Testament writers use few particles in comparison with the classical authors; many Attic particles are entirely lacking, as *αὐ*, *γούν*, *δήθεν*, *εἶθε*, *μά*, *νή*. *ἀρα* is used only by Luke and Paul. *εἰ* sometimes introduces a direct question — probably a Hebraism. *γέ* is little used except with other particles. *τέ* is twice as frequent in Acts as in all the rest of the New Testament. *εἰς* with the accusative may take the place of a predicative nominative, but this is seldom found except in citations from the Septuagint. The accusative of specification is little used; its place is taken by the dative. The genitive absolute is more freely used than in Attic; *τυχόν* (*perhaps*) is the only remnant of an accusative absolute. The partitive genitive has given up most of its uses to prepositional phrases with *ἀπό*, *ἐξ*, and *ἐν*. Many limitations of quantity, direction, and aim are expressed by the genitive, under the influence of the Hebrew, which never fully developed the use of the adjective; as *ἡμέρα ὀργῆς, ἀνάστασις ζωῆς, ἡ διασπορά τῶν Ἑλλήνων* (*among the Greeks*). Adjectives in *-ικος* with the genitive are lacking. The original functions of the dative are largely assumed by prepositional phrases, and the way is prepared for the disappearance of that case, which is complete in modern Greek. The uses of the instrumental dative are largely taken by a periphrasis with *ἐν*, which is under Hebraic influence. New Testament Greek keeps all classical prepositions but *ἀμφί*, and extends the use of the so-called improper prepositions. *ὅτι*, apparently introducing a direct question (as Mark 9 : 2, 28), is explained as being for *τί ὅτι*. The middle and active voices are more or less confused, as in modern Greek. A personal pronoun, with the active, sometimes gives the force of the middle, as *ἀπέσπασεν τὴν μάχαιραν αὐτοῦ*. *αἰτεῖν* and *αἰτεῖσθαι* are distinguished: the middle is used when a return is to be made for the favor. The future infinitive is found only in Acts and Hebrews. The future participle to express purpose is rare — only in Luke and once in Matthew; its place is taken by the participle and the infinitive. The aorist subjunctive is often confused with the future indicative — a long step toward the modern Greek usage. *ἵνα* is used with the future indicative, exactly as with the aorist subjunctive. Compare *ἄφες ἐκβάλω τὸ κάρφος* with the modern Greek use of *ἄς* (from *ἄφες*) to introduce a wish. The future indicative

is not frequent in the New Testament for the imperative, as in the commandments of the Old Testament, except under the direct influence of the Septuagint. The use of the deliberative subjunctive is much extended, and is often introduced by forms of θέλω or βούλομαι. The infinitive is yielding before ἵνα with the subjunctive (which has taken its place in modern Greek), and examples are produced of a similar use of the subjunctive with ὅπως in Attic Greek. For the introduction of a statement of facts ἵνα is never used, but is employed freely in both final and consecutive clauses. ἵνα with the subjunctive is occasionally used to express a command, like the Attic ὅπως with the future. James, Peter, and the author of the epistle to Hebrews use ἵνα only as a final particle. John, Matthew, and Mark use ἵνα very freely; Luke much less so, especially in the Acts. The optative is little used except by Luke, who is under the influence of the literary language. The only real "potential optative" in the New Testament is found in Paul's speech before Agrippa, in which the speaker uses language suited to his exalted audience. Paul uses ἐβουλόμην ἄν for the Attic βουλοίμην ἄν, and ἔστω for εἴη in ἀνάθεμα ἔστω. No optative is found in final clauses, and only two instances of this mood in a relative (temporal) clause, both in the words of Festus, Acts 25:16. This mood naturally is little used in indirect discourse, since direct discourse is strongly preferred. Clearly the way is prepared for the disappearance of the optative in modern Greek. The infinitive is little used with verbs of saying and believing; the construction with ὅτι has taken its place. Almost no instances are found of the accusative with the infinitive in indirect discourse. The article is joined with the infinitive in many uses, but not very many instances are found except in the writings of Luke, Paul, and James. The use of τοῦ with the infinitive to express purpose has been extended. After χρόνος, ἐλπίς, and a few other words, τοῦ with the infinitive and ἵνα with the subjunctive are used without difference of meaning. The usage is loose, but no τοῦ with the infinitive corresponds to a declarative clause with ὅτι. ἐν τῷ with the infinitive is frequent, under Hebraic influence. The uses of οὐ are not so complicated as in classical Greek. In general οὐ is found with the indicative, and μή with the other moods, including the infinitive and participle. Even the prohibitive future and εἰ with the indicative (first form of conditional sentences) take οὐ. The so-called pleonastic ἐγένετο is due merely to the disinclination to begin the sentence with a definition of time. The solecisms in the apocalypse are noted, but in connection with

John 1:14 attention is called to the fact that *πλήρης* is used as indeclinable, not only in the New Testament, but also in the Septuagint and in papyrus documents from Egypt. In addition to the poetical quotations and the apparently accidental verses which are ordinarily cited, Professor Blass points out the two faultless iambic trimeters of Heb. 12:14 f.,

οὐ χωρὶς οὐδεὶς ὀψεται τὸν κύριον  
ἐπισκοποῦντες μή τις ὑστερῶν ὑπό,

which follow the faultless dactylic hexameter of 12:13

καὶ τροχίαις ὀρθὰς ποιήσατε τοῖς ποσὶν ὑμῶν,

and several other iambic verses in the same epistle.

The illustrations which have been given above will make clear to scholars the character of this grammar. Discussions which filled pages of the old grammars of the New Testament Greek are made unnecessary by some one authoritative judgment. The treatment of conditional sentences seems less masterly than most of the rest of the work, and the application of the term *completion* (*Vollendung*) to the service of the aorist is liable to be misunderstood, but the book as a whole is admirably convenient and unusually stimulating. Philology has again rendered good service to theology.

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JÉSUS DE NAZARETH. Études critiques sur les antécédents de l'histoire évangélique et la vie de Jésus. Par ALBERT RÉVILLE, Professeur au Collège de France. Paris: Librairie Fischbacher, 1897. 2 vols. Pp. x + 500 + 522. Fr. 15.

PROFESSOR RÉVILLE brings to his task the training of long study in the history of religions and a most frankly confessed enthusiasm for Jesus. The wide interest of the historian is seen in the care with which the antecedents of Christianity are traced from the beginnings of Israel's life, through the experiences of the monarchy, the exile, and the post-exilic times. The conception of Israel's religious history is that of the naturalist wing of the current Old Testament criticism, the genesis of the later monotheism being found in an earlier *monolatry*, the worship of Jehovah, the God the people came to know and fear above all other gods during their sojourn in the neighborhood of Sinai, and whose attributes they derived from the solitariness, severity, and thunder-guarded mystery of the summits which were the



deity's abode. Special care is given to the later developments of the people's life and thought, the synagogue, the growth of rabbinism, and the Messianic hope receiving particular attention.

Interesting as this long section (I, 1-253) is, it must be confessed that there is some excess of ingenuity, to say the least, in the account of the rise of monotheism. The problem of the Essenes, moreover, is too easily dismissed by making them merely the extreme wing of the Pharisaic party, not noticeably affected by any extra-Jewish influences. M. Réville thinks that the refusal of the sect to participate in the sacrifices of the temple was intended as a protest against the usurpation of the highpriesthood by the Maccabean princes. Why, then, did the protestants send offerings for the burning of incense in the temple?

The various chapters are furnished with convenient bibliographical lists. It causes some surprise, however, to find in the references on the Messianic hope no mention of Baldensperger's *Das Selbstbewusstsein Jesu*, and to note the author's seem-preference for earlier editions of the psalms of Solomon and the book of Enoch over the certainly superior works of Ryle and James, and R. H. Charles.

The justification for M. Réville's confession of great love to Jesus of Nazareth appears in a very sympathetic chapter on the "Youth of Jesus." The exaltedness, yet essential naturalness, of Jesus' own religious life is nobly set forth. In this period and its silent experiences Professor Réville truly finds the roots for the chief of the teachings of Jesus—the conception of God as Father, and of the kingdom of God as a spiritual affair. That Jesus also stored his mind and imagination at this time with those varied treasures which later he used to adorn his teachings is doubtless true. One is not so sure, however, that it is necessary to assume with M. Réville that such parables as the Pearl of Great Price, the Unjust Steward, the Lost Coin, recount actual events which came under Jesus' notice during these earlier days. Such a view lacks somewhat in appreciation of the fertility of imagination which could use such commonplace events to set forth spiritual truth. The chapters on the ministry of John the Baptist, and the baptism and temptation of Jesus, show much reverent insight, and throughout this part there is a high sense of the "charm" of Jesus, by which he so irresistibly attracted men and women to him in his active ministry. The Sermon on the Mount is for M. Réville the gospel *par excellence*. In it we have what Jesus taught, in the simplest, least adulterated, form that has come to us. Some of the

parables rank alongside this gospel, but it furnishes the norm by which all else that seeks recognition as from Jesus must be tested.

Although his enthusiasm for Jesus and his gospel seems to be very genuine, M. Réville is led into strange places by the prejudgment with which he comes to his task. The supernatural, as commonly conceived, is non-existent for him. He is far more thoroughgoing in the rejection of miracles than Keim or Weizsäcker or Pfleiderer. The miraculous incidents interwoven with the record of Jesus' public ministry he treats as having some kernel of fact underlying them which may or may not be discoverable at this distance from the events. Thus the feeding of the multitudes is a story which has grown out of the fact that Jesus at the height of his popularity in Galilee gathered a large number of his disciples together for a fraternal meal, the prelude to future *agapæ*; the walking on the sea has grown out of a vision of the disciples, in which their Master appeared with the glory their imaginations ascribed to him; the Syrophenician woman's daughter was suffering from an attack of neuropathy, which soon passed of its own accord, and not improbably returned at a later time. The narratives of the infancy find a unique explanation. M. Réville feels the thoroughly Jewish character of the stories, therefore does not seek to explain them by any appeal to Greek ideas of incarnation and the like. The key to the problem is in the rivalry between the disciples of John the Baptist and the disciples of the Nazarene. The former, seeking to exalt their teacher, invented extraordinary features in connection with his birth, like those which the Scriptures narrate in the cases of Isaac and Samuel. John was revered by the Christians, hence they would not enter into controversy which might seem derogatory to the great forerunner, only they would invent for their Master a birth story which should quite outrival anything that had been said about John! Professor Réville's imagination is no less fertile in explaining the resurrection stories. For him the ultimate kernel of fact is the empty tomb. Not that the disciples stole the body—that is inconceivable in view of their surprise and later sincerity of faith. But the authorities removed it to prevent the tomb from becoming a center of devoted pilgrimage. The empty tomb aroused the disciples' imagination and wonder. They remembered a word of Jesus appointing a *rendezvous* in Galilee. That was before he was crucified, and when he anticipated a retirement from the city where he had been unsuccessful in winning a following. They went to Galilee, and hallucinations springing from their excited imaginations did the

rest. The exigencies into which such an elimination of the supernatural brings our author appear best in his conception of the final tragedy. Jesus could not have anticipated his own death, therefore he went to Jerusalem, partly to escape the hostility of Antipas, and partly to extend his own influence. It was his first appearance there (for M. Réville's rejection of the fourth gospel see below), and instead of the interest which he had awakened in Galilee he found a marked indifference and coldness, even as many another has learned that a man of much provincial importance is received in the metropolis with careless disdain. This stung the young Galilean prophet into an act of presumption—the cleansing of the temple, by which he hoped to command a following, but which only served to fix the hostile attention of the leaders on him. His death was determined, but no move was to be made until after the feast had passed. Joseph of Arimathea, who was friendly to Jesus, told him of his danger, but also of his safety until after the feast. Jesus then planned his withdrawal to some desert place, to be alone until the storm passed, and until he had readjusted himself to the disappointment he had met in Jerusalem. He appointed a *rendezvous* in Galilee, where he would later rejoin his disciples, and then remained in Jerusalem to celebrate the passover, feeling safe until after the feast, purposing then to retire from Jerusalem. But the whole plan was upset by the treachery of Judas, which enabled the rulers to arrest Jesus at once, without danger of an uprising from the multitudes of Galileans present in Jerusalem, and he died a victim of their hostility, and also of his own double mistake in departing by an act of violence from his earlier uncompromising insistence on the purely spiritual character of the kingdom of God, and in then lingering about the scene of danger. The man of Galilee, rarely pure and beautiful in character, living in intimate communion with the Unseen, discovering the pure spirituality of religion, proclaiming it against all the forces of organized formalism, and winning little by little a group of followers ready to cleave to him and be taught in the ways of God—this is one to rouse enthusiasm and win devotion. But this same man departing from Galilee to try his fortunes in the capital of his people; this man, whose better self scorned anything spectacular, stung by the indifference of the capital to an act of violence, in which he was false to his best self—for such a one it is hard to keep our admiration. Yet such in baldest statement is M. Réville's conception of the life he professes to admire above all other lives. He thinks of Jesus' instant revulsion to the truth as earlier held and taught in the

Galilean period, of a hope that, by keeping in retirement for a little, the tempest his presumption had aroused might blow over and allow of a continuance of spiritual ministry. But the fact remains, the Jesus whom M. Réville loves is the Jesus of Galilee; Jerusalem seems to have taken away his Lord—to adopt Mary's complaint to the gardener.

Our author naïvely owns that "neither the evangelists nor the tradition which they have recorded would have been willing to acknowledge that Jesus was surprised by the course of events" leading to his death. In fact, it is not a story found in these sources, but one imposed by the interpreter on them. Another forced interpretation—not the less forced because more familiar—is that by which M. Réville concludes that Jesus arrived at the conviction of his own Messiahship only late in his ministry. He thinks that the experiences of his youth, culminating in his baptism, led him towards a Messianic conclusion, but the temptation left him in doubt. It was not until the close of the Galilean ministry that he became sure of his call. Hence, everything which finds place earlier in the sources must be so interpreted as to fit this order of development. Such an utterance as, "The Son of Man has authority on the earth to forgive sins" (Mark 2 : 10), must mean "humanity, pure or purified, having arrived at the exalted station to which it is called by God, effaces, and does not know further, the faults which constituted and prolonged its anterior condition of moral infirmity" !

A long section is given to the criticism of the gospels (I, 282–360). M. Réville follows the commonly received two-document theory of the origin of the synoptic gospels, with some minor peculiarities. He holds to a proto-Mark, differing from ours chiefly in the absence from it of matter which seems to him legendary; the Logia are found in more original form in Matthew than in Luke; the so-called Peræan section in Luke is from a third, unknown source; and in each of the three gospels oral tradition has a part and furnishes most of that which Réville is moved to reject as legendary. The fourth gospel is for our author an extremely late document—about A. D. 140—written by a devout mystic who reworked the evangelic tradition in the interests of his doctrine that Jesus is the Logos. The dominance of this concept is seen throughout the gospel. It explains the omission of the baptism of Jesus, the temptation, Gethsemane, the cry from the cross, and the like. From M. Réville's treatment one would never suspect that it could be possible for Harnack to make a strong case for the thesis that the Logos doctrine actually appears in the gospel nowhere

outside of the prologue—an essay, by the way, which finds no mention in Réville's bibliography. Of course, this gospel is valueless in Réville's estimation as a source for the history of Jesus, and he makes practically no use of it. On questions of textual criticism the reader is referred to Gebhardt's revision of Tischendorf's text, and to Tischendorf's *Critica Major*, edition of 1859! One would pass this as a type error, did it not appear that, in at least one passage (Matt. 17:21), our author follows the seventh edition of Tischendorf where it differs from the eighth.

These volumes, the fruit of labors which have evidently been arduous, must be acknowledged to be disappointing. The criticism is too often trivial, the treatment of the sources too often arbitrary, the use of accepted data too often partial. The book has not the spiritual insight of Keim, nor the poetic charm of Renan. Undoubtedly earnest in purpose, it leaves the impression of a great tragedy, and not in the sense which M. Réville intends. If this representation is true, Jesus made wreck of his own life by proving false to his own high vision. The temple cleansing was his fall.

The book contains an excellent map and an index of subjects. An index of Scripture passages is lacking, and is missed.

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RUSH RHEES.

DE QUATUOR QUÆ IN NOVO TESTAMENTO DE CÆNA DOMINI EXTANT  
RELATIONUM NATURA AC INDOLE. CAROLUS GULIELMUS  
RUDOLPHUS SCHAEFER. Königsberg: 1896. Pp. 40, 8vo.

THE facts which this pamphlet attempts to meet, and which have been used by Jülicher, Spitta, and others, to discredit the ritual character and permanence of the Last Supper are these: (1) In Mark the words of Jesus, "This do in remembrance of me," which are the warrant for the perpetuation of the rite, are wanting. (2) Luke 22:19b, 20 is omitted by Westcott and Hort, on the authority of codex D principally. This means that, as you get back towards the probable primitive account, authority for the rite tends to disappear, and finally you are left with a totally denuded account.

Against this the writer urges (1) the fact of the perpetuation of the rite from the very beginning, showing in what way the apostles, who are the authorities for whatever accounts we have, understood our Lord. (2) That all the accounts, including 1 Cor. 11:23-25, which is the most detailed, are derived from the twelve, and that the difference of more

or less primitive among them is, therefore, delusive. (3) The connection of the Last Supper with the passover in Mark and the reference to the new covenant point to an intended parallel between the two rites, and the perpetuation of the one as of the other. (4) That Jesus' words must have been intelligible, and that, therefore, the sense in which they were universally taken is right. (5) That Luke, 1:1-4, professed to follow tradition, whereas the omission of 22:19b, 20 would make him impugn tradition, and that these verses are demanded by the context.

Evidently, the question between the longer and the shorter form of Luke is the most important question raised. Probably Westcott and Hort were right in omitting the verses from their point of view. But since then, the brilliant and probable suggestion that the peculiar readings of codex D were taken from the Logia removes the necessity for supposing that the shortened form is original in Luke, but leaves the question in a still more interesting shape. It becomes now a question between the two synoptical sources, between Mark and the Logia. But the strong point in the argument against this critical doubt is the fact of the celebration from the beginning, showing in what sense our Lord's words were taken by the apostles. It is undeniably strong. But the assumption that Jesus' words are to be taken in the sense attached to them by the early disciples does not always hold good. One of the proofs of the historicity of the gospels is that they have reported the words of Jesus, even where they tell against themselves, and their report has been decisive against their interpretation.

But, after all, the main question in regard to the place of the memorial rite in the worship of the church is answered by its own fitness and beauty.

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**DAS KINDHEITSEVANGELIUM NACH LUCAS UND MATTHAEUS, unter Herbeiziehung der ausserkanonischen Paralleltexte quellenkritisch untersucht. Von ALFRED RESCH. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1897. Pp. iv + 335. M. 6.50.**

THIS is the fifth part of the author's collection of extra-canonical parallel texts to the gospels which he has published since 1893. It treats of the gospel of the infancy, which he regards as being in close connection with John's prologue. From the preface we learn that thirty-three years ago the author entered upon his duties as evangelical,

preacher in the same congregation in which he still is. In the course of this period he has thirty-three times preached the Christmas gospel with joyfulness and a certainty which no literary inquiry could take from him; otherwise he would not have retained the courage to continue in his office. After these preliminary remarks Resch plunges *in medias res*, and, having mentioned those New Testament writers who have treated the gospel of the infancy (namely Matt., chaps. 1, 2; Luke, chaps. 1, 2) separately, he states that, from the very beginning, the history of the infancy of Jesus did not belong to the public preaching of the gospel, which generally commenced with the ministry of the Baptist and the beginning of the ministry of Jesus. This we see from the second of the canonical gospels, and the main tenor of the narrative in Matthew begins with chap. 3:1, and so likewise in Luke with 3:1. The prologue in John (John 1:1-18), which is a theological meditation on the gospel of the infancy — like the history of the infancy in the first and third gospels — forms a part by itself, independent of the main body of the gospel. The author's thesis is this: "The pre-canonical gospel of the infancy was a family history published under the title ספר חולדות ישוע משיח, originally composed in Hebrew, afterwards translated into Greek, arranged after the pattern of the book of Ruth with a genealogy, containing a continuous narrative of the history of the birth and infancy of Jesus; from this the first evangelist made excerpts for his purposes, the third evangelist made use of it in other parts, the fourth evangelist made it the object of his thoughtful meditation contained in the prologue; it was known to Justin in an extra-canonical recension, and was directly or indirectly influential in the apocryphal gospels of the infancy." Dividing the gospel of the infancy into seventeen pericopes — I, the annunciation of the birth of John (Luke 1:5-25); II, the annunciation of the birth of Jesus (vss. 26-38); III, Mary's visit to Elizabeth (vss. 39-56); IV, birth of John, circumcision, and youth (vss. 57-80); V, betrothal of Mary (Matt. 1:18-25<sup>a</sup>); VI, birth of Jesus (Luke 2:1-20; Matt. 1:25<sup>b</sup>); VII, circumcision of Jesus (Luke 2:21; Matt. 1:25<sup>c</sup>); VIII, presentation in the temple (Luke 2:22-24); IX, Simeon (vss. 25-35); X, Anna (vss. 36-38); XI, the wise men from the East (Matt. 2:1-12); XII, the flight into Egypt (vss. 13-15); XIII, infanticide at Bethlehem (vss. 16-18); XIV, return from Egypt (vss. 19-22<sup>a</sup>); XV, residence at Nazareth (Luke 2:39, 40; Matt. 2:22<sup>b</sup>, 23); XVI, Jesus twelve years old in the temple at Jerusalem (Luke 2:41-52); XVII, genealogy of Jesus (3:23-38; Matt. 1:1-17) — Resch takes up the several

points mentioned in his thesis, and discusses each minutely. He not only examines the language of the original documents, but also gives as the result of his examination a Hebrew and Greek text of the gospel of the infancy. His citation of extra-canonical passages shows a more than usual acquaintance with patristic literature, and what he says of the relation of the original document to the gospel literature (*i. e.*, canonical and apocryphal), of its influence upon the apostolic didactic teachers, and of its after-effects upon extra-canonical writers, and finally of its influence upon the oldest confession of the church, is of the highest interest and very instructive. The result is, according to Resch, that the **ספר תולדות ישוע המשיח** was early translated into Greek as *Bíβλος γενέσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*, influenced the Pauline Christology, was known and perused by the author of the apocalypse. As to the author of the **תולדות ישוע**, Resch says that, if we could assume that it originated from notes or, at least, from communications of Mary, everything would be clear. At any rate, these family papers were published after the death of Mary; and if we assume that this book was deposited in the episcopal library at Pella-Jerusalem along with other important documents of the apostolic church, we can easily understand how the first and third evangelists could make use of the book. All these suppositions are closely related to one another and offer a satisfactory solution of the literary mystery in reference to the gospel of the infancy, to him that believes in the birth of Jesus *ἐκ παρθένου*. The *παρθενογένεια* was an esoteric mystery during the lifetime of Mary. Nowhere is it said that the shepherds, or Simeon, or Anna, or anyone else, knew anything of it. During the lifetime of Mary Jesus was regarded as the legitimate son of Joseph. But it is evident that as soon as the gospel of the infancy became known, the first and third evangelists employed it in their gospels, and that John also on the basis of it stated that Jesus was born *οὐκ ἐκ θελήματος ἀνδρός, ἀλλ' ἐκ θεοῦ*. But John, the foster-son of Mary, would never have made use of the **תולדות ישוע** for his prologue, had he not been convinced of its historicity, and had he not recognized in the mother of Jesus the *παρθένος* of the gospel of the infancy.

It will thus be seen that Resch's view yields a very different result respecting the source and historicity of the infancy narratives from that which recent critical scholarship has been inclined to accept. It is not to be expected that it will be at once accepted. But as an hypothesis to be set over against other hypotheses in a field where, for lack of positive evidence, it is as yet impossible to advance much



beyond hypothesis, it is worthy of consideration. At any rate, Resch deserves the thanks of all scholars for a book full of stimulating suggestions.

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KRITISCH-EXEGETISCHER KOMMENTAR ÜBER DAS NEUE TESTAMENT. VON ERICH HAUPT. Begründet von H. A. W. MEYER. *Die Gefangenschaftsbriege*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1897. 7. bzw. 6. Aufl. Pp. vi, 104, 212, 259, 193. M. 6.

THIS is a departure from the Meyer method by which the epistles gathered in this volume were treated separately by different authors. The departure is a gain, both for the author who has thus the privilege of a historical handling of the group, and for the student who thus secures the benefit of a historical impression of their origins and their interrelations. In fact, the historical motive has doubtless controlled the arrangement. It is a motive which is fully justified in the case; for, to say the least, Colossians and Ephesians belong as critically together as 2 Peter and Jude, or the Pastorals.

In this spirit the *Einleitung* for the group is placed at the front of the volume preceding the exegesis of the several letters. We wish it had been placed, not only after the epistles, but after a summarizing of the results of their exegesis, as Bornemann has done in his treatment of the two Thessalonian letters—not that we would imply that such a position would have guaranteed the reader a more thorough study of the epistles, as a basis for the criticism which is placed before him—Haupt is too scholarly a critic to be wanting at such a vital point as this; but it would have been an object-lesson as to the real facts in the case, and would perhaps have influenced the reader to follow the same method in his use of the commentary and in his work with the epistles themselves.

The order of exegetic treatment which Haupt follows is Colossians, Philemon, Ephesians, and Philippians; in the *Einleitung*, however, Philemon is placed first, in order to treat as nearly together as possible the, on the one side, closely connected Philemon and Colossian, and, on the other side, the equally near related Colossian and Ephesian letters. Such an arrangement has its manifest advantages in the handling of the problems involved in the criticism.

In this criticism Paulinity is given to Philemon and Philippians, in

common with the general judgment of today. In regard to Colossians and Ephesians, however, in view of the large doubt still laid against these letters, the authorship is discussed with a specially thorough-going care, and discussed on what amounts to the practically exclusive basis of the witness of the epistles themselves. The author would have done better, in our opinion, had he given more place and weight to the patristic testimony, placing it in a confirmatory way after his study of the documents themselves. External evidence cannot be ignored, though it ought not to prejudge our conclusions regarding the books we have in hand. Haupt, however, has largely let it go and confined himself to the epistles themselves.

In the case of Colossians the study of the epistle alone is not considered as giving sufficient ground for either its acceptance or rejection as Pauline. Difficulties on both sides are presented of such a nature that their solution is not possible apart from an investigation of its problems in connection with Ephesians. The query which these two letters present to the author is as follows: Do the undeniable peculiarities of vocabulary and style and doctrinal expression, together with the especial closeness of relationship in these points between Ephesians and Colossians, explain themselves more readily under the supposition of a Pauline authorship or of an origin from another hand? Whichever way the answer may lie, it is beyond doubt that both letters have come from the same personality, the possibility of any such interdependence as Holtzmann has so ingeniously worked out being laid completely aside.

The author gives his decision in favor of a Pauline origin for these two writings, but only provided they were written in Cæsarea and not in Rome. It seems to him impossible that in the activity and distraction of his Roman imprisonment Paul could ever have come to such profound thoughts as these epistles give. Philippians is more likely the sort of a letter he could have written there. In Cæsarea, however, he had no such activity and little, if any, distraction. His mission service was over, and the deeper truths of the gospel, which he had had to put aside for the necessary practical questions of his mission work, he had now leisure to think upon and work out, and such a process was most likely to lead up to just such sweeping epistles as we have before us here. In this way, according to the author, is to be explained the large presence in these letters of the universal evangelic truths; in fact, in this is the explanation of the fact of the encyclical character given to the Ephesian letter. Paul was writing in a—if one

may so express it—meditative time, a time of a universalizing of his gospel thought; the letter, consequently, had to swing out in its circle of readers, as well as in its thought and its constructive form. Colossians was local in its purpose simply because of the local troubles which called it forth and so constrained it.

Haupt keeps thus to Meyer's view, but with a new line of reasoning. It is interesting. It will command attention. It will throw upon the letters new light, and bring them into a freshness of contact with the personality of Paul; but we question whether all that is so suggestively said about the surrounding circumstances of their composition is exclusively applicable to Cæsarea. When it is asserted that, if they were written at Rome, they must be rejected as Pauline, there seems to be a greater burden laid upon the theory than it has any need to carry. If it is a simple question of leisure and meditative broadening-out of thought, it is claiming much to say that the Roman prison house and the near approach of the decisive appearance before Nero's court furnished no conditions that could have made these letters possible. In fact, if they are to be placed between Romans and Philippians, as Haupt places them, they seem to be a strange breaking in upon the apostle's progress of thought; if they are to be placed after Philippians, as a Roman origin might easily place them, they are to all appearances the natural climax of his thinking.

The exegesis is worked out with careful and patient detail. It is an exegesis that is reliable and is quite sure to make the epistles better understood. In such christological passages as Col. 1:15-20 and Phil. 2:6-8 it is very largely satisfactory, especially so in the Philippian passage, where the treatment of the specific terms *μορφῇ Θεοῦ*, *ἀπαγγμός*, *ἰσα Θεῷ*, is clear as well as grammatically correct. In such a personal passage as Eph. 3:1-13 it is distinctly enlightening, as anyone can see who will read the exposition of the puzzling tenth verse and the handling of the parenthesis, vss. 2-13. The factional preachers of Phil. 1:12-17 seem hardly to be understood—as they are not likely to be, unless one understands the situation in the Roman church as given in the epistle. But there is little need for criticism. No one can doubt that there has been given us in this commentary, apart from the contention of a Cæsarean origin, as trustworthy and as stimulating a treatment of these theologically deep and practically heart-reaching letters of Paul as we are likely to have in a long while.

M. W. JACOBUS.

EXPLANATORY ANALYSIS OF ST. PAUL'S FIRST EPISTLE TO TIMOTHY. By H. P. LIDDON, D.D., D.C.L., LL.D., late Canon and Chancellor of St. Paul's, Ireland Professor of Exegesis in the University of Oxford, 1870-82. London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1897. Pp. viii + 93. Cloth, 7s. 6d.

THIS explanatory analysis of First Timothy was drawn up for the use of Dr. Liddon's pupils when he was lecturing on this epistle as Ireland professor of Exegesis. It was privately printed in 1877, and the present edition is, with the exception of a few verbal alterations, in the same form as he left it. Its form as an analysis excludes all discussion of such questions as usually are found in introductions, but here and there, incidentally, introductory matters of interest and importance are touched upon. Accepting the Pauline authorship and a release from the first imprisonment, the author would apparently (p. 89) date the letter about 67 A. D., though the data given on p. 45 would place it at least two years earlier. As against the contentions of Baur (see pp. 38, 40, 43, 75, 93), the heresy combated throughout the epistle is, according to Dr. Liddon, an early gnosticism (not without traces of docetism and ascetic tendencies), on the way to becoming the fullblown dualistic gnosticism of the next age.

Considerably less than half the book is occupied with the analysis proper, which in its form and method furnishes at every step evidence, not only of a scholarly and most minute study of the text, but also of a rare ability for intelligible and concise presentation of the apostle's thought. That the analysis is both minute and exhaustive will appear from the treatment of the *salutation* (1:1, 2), where every word has its exact significance and bearing unfolded in the outline which fills two-thirds of a page. It is an obvious criticism that it is too minute; but a more serious fault it is that a pastoral epistle which, from the nature of the case, cannot present that same formal structure and logical development which a theological epistle, such as that to the Romans, possesses, is nevertheless subjected to a like severe analytical treatment, which discovers sequences of thought and orderly and logical progression where it is altogether doubtful that they exist. (*Cf.* the relation of *Reason*, III, p. 6, with the preceding.)

The larger part of the book is taken up with notes and longer or shorter discussions upon points suggested by the analysis, or upon questions of living interest or enduring controversy. Textual criticism is not overlooked, but the plan of the work forbade the intrusion

of a thorough discussion of such a controverted point as emerges at 3:16. A few examples of some of the conclusions arrived at, apart from any discussion of their correctness, will illustrate the position of the author upon a variety of important questions.

In 2:15 the "διὰ τῆς τεκνογονίας," through the which women will be saved, refers to the child-bearing of Mary, since this satisfies διὰ, gives σωθήσεται its full force, and recognizes the significance of τῆς before τεκνογονίας. From a discussion of the word ἐπίσκοπος (3:1-15) it appears that the word is "not so restricted as to describe only the modern bishop;" that "both ἐπίσκοπος and πρεσβύτερος were used of the same church officer, the first to suggest his *work*, the second his *dignity*." "The *order*," however, "of men whom we call *bishops* certainly existed in apostolic times. They were at first legates of the apostles; then they had a fixed jurisdiction" (pp. 21-3).

From the fact that at the consecration of Timothy as bishop of Ephesus (2 Tim. 1:6; cf. 1 Tim. 4:14) an inward grace was bestowed upon him through (διὰ) the laying on of the apostle's hands, while the similar action of the presbytery in this instance is described by the phrase "μετὰ ἐπιθέσεως of the hands of the presbytery," it is inferred that "no presbyter could convey the necessary χάρισμα to Timothy; but the entire college of presbyters in Ephesus (simply) signified its concurrence in the action of the apostle" (cf. Winer's (Th.) Grammar, p. 374). Thus "the things proper to bishops which might not be common to presbyters were singularity of succeeding and superiority in ordaining."

Again, the phrase μιᾶς γυναικὸς ἄνδρα (3:2) means that the bishop may be married, if at all, only once, thus prohibiting *successive* polygamy. The γυναῖκες of vs. 11 are probably wives of deacons and not deaconesses (cf. chap. 5). The widows referred to (5:3-16) are of two classes, of which the second (vss. 9-16) forms an ecclesiastical order in which all women consecrated to God in a single life and for doing works of mercy were enrolled (χήρα καταλεγέσθω, 5:9—p. 55.) "Thus the widows at Ephesus were πρεσβύτιδες rather than διακόνισσαι." Other points of interest and importance might be noticed, but this must suffice.

These notes leave no important word or any phrase presenting exegetical difficulties unnoticed. They are rich in discriminating classic and patristic references, admirably clear and concise. Though not revised for twenty years, they form even now a valuable commentary on the text, and illustrate and, for the most part, justify the articulation and

structure of the analysis. What is said in Dr. Sanday's commentary upon Romans of Dr. Liddon's analysis of the same epistle may be repeated with more truth of this analysis of First Timothy: "It is true, perhaps, that the analysis is somewhat excessively divided and subdivided . . . but it shows everywhere the hand of a most lucid writer and an accomplished theologian."

HENRY TODD DEWOLFE.

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JULIAN VON ECLANUM; SEIN LEBEN UND SEINE LEHRE. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Pelagianismus. Von Lic. ALBERT BRUCKNER, Pfarrer in Klein-Hüningen bei Basel. Pp. iii + 180.

ÜBER DEN DRITTEN JOHANNESBRIEF. VON ADOLF HARNACK. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1897. Pp. viii + 27. M. 7.

THE two treatises bound together in this volume are related to each other only by the fact that both belong to the series of "Texts and Researches pertaining to Early Christian Literature," edited by v. Gebhardt and Harnack.<sup>1</sup>

The Pelagian controversy was one of peculiar danger to Christianity, because it was urged on by three men of remarkable but diverse abilities, who together gave it an almost perfect leadership. Pelagius was the general and diplomatist, Coelestius the orator, and Julian the writer of the movement. It is to the third member of the group that Bruckner introduces us. In the first part of his work he considers the scanty sources from which our knowledge of the life of Julian is derived, and the few facts which may be gleaned from them. In the second part he considers the theological system and the literary methods of Julian, and gives us a careful analysis of perhaps the most brilliant controversial writings which have ever been produced. We know but little of Pelagius and Coelestius, for they wrote but little; but Julian still lives, because he was a great writer. This review of his career as a bishop and an author is thorough, well-balanced, and judicious, and leaves nothing for the reader to desire.

The commentary of Harnack on the third epistle of John, though brief, will excite wide interest. Lightfoot traced a sort of episcopacy to a period within fifteen or twenty years of the lifetime of the apos-

<sup>1</sup> *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, hrsg. von O. v. GEBHARDT u. ADF. HARNACK. Vol. XV, No. 3.

tle John, and to Asia Minor, which was specially under the influence of the apostle John. It was a source of much pleasure to the advocates of episcopacy that Harnack gave his approval to this conclusion. He has now gone further, and has found episcopacy as early as the year 100. Nay, he is able to tell us the name of a bishop of this period. This earliest bishop of whom we have any knowledge was Diotrephes, who "loved to have the preëminence," who "received not" the writer of the epistle, but "prated against him with wicked words;" who would not suffer the members of his church to give hospitality to the messengers sent from him, and who was threatened, therefore, with severe punishment. His offense was simply that he secured the independence of his church from external dictation, a duty which all the early bishops sought to perform. Harnack manages to support his theory by a strong array of historic argument. Whether this sort of apostolic succession will be welcomed in all quarters remains to be seen.

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SPANISH PROTESTANTS IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY. Compiled from the German of C. A. Wilkens. By RACHEL CHALLICE, London: Wm. Heinemann, 1897. Imported by Chas. Scribner's Sons. Pp. xxii + 192.

It is not just to Dr. Wilkens to consider the work before us as his. The facts, no doubt, he did supply, but surely he never supplied them in this fashion. They are not new. McCrie or Llorente will furnish them in half the space in much more readable form. The compilation is slovenly, showing no plan or order; the style is faulty, and the compiler's sense for what is and is not important seems to be totally lacking. Further, she has neither sufficient knowledge of history nor a sufficient comprehension of the political and religious ideas of the sixteenth century to permit her to attempt such a work.

In regard to system in this book, it is only necessary to say that the author treats of the characters concerned without showing any connection between them. We have a chapter on Valdes, and one on Charles V, another on Fuente, and another on Francisco de Borgia, but there is no connection between these chapters. Her lack of sense for proportion is shown by the attention which she gives

to subjects not germane to her work. Thus, of the meager space at her command at least one-third is given up to matters which might have been considered either in a few pages or not at all. What place in a history of Spanish Protestants has a description of the abdication of Charles V? Or the celebrated process of the Inquisition in the case of Carranza, Archbishop of Toledo? Whatever else Carranza might be, he was certainly not a Protestant. It is possible that the writer thought so, for she invariably describes everyone who holds heretical opinions as a Lutheran, and seems to be totally oblivious of the fact that the Inquisition was a great political engine in the hands of the Spanish monarchs. The longest chapter in this book is devoted to Constantino Ponce de la Fuente, whose whole history shows him to have been tainted by heresy, but certainly gives but little ground for calling him a Lutheran. We may attribute the compiler's treatment here partly to her ignorance of the opinions of these men, but that does not explain her devoting a chapter to the Jesuit Borgia, who has certainly no place among Spanish Protestants. Nor was it necessary to her subject to give thrilling descriptions of the tortures inflicted by the Inquisition.

The writer's ignorance of history and the ideas of the time is still further shown by unconscious little slips here and there. She does not take the trouble to give us the Latin form *Œcolampadius*, but calls the reformer *Oekolampad*, after her German original. We are informed that Charles V abdicated the Spanish throne in favor of Ferdinand (p. 46). We are assured that the Church of Rome taught that "only inherited sin was pardoned through Christ's atonement, and that the pardon for other sins could only be received through penances in this world, or in the intermediate place of purification" (p. 60). There is no conception of the part that political necessities played in the persecutions of that day. There is no evidence that the writer is aware that it is unjust to expect men to be tolerant when the very idea of toleration was almost unknown. Nor does she seem to be informed as to the wretched character of the Protestantism of these Spanish martyrs. Out of the thirty victims of the first *auto-da-fe* "there were only two whose constancy triumphed to the last over dread of suffering, and who refused to purchase any mitigation of it by a compromise with conscience." Sixteen recanted; twelve made confession and were absolved. These facts are so well known that one must suspect disingenuousness rather than ignorance in the author.

RALPH C. H. CATTERALL.



**THE CHURCH OF THE SIXTH CENTURY.** Six Chapters in Ecclesiastical History. By WILLIAM HOLDEN HUTTON, B.D. London, New York, and Bombay: Longmans, Green & Co., 1897. Pp. xxiv + 314. Cloth, 6s.

THE author of this book is an Oxford tutor. He was appointed Birkbeck lecturer in ecclesiastical history, Trinity College, Cambridge, for 1896. This appointment made possible a visit to Constantinople. An opportunity was thus given to visit the scenes of some of the most important events in the history of the church. In 1890 he had visited Ravenna with "one of the most learned of English scholars."

When to Mr. Hutton's natural and acquired qualifications we add a minute study of special points at Constantinople and Ravenna, we have the conditions for a book of considerable value.

The work does not claim to be a complete treatment of the church history of the sixth century. It is rather a reconsideration of certain fundamental subjects based upon a reëxamination of the original sources of information. It is a group of six lectures on: "The State and the Church in East and West;" "The Eastern Church and its Missions;" "The Papacy;" "The Church and the Heresies of the Sixth Century;" "The Theology of the Sixth Century;" "The Art of the Sixth Century;" and an appendix on "The Alleged Heresy of Justinian."

Mr. Hutton finds that: "The sixth century is one of the great ages of the world's history. It is an age of great soldiers and great statesmen, of lawyers and historians, of missionaries and saints. It is an age of great events as well as of great men. It saw the ruin of the East Gothic power, the restoration of the empire to almost its widest boundaries, the invasion and settlement of the Lombards, the foundation of the mediæval papacy, the beginning of English Christianity."

The center of interest is no longer at Rome, but at Ravenna and Constantinople. The special subject of doctrinal controversy was "the three chapters." The great man of the century was Justinian. The world at large probably thinks of Justinian in connection with the civil law and as the one who reunited the empire. But he was equally great as a theologian, and when our author seeks the representative theologian of the age, he chooses the distinguished statesman and legislator in preference to any of the professional theologians. This, however, does not mean that there were no great theologians. For a "glance at the eleventh volume of Remy Ceillier's *Histoire générale des auteurs sacrés et ecclésiastiques* will surprise those who are not very intimately acquainted with the literature of the century."

These chapters are interesting from beginning to end. The treatment of each subject is independent, vigorous, and acute. But probably the part of the book that will attract most attention of scholars is the new investigation into the alleged heresy of Justinian. The impression has generally prevailed that Justinian shortly before his death went over to Aphetartodocetism, and that he thus yielded his former positions and forfeited his wide reputation for orthodoxy. The great historians have held this view, as Boronius, Gibbon, Bryce, Hodgkin, and Burg. Mr. Hutton's investigation is very searching and raises numerous difficulties in the way of accepting the common opinion. He does not claim that he has settled this question, but urges with much cogency that it should be reopened, and at the end of the examination he would "be more surprised to find that it made certain the heresy than that it confirmed the orthodoxy of the greatest Greek theologian of the sixth century."

J. W. MONCRIEF.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

A HISTORY OF AMERICAN CHRISTIANITY. By LEONARD WOOLSEY BACON. American Church History Series. New York: The Christian Literature Co., 1897. Pp. 429. \$2.

IN THE series of which this is the concluding volume the history of each of the denominations is written by a representative whose competency is recognized by the church<sup>a</sup> to which he belongs. The task of Dr. Bacon is to cover the entire field, treated in sections in the preceding volumes, and to show in one connected view the origin and progress of the Christian forces that have operated so beneficently in American society. To this task the author has brought the necessary learning, sense of proportion, and catholicity of spirit. The story reads like a romance. It opens with the swift advance and sudden downfall of the Spanish missions, succeeded by a French success more wide and rapid and a French failure not less sudden and complete. Then in a period extending through a century and more, permanent Christian colonization takes place in Virginia, Maryland, the Carolinas, New England, the Middle Colonies, and Georgia, under the leadership of Anglicans, Liberal Catholics, Huguenots, Dutch colonists, Swedish Lutherans, Quakers, Pilgrims, and Puritans. The religious fervor with which the colonies were planted perceptibly cools before the century ends, but in turn the Great Awakening spiritually revives the land through the labors of Edwards, Whitefield, Freling-

huysen, the Tennents, and others. Again there follows a period of religious declension, which the War of Independence renders more distracting and depressing, and which brings the American church, in the closing years of the eighteenth century, to the "lowest low-water mark of the lowest ebb-tide of its spiritual life." Then, in the opening years of the present century, there comes a second awakening, less profound and wide-reaching than the first, but sufficiently strong to stay the advance of infidelity and to start the church afresh on a wonderful career of beneficent activity. The great denominational schools and missionary and philanthropic societies<sup>4</sup> spring into existence, and the church begins its fierce struggle with slavery, intemperance, dueling, and other wrongs. The Civic War, while it degrades and brutalizes some, proves a "rude school of theology" to others, increasing their intelligence and hardening their moral fiber. Since the overthrow of secession and slavery there has been a "vast expansion of church activities," conspicuously manifest in the marvelous growth of the Y. M. C. A., the W. C. T. U., the Y. P. S. C. E., and like associations, the foreign, home, and city mission societies, the Sunday school, the Salvation Army, and other organizations.

He who first reads the preceding volumes in the series will find in this an admirable summation of all that has gone before; while he who reads this volume first will be strongly inclined to search the others for detailed information on a thousand interesting topics which are here only cursorily treated. \*

ERI B. HULBERT.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

#### HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF THE UNITED BRETHREN IN CHRIST.

By REV. DANIEL BERGER, D.D. Dayton, O.: United Brethren Publishing House, 1897. Pp. 682, 8vo. \$3.

THREE years ago (1894) the author contributed a brief history of his denomination to Vol. XII of the American Church History Series. Limitations of space excluded much interesting matter that has been supplied in the present work. Considerable space is very properly devoted to biographical sketches of the more influential leaders of the past and the present. The details of the organized work of the body will no doubt prove somewhat tedious to the general reader, but are entirely in keeping with the author's plan. Almost complete absence of bitterness toward the minority that a few years ago withdrew and attempted by appeal to the courts to secure control of the property of

the denomination is a highly commendable feature. If the body as a whole is anything like as irenic as the author in its attitude toward the seceders, reunion ought to be possible at no very distant date.

The one great outstanding personage in connection with the movement is Philip William Otterbein. Born in 1726 at Dillenburg, in the duchy of Nassau, member of a family noted for religious zeal and mental power, educated in the literary and theological Reformed College at Herborn, where a milder form of Calvinism than that which prevailed in the neighboring Dutch provinces prevailed, and where the influence of Pietism, with its revival of old-evangelical modes of thought and methods of religious work, was strong, Otterbein, after some years of fruitful home experience as private tutor, pastor, and instructor in the college, was one of a group of zealous young men who responded to an earnest plea from the German Reformed population of Pennsylvania and the adjoining colonies for ministerial reinforcement, and in 1752 he became pastor of a large church at Lancaster, Pa. Of the ninety thousand Germans that constituted nearly half the population of Pennsylvania at that time, about thirty thousand were of Reformed antecedents. As is usual in newly settled communities, religious opportunities lagged far behind the growth of population. Large numbers were utterly destitute, and few of the organized churches were efficiently administered. In fact, the great mass of the Reformed regarded the baptism received in infancy as a sufficient title to church membership, and, if they were not immoral or heretical, regarded themselves, and were commonly regarded, as very good Christians. The many thousands of Mennonites in Pennsylvania and the adjoining colonies, while they rejected infant baptism and practiced adult baptism, had sunk into a dead formalism which rendered them as difficult as the Reformed to impress with the saving truths of the gospel. Membership had become to a great extent hereditary, and at a certain age, after catechetical instruction, young people received baptism in almost as formal a way as confirmation was received in churches that practiced infant baptism. The Lutherans were, if possible, further removed from vital godliness than the Reformed. Otterbein set vigorously to work to bring order out of chaos, and, while his success was all that could have been expected, he aroused much opposition through the rigorous disciplinary measures introduced. In the course of this six-years' pastorate Otterbein came under the influence of the Great Awakening that was at this time agitating English-speaking Christendom, and after a prolonged struggle reached for the

first time, in its fullness, the light and liberty of the gospel. From 1758 onwards, while pastor successively at Tulpehocken, Pa., Frederick City, Md., York, Pa., and Baltimore, he conducted an extensive and highly fruitful evangelistic work among the Germans, and soon had a large following of zealous evangelists and of earnest adherents.

A similar work was carried forward among the Mennonites by Martin Boehm, who had in like manner enjoyed a fresh religious experience under the influence of the Great Awakening. Intimate relations were early established between Otterbein and Boehm, which led to the ultimate formation of the "United Brethren in Christ." Neither Otterbein nor Boehm had any intention at the outset of forming a new denomination; but the violence of the dominant elements in the Reformed and Mennonite bodies alike, forced those who were devoted to the new evangelism into separation, as the Wesleyans were forced in England, and as the "New Lights" were forced in New England. Precisely when the Reformed-Mennonite "New Lights" actually became a distinct denomination seems to be an unsettled question. The adoption of disciplinary rules and a brief confession of faith by a conference of evangelistic brethren, over which Otterbein presided, in 1789, may be taken as a consummation of the separation, which had been virtually effected some years before. Never was a denomination founded on fewer distinctive principles or on a more liberal basis. It was enacted "that no one be received into the church who is not resolved to flee the wrath to come, and by faith and repentance to seek his salvation in Christ." Thus regenerate membership was aimed at. The liberality of the brethren is set forth in the following clause: "Forasmuch as the difference of people and denominations ends in Christ . . . and availeth nothing, but a new creature, it becomes our duty and privilege, according to the gospel, to commune with and admit professors of religion to the Lord's table without partiality." A general superintendency, like that of the Waldenses and Bohemian Brethren of the Middle Ages, and like that of the Moravian Brethren and the Methodists of the time, was early adopted, Otterbein and Boehm occupying this position as the founders of the denomination, and other like-minded men being associated with them and succeeding them. The formal appointment of bishops was inaugurated in 1800. The ordination of ministers was neglected until shortly before Otterbein's death. He then ordained two of his brethren, and these ordained others.

The General Conference of 1815, two years after Otterbein's death,

was one of the most important in the history of the body. A confession of faith, in seven articles, was now adopted. It is an exceedingly meager and non-committal document. The first four articles embrace the substance of the apostles' creed. Article V asserts the authority of the Bible; Article VI insists that the biblical doctrine of "the fall in Adam and the redemption through Christ shall be preached throughout the whole world." In Article VII baptism and the Supper are declared to be "means of grace," but the "mode and manner shall be left free to everyone." Foot-washing, a Mennonite practice, is also left free. This confession is based upon a still briefer confession drafted by Otterbein and adopted in 1789.

The United Brethren sustained from the beginning the most intimate relations with the Methodists, and it looks as if their fusion with that body might easily have been effected by Asbury if he had considered it important. The difficulties in the way of the adoption of a regular system of itineracy on the part of the United Brethren, most of whose ministers for a long time supported themselves by secular occupations and evangelized gratuitously, and the difference of language were almost the only obstacles. Yet the Brethren gradually became almost entirely assimilated to the Methodist Episcopal body, and at present the difference of language has almost completely vanished.

The United Brethren early assumed an attitude of uncompromising hostility to slavery, the liquor traffic, and secret societies. On this latter subject the denomination suffered a grievous schism in 1889, when the liberal party secured the adoption of a new constitution. The denomination, like the Baptists of the South and Southwest, had a hard struggle in inaugurating its educational work; but the progressive element was able to found and maintain excellent literary and theological institutions, and, through its vigorously administered Publishing House, has done much toward elevating the body in intelligence and usefulness.

In the revised confession of 1885-9 not only is the mode of baptism left free for each individual, but the use or disuse of infant baptism is "left to the judgment of believing parents."

The printing of the work is highly creditable to the Publishing House, and the large number of excellent portraits and cuts of historic buildings, etc., add not a little to the interest of the work.

ALBERT HENRY NEWMAN.

A HISTORY OF ANTI-PEDOBAPTISM FROM THE RISE OF PEDOBAPTISM TO A. D. 1609. By ALBERT HENRY NEWMAN, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Church History in McMaster University, Toronto, Canada. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1897. Pp. xii+414, 8vo. Cloth, \$2.

THIS book is a piece of thorough work. In it is garnered the fruit of wide reading and of careful, patient investigation. Its statements are conservative and scholarly. Events which, at least to many English readers, have long lain in obscurity are here brought out into clear light. What investigators up to the present hour have failed to elucidate is fully indicated. The author intelligently and faithfully guides us along an intricate and obscure path.

He sets forth the false notions of the heathen at the beginning of the Christian era, and shows how soon these notions began to corrupt Christianity. Within the church there arose those who protested against the false doctrines which were insidiously perverting and undermining the truths of the gospel. The British Christians, down to the eleventh century, were least contaminated with error. They were aggressive and established missions in the valley of the Rhine, and churches in south and southwest Germany, which acknowledged no allegiance to Rome.

In the twelfth century the author finds positive protest against infant baptism, and clear enunciation that, on the basis of Scripture, believers only are fit subjects for baptism. So taught Peter de Bruys and the great preacher, Henry of Lausanne. Two enthusiasts, Tanchelm in the Netherlands and Eudo de Stella in Breton, maintained the same doctrine. The Waldenses at the beginning of their history believed in the baptismal regeneration of infants, but at a later period some of them repudiated that notion.

The opposition to infant baptism gradually gained strength, and became more and more widely diffused in Europe. In the fifteenth century some of the Bohemian brethren raised their voices against it. In Germany, during the first half of the sixteenth century, men like Münzer, Storch, Carlstadt, and Cellarius denounced it, yet failed to introduce and practice believers' baptism. Hubmaier, Reublin, and Mantz bore emphatic testimony against infant baptism. These views at last provoked persecution. Many, for maintaining them, were fined and imprisoned. Mantz, by order of the Zürich council, was drowned. Hubmaier fled to Moravia, whence he was carried to Vienna and

burned at the stake. By 1531 two thousand, for opposing infant baptism, had been put to death. But persecution only strengthened and spread more widely the views which it was intended to extirpate.

The whole development of the opposition to infant baptism is accurately traced by the author down to the first half of the seventeenth century. A brief notice like this can give but a faint hint of the contents of this profound historical study, in which some very important results are reached.

First, it is clearly shown that none of the earlier anabaptists of Europe, and only a few of the later, down to nearly the middle of the seventeenth century, were immersionists. Some of them, that strongly protested that the baptism of infants was unscriptural, still continued to practice it. When some of them began to baptize believers, it was by effusion. But in the latter part of the sixteenth century the anti-trinitarian antipedobaptists of Poland not only discarded infant baptism, but immersed adult believers. These Polish immersionists, the author thinks, greatly influenced the English General Baptists, and from this Polish party, "through the Rhynsburgers, or Collegiants, of Holland, the Particular Baptists of England seem to have derived their immersion (1641), having already come to the conviction that immersion and immersion only is New Testament baptism."

It is clear, therefore, that the antipedobaptist movement, developed slowly; at first there was protest against infant baptism, then in process of time there followed the baptism of adult believers by effusion, and at last the immersion of believers. The whole church largely through the corrupting influence of heathenism, had departed from apostolic baptism; but a part of it, through bitter opposition, which sometimes culminated in bloody persecution, had at last come back to the baptism of the New Testament.

Second, the author makes it apparent that we cannot truthfully speak of anabaptists without careful discrimination. Some of them, like the M $\ddot{u}$ nzerites, were the wildest socialists and fanatics; while others, like Chelcicky and Hubmaier, were calm, clear thinkers, who presented and advocated their views with sound judgment and discretion. Good causes have often been greatly retarded, if not utterly wrecked, through the folly of those who espoused them, and scriptural antipedobaptism has suffered greatly from the fanaticism of some of its advocates.

The author of this book has done a great and needed service. His work has so many excellences that adverse criticism seems almost



out of place here, but, as we perused these pages, we felt that there were some grave deficiencies. We suggest that the contents of the volume hardly justify its title. In the highest and best sense it is scarcely a history. It is rather a careful, critical compilation of the facts of history. The philosophy of these facts, for the most part, is not seriously even attempted. The causes of these protests of which the author treats are not to any great extent revealed.

Not only an adequate philosophy of history is wanting in these pages, but there is also an almost utter absence of the historical imagination. The author writes of events which in heroism and tragic interest are hardly exceeded in the whole history of the church, but the reader of this volume receives but the faintest hint of it. History is the representation of individual and congregated life, and is full of significant action. He only truly and scientifically writes history who makes this life real to the intelligent reader, and reveals to him the cause or causes of this action. The author of this volume has with great industry and accuracy brought out from their hiding places the facts pertaining to the antipedobaptist movement, but, it seems to us, has failed so to group and explain those facts as to give us the real history of that movement.

GALUSHA ANDERSON.

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THE BAPTISM OF ROGER WILLIAMS. A Review of Rev. Dr. W. H. Whitsitt's *Inference*. By HENRY MELVILLE KING. With an Introduction by Rev. Jesse B. Thomas, D.D., Professor of Church History in the Newton Theological Institution. Providence: Preston & Rounds Co., 1897. Pp. x + 159; cloth.

IN THIS monograph Dr. King, the scholarly and highly esteemed pastor of the First Baptist Church in Providence, R. I., subjects to a critical review the chapter concerning the baptism of Roger Williams, with which Dr. Whitsitt, in his little volume, *A Question in Baptist History*, closes his discussion of the beginnings of the practice of immersion among the Baptists in England. In that work, having insisted that the English Baptists first adopted immersion for baptism in or about 1641, Dr. Whitsitt in an appendix presents such evidence as he can find with reference to the baptism of Roger Williams and his associates at Providence in 1639, and closes his examination of this evidence with these words: "In the present state of information it

would be unwise to pronounce with certainty any conclusion regarding this question. However, within the limits of the uncertainty which is freely acknowledged, the weight of evidence appears to incline very clearly towards the view that Roger Williams was sprinkled and not immersed at Providence in 1639."

After a reference to this "somewhat contradictory utterance" and the consideration of some objections to Dr. Whitsitt's treatment of the English question, Dr. King follows Dr. Whitsitt along his chosen path of investigation. It is close following. Dr. King is familiar with everything pertaining to the history of the First Baptist Church in Providence, and his examination of Dr. Whitsitt's discussion is as able as it is thorough. Again and again he shows that Dr. Whitsitt's interpretation of contemporary records is only "a refinement of ingenuity." For example: Dr. Whitsitt quotes from Gov. Winthrop, and also from Rev. Hugh Peters, of Salem, an account of the baptism of Roger Williams, in both of which it is spoken of as a "rebaptism." Dr. Whitsitt admits that this word does "not positively settle the question regarding the act employed;" but he thinks that in the mouths of these men "that word could hardly point to anything else than to the act of sprinkling or pouring." But Dr. King furnishes a passage in which the General Court of Massachusetts, in referring to the baptism of a little group of persons at Seekonk in 1649, used the word "rebaptized" where the rebaptism (as we know from a passage in a letter of Gov. Winthrop under the date of November 10, 1649) was an immersion.

Thus, page after page, Dr. King follows Dr. Whitsitt in the examination of his inferences. His work, however, is constructive as well as destructive. The fact that Roger Williams and his associates were immersed at Providence in 1639 he establishes as firmly, doubtless, as it is now possible to do.

HENRY S. BURRAGE.

PORTLAND, ME.

#### REVIEW OF DR. JESSE B. THOMAS ON THE WHITSITT QUESTION.

By REV. GEORGE A. LOFTON, D.D. Nashville, Tenn.:  
Nashville University Press Co., 1897. Pp. 118; paper.

THIS is a supplement to an earlier work by Dr. Lofton entitled, *A Review of the Question*, meaning the Whitsitt question. In the *Western Recorder*, in a criticism of this earlier work, Dr. Thomas expressed the opinion that Dr. Lofton had "misread" Crosby. In

this review of the series of articles which Dr. Thomas published in the *Western Recorder*, and which subsequently appeared in a pamphlet printed by the Baptist Book Concern, Louisville, Ky., entitled *Both Sides. Review of Dr. Whitsitt's "Question in Baptist History,"* Dr. Lofton, in opposition to Dr. Thomas, gives considerable attention to Crosby's account of the restoration of immersion in England; but he does much more in the progress of the discussion, maintaining Crosby's position that, prior to 1640-41, immersion, as believers' baptism, "had for some time been disused" in England, and that the "ancient practice" was "restored" at that period by what Crosby designates the "English Baptists." In other words, Dr. Lofton's pamphlet is a very forceful argument in support of this position, and constitutes an exceedingly valuable contribution to the literature of the discussion opened by Dr. Whitsitt.

HENRY S. BURRAGE.

PORTLAND, ME.

THOMAS CHALMERS. By W. GARDEN BLAIKIE. "Famous Scots Series," Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier; New York: Imported by Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1897. Pp. 160. \$0.75.

THE key to this great man's career is found in two sentences closing the first paragraph of the book before us: "On the basis of the gospel he could not separate the social from the personal, the general from the particular, the temporal from the spiritual. He had always an Arcadia, a Utopia, a new springtide for his country in his vista; but a springtide to be realized in one way only—by the coming of the spirit from on high."

Dr. Chalmers was peculiarly fitted by nature and education to realize the idea contained in these sentences. He had a very large and versatile mind. He was almost equally at home in mathematics, chemistry, political economy, social science, the pulpit, the professor's chair, the family circle, from the humble cottage to the palace. He lived just a little too soon to come under the influence of German thought, and more recent ideas of specialization. He was never farther from home than Paris, but he knew England and Scotland thoroughly. Travel and a knowledge of the literature of other nations would no doubt have added to his power. Nevertheless Carlyle did not justly call him "narrow." He is, indeed, constrained to say: "What a wonderful old man Chalmers is! or, rather, he has all the buoyancy of youth. When

so many of us are wringing our hands in hopeless despair over the vileness and wretchedness of the large towns, there goes the old man, shovel in hand, down into the dirtiest puddles of the west part of Edinburgh, cleans them out, fills the sewers with living waters. It is a beautiful sight."

It is interesting to note that Chalmers experienced a conversion after entering the university. In his earlier career he gave a minimum of his strength to directly gospel work, and a maximum to outside subjects, such as mathematics, chemistry, and so on. But later he experienced a great change, after which the gospel was put before everything else, and this dates the beginning of his real success. The chapters are: "Birth, School, and College, 1780-1803;" "Kilman, 1803-1815;" "Glasgow, 1815-1823;" "St. Andrews University, 1823-1828;" "Edinburgh University, 1828-1843;" "New College, Edinburgh, 1843-1847." Dr. Blaikie writes with fullness of knowledge and sympathy. He has accordingly written a book that will be an inspiration to ministers and all others who can respond to the touch of a great personality, as Chalmers was.

J. W. MONCRIEF.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

VERGLEICH DER DOGMATISCHEN SYSTEME VON R. A. LIPSIIUS UND A. RITSCHL. Zugleich Kritik und Würdigung derselben. Von Lic. theol. E. PFENNIGSDORF, Pastor in Harsgerode. Gotha: Friedrich Andreas Perthes, 1896. Pp. vii + 191. M. 2.40.

THIS book is an admirable exposition and criticism of the theological systems of Ritschl and Lipsius. The author holds that a thoroughgoing doctrine of knowledge is necessary in formulating the science of theology. In taking this standpoint he is able to discuss the fundamental principles of both theologians. Here Pfennigsdorf hopes to make a contribution to theological science. After a general discussion of the epistemology of Ritschl and Lipsius, he gives a more detailed account of their religious epistemology. The author then takes up in a critical manner the doctrines of each in regard to revelation and the church. He then shows how far the religious views of each are warranted by their epistemology. The concluding part of his work Pfennigsdorf devotes to setting forth his own conception of the twofold task of evangelical dogmatics. He agrees with both the theologians that there is a distinction to be drawn between philosophy

and religion, but maintains that both have failed, owing to a defective epistemology, definitely to mark out the respective fields of philosophical and practical theology.

The epistemological position of Ritschl, in our author's exposition of it, is little more than idealistic rationalism; that of Lipsius is subjectivism. Both have made the mistaken assumption, common to many philosophers, that like can be known only by like. Ritschl believes he finds concrete reality in phenomena; Lipsius believes that phenomena furnish an "objective factor" for knowledge of reality. In fact, there are two kinds of knowledge, specific and semiotic. Specific knowledge requires that all its elements shall be ideas. Semiotic knowledge deals with phenomena, but considers them as indexes. They point to reality, the missing conception of which reason must supply. The symbolic character of phenomena is their chief importance.

The most valuable portion of this whole discussion is found on pp. 157-73. Ritschl's system has the advantage of laying stress on the historical view of revelation. This, however, loses much of its significance and worth when we consider the standpoint from which the content of religious knowledge is gained. Religious knowledge consists purely of judgments of value (*Werturteil*). The kingdom of God, which Jesus perfectly realized in himself, is established by overcoming the metaphysico-ethical opposition between nature and spirit. This is finding a basis for theology in a principle as old as the doctrine of the stoics. But, in addition, this "judgment of value" is a matter largely of individual personal feeling. Ritschl, in order to meet this difficulty, introduces the broader standpoint of the church. The Christian community is, however, only the projection of individual mind. This theology is open to the charge of being a speculation, arbitrary, and full of inconsistency.

Lipsius is able, on account of his epistemological position, to put himself on a firmer and wider ground of Christian experience. For him the territory of Christian experience is not merely co-extensive with psychological experiences that are empirically demonstrable, but it includes also everything of which religion is immediately conscious. For additional confirmation, the "great facts of faith" are referred to the experience of the church. This empirico-psychological consideration of religion is a *circulus vitiosus*. If the experience of the church is the test of the validity of individual experience, internal revelation is certainly untrustworthy.

According to Pfennigsdorf the task of dogmatics consists in the proof that Christianity may be looked at from both the theoretical and the practical point of view. This task is twofold, on the one hand philosophical, on the other religious. The philosophical effort results in a Christian world-view, the religious attempt ends in an exposition of Christian faith, based upon religious experience. The latter is positive science and meets the wants of the church. The theoretical representation of Christianity must be speculative, rational, in order to meet the demand of the mind, and to demonstrate the content of faith. In this division of the theological field both religion and philosophy will receive their true significance.

Has Pfennigsdorf made a contribution to epistemology? His "specific knowledge" is nothing more than the pure-reason knowledge of Kant. Nor is what he calls "semiotic knowledge" a new thing. It is a part of the eclectic movement exemplified in a host of living writers. Furthermore, his methodological division amounts to a division of subject-matter. His conclusion that Christianity must be looked at both scientifically and religiously has great value, but so definite is the line of distinction between kinds of knowledge that the attempt to attach the conclusions of semiotic to specific knowledge, in order to gain a rational unity, is not warranted by his epistemological theory. The question is, how far shall we go in making this distinction? Reality is an organic whole. Phenomena are not mere signboards, or means by which reality is known. Semiotic knowledge cannot be a thing altogether apart from specific knowledge. The means must fuse into and become a real factor of the whole of knowledge. Reality may function both in symbol and in valuation. The latter may be reality at its highest power; the former cannot be purely phenomenal.

ELIPHALET A. READ.

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GOD, CREATOR, AND LORD OF ALL. By SAMUEL HARRIS, D.D., LL.D. Professor of Systematic Theology in Yale University. New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1896. 2 vols. \$5, net.

DR. HARRIS is the well-known author of two other works, each a goodly octavo, the first *The Philosophical Basis of Theism*, published in 1883, the other *The Self-Revelation of God*, published in 1886. These two works may be regarded as the blade and the ear, and we now have, in two octavo volumes, if not the full corn in the ear, at least a

sheaf of the first fruit of the harvest. In fact, not a little of the matter contained in the former works finds fitting place in this. The present work is evidently a treatise on theology in the strict sense of the term; for he defines theology as "the intellectual apprehension and expression of what God really is in his relations to the universe, and especially to man." The study of theology is then the search for all attainable knowledge of God. He justifies the study of theology against current misconceptions of it on the ground that it is in accord with the spirit and teaching of the Bible; that it is essential to the preservation and purity of Christian belief, and to Christian character and life; and to the effective preaching of the gospel.

The plan of the work is suggested by his definition of theology. Since God's self-revelation is made in his relations to the universe, and especially to man, these relations suggest and furnish the main divisions. Accordingly we have: Part 1, "God the One Only Absolute Spirit;" Part 2, "God the Creator;" Part 3, "God the Lord of All in Providential Government;" Part 4, "God the Lord of All in Moral Government." Part 1 has eleven chapters; Part 2, two; Part 3, five, and Part 4, eleven; twenty-nine in all.

In a brief review of so extended a work the reviewer can do no more than select here and there such topics as will serve to indicate the general course of the author's thought, and at the same time present his views on certain important doctrines.

In Part 1, which treats of God as absolute spirit, he says that the knowledge of God originates in spontaneous belief which comes to man the moment he awakens to consciousness of the outer world and of himself. This knowledge is at first obscure and defective, and mixed with error—a mere germ—but, being by subsequent investigation progressively enlarged, clarified, and classified, it becomes a real knowledge of God as the absolute spirit—absolute as unconditioned and unlimited by any being, power, or environment independent of himself; and spirit as possessing reason, free will, and feeling. Confirmatory proof that God is the absolute spirit is found in consciousness; in the constitution, order, and evolution of the universe; in the history of man and of his redemption; in individual experience; and preëminently in Christ and the Holy Spirit as revealed to men. Of course, there can be but one absolute spirit. Dr. Harris defines the natural and the supernatural thus: "Nature denotes the physical universe, including all irrational and impersonal beings. The supernatural embraces God and all finite rational or spiritual persons." Man is on the same

side of the dividing line between the natural and the supernatural with God. God is spirit in the form of the infinite; man is spirit in the form of the finite. The fundamental reality in the universe is the supernatural, not the natural. The energy in the universe is put forth by spirit. Matter and its forces are manifestations of the spiritual or supernatural, that is, of self-determining, self-exerting spirit. The action of a supernatural power on nature is of the essence of miracle. It is not a violation of any law of nature, but in accordance with the laws of nature, and the result such as could not have been produced except for this action of spirit upon nature; though we are accustomed to call that only miraculous which results from the action upon nature of a spirit superior to man. God as absolute spirit is immanent in nature, but transcends nature.

Dr. Harris' method leads him to a treatment of the subject of the divine attributes somewhat unlike that of most theologians. Instead of making the usual classification of natural and moral, he makes the classification rest on the two aspects of his nature as absolute being and as absolute spirit. As absolute being, unconditioned and unlimited, his attributes are negative. They are self-existence (uncreated), omnipresence (unlimited in space), eternity (unlimited in time), plenitude (unlimited in quantity). As absolute spirit his attributes are reason (or intelligence), will (power, freedom, and love), and feeling. Our space will not allow us to follow him in this discussion, which occupies four chapters.

Under the heading of theodicy he discusses the supremacy of reason in God; sorrow and suffering in the universe; the existence of sin; the manifestation of God's love in the mission of Christ; and mystery, showing that mystery furnishes no ground of doubt of God's love.

Four chapters are given to the subject of the trinity and the incarnation. From the fact that divine attributes are ascribed to Christ and to the Holy Spirit by the Scriptures, and that they uniformly and emphatically declare that God is one, the only possible conclusion is that Father, Word, and Holy Spirit are one God. A very full discussion of the philosophical and practical significance of the trinity and of the incarnation follows, in the course of which the author treats very fully and candidly the theories of Unitarianism.

Part 2 consists of one chapter on creation and one on God's end in creation. Whatever interpretation be given to the first three chapters of Genesis, they reveal important truths respecting God and crea-



tion, which cannot be found in the literature or traditions of any nation except the Hebrews. The Scriptures uniformly represent God's end in creation to be his own glory in the revelation of himself. This end is worthy of God, because he is what he is, and because the highest blessedness of a rational being consists in knowing God. This doctrine of the end of God in creation is the basis for the doctrine of God's government of the universe. His providential government must reveal him as he is, the absolute reason and love. Sovereignty, though absolute, is under the law of righteousness and love, a law not exterior to nor above God, but in his own nature, and so not limiting him. Divine sovereignty, thus understood, is universal, and is both providential and moral, the providential being subordinate to the moral. It is favorable to holiness both in restraining from sin and in reclaiming the sinner, though it never trenches upon moral freedom. Election is an exercise of divine sovereignty in human redemption. The significance of it lies in the fact that it is God who seeks to save the sinner and not the sinner who seeks salvation. A being who is absolute reason and love cannot act unreasonably or unrighteously, and, knowing the end from the beginning, cannot divorce his foreknowledge from his foreordination.

One of the most satisfactory chapters is the one entitled "Moral Character Defined Psychologically." Referring to his work, *The Philosophical Basis of Theism*, for his doctrine of the will and its freedom, he bases on it this definition of moral character: "Primarily it is the choice of the supreme object of trust and service of which the subordinate choices and volitions are the expression and manifestation; secondarily it is the state of the intellect and sensibilities, and the habits of action, so far as formed or modified by previous voluntary action." Moral character, then, is possible only as determined by choice. Now there are two spheres within which to exercise choice: the one, objects to be acquired, possessed, and used; the other, persons to be trusted and served. The former cannot be objects of supreme choice, for at once the question arises, for whom do we seek to acquire these objects, for self or for another or others? So the object of supreme choice must be a person or persons, self, or God and our neighbor. The choice between these determines moral character. This harmonizes with the great commandment: Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and thy neighbor as thyself. From this it follows that the root of all sin is the supreme choice of self as the object of trust and service. Such was the nature

of the first sin in Eden, and man is said by theologians to be totally depraved, in that he totally rejects God as the supreme object of trust and service. The choice of God is faith, and so all right character begins in faith, and regeneration is the change wrought in the soul under the agency of the Holy Spirit, when self is renounced and God and our neighbor are chosen as the supreme object of trust and service.

Passing by the author's very able presentation of the working of love in service to God and men, we have space only for a brief reference to the chapter on the sanctions of law. There can be no law without a sanction. This sanction is punishment inflicted on the transgressor in the form of deprivation or suffering. It is not vindictive, but vindicatory, because indispensable to the maintenance of righteous government. It must be inflicted by the government whose law has been transgressed, for, if inflicted by any other (as a lawless mob), however deserved by the criminal, it does not maintain, but undermines government. Punishment is not discipline, though it may answer this end. Thus the necessity for punishment is grounded in the constitution of the universe, which is itself grounded in the eternal reason which dwells in the bosom of God. Punishment usually comes as the result or fruit of sin, in accordance with the law of cause and effect, but this does not make the punishment less the act of God, since it is he who established the constitution of nature and is himself immanent and energetic in it.

Dr. Harris' chair in Yale University is that of "systematic theology," but it is not to be assumed that we have here the entire body of teaching given from that chair. But even as the first installment of a "system of theology" it indicates a method markedly different from that of most of the masters of theology. Believing that God is immanent in the universe and reveals himself in all his relations to it, he studies these revealments in order to gain the fullest knowledge of God possible. The completest knowledge of God possible for man, rather than the most perfect system of religious doctrine, is the object of search. We are made to feel that we are dealing directly with God rather than with a "body of divinity." We have a growth rather than a structure. A growing tree may never be perfectly symmetrical, or, however symmetrical, it is not complete. Dr. Harris' book is evidently not complete as a "system of theology." Not only do several topics which usually have prominent place in systems of theology, such as depravity, atonement, regeneration, justification, etc., receive only incidental mention in this work, but others more closely

related to theology proper are but briefly touched. There is, for example, in the chapter on the incarnation no full discussion of the doctrine of the atonement, but only such references to it as the following: "The atoning significance of the work of Christ is only a peculiar application of principles in accordance with which God always acts." And again: "In the assertion, maintenance, and vindication of God's law is the atoning significance of Christ's humiliation, obedience, suffering, and death." And again: "The doctrine that God in Christ asserts, maintains, and vindicates his law . . . means that God's action in doing so is the spontaneous expression of his essential character as God." Similar references are made to other doctrines which are not discussed at length in these volumes. Though we find in them no intimation that another or other volumes are to follow, those who have been privileged to be his pupils confidently expect that this will be the case. If then his readers miss some things where they expected to find them, they will suspend judgment till Dr. Harris has had time to carry out fully his entire plan. If still we wish these volumes had contained some things which we fail to find in them, we are glad to recognize the many and great excellencies of this able work. The spirit is reverent towards God and the Scriptures; the tone is that of one who knows what he believes and the grounds of his faith, who is earnest and candid in his advocacy of the truth as he sees it; the discussions are full and thorough, leaving nothing obscure and omitting nothing essential; the style is a model for clearness and directness, making his meaning unmistakable. There is no trace of bitterness in his frank dissent from the opinions and views of other theologians, and his reconciliation of views supposed to be irreconcilable is usually exceedingly satisfactory. The work is a good exponent of the progress made by evangelical theology during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. It may be studied with profit by pastors and teachers of every age who can appreciate clear thinking and intelligent faith.

N. S. BURTON.

ANN ARBOR, MICH.

THE PLACE OF DEATH IN EVOLUTION. By NEWMAN SMYTH. New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1897. Pp. xii + 227. \$1.50.

DR. SMYTH is always both grave and gracious in discourse, and his face is always turned forward. These qualities appear in this volume as well as in its predecessors. The book is intended to bring aid from

the field of biology for the solution of the problem of death, and thus to minister to the universal human need of light and consolation. The real thesis is very simple — namely, that from its first appearing till now death has been the servant and not the enemy of life. The earliest life left no dead remains behind it, but death entered at the same time with sex. The entrance of sex brought to life the promise of immeasurable variety and progress, and death, its companion, was the agent to clear the way for its beneficent work. In the course of evolution death has tended to the advancement of life, by making room for the development of higher forms. When life had become spiritual, in man, death was essential to its elevation into the higher realm that befits its nature; and thus death may be counted among the valid grounds for a presumption of immortality. The suffering that its presence involves is an element of positive beneficence in the administration of a living and spiritual world. A “final discharge of death” is to be expected in the course of ages, whenever “life can go on better without death,” and, as death entered with sex, so sex will be its companion in departing. The ambiguity of this last sentence mirrors the ambiguity of the book at this point. It is not made quite clear whether the “final discharge of death” means the transferring of all humanity to another life where death has no place, or whether the life that may exist at some given future time is to “go on” thenceforth as a final product, without further continuation of birth and dying. This lack of clearness weakens the statement at an interesting point. As for the substance of the thought, a brief statement seems to make it appear large enough, and yet in reading one experiences a certain sense of attenuation, finding the “body of doctrine” less massive than he hoped. But the practice of bringing spiritual consolation from the field of biology, though quite legitimate, is still so new as not to have lost the sense of strangeness, and this perhaps is why the sensation of insufficiency creeps in. The strongest chapter in the book is the one on “Presumptions of Immortality.”

WILLIAM N. CLARKE.

COLGATE UNIVERSITY.

THEORETICAL ETHICS. By MILTON VALENTINE, D.D., LL.D.  
Chicago: Scott, Foresman & Co., 1897. Pp. v+232.  
Cloth, \$1.25, *net*.

THIS book enjoys the distinction of being, perhaps, the smallest of its class. But it has other excellencies besides that of brevity.

Obviously it is the ripe fruit of long and patient reflection and of deep experience. The standpoint is that of "intuitional" ethics. Its author holds, with unwavering courage, to the competence of the human mind to know reality; to the moral nature of man as underived from other and earlier elements, and nowise to be resolved into them; to freedom; to the absolute validity of the moral law; to the supreme authority of conscience, as directly perceptive of the right; to the theistic implications and issues of morality; and to such other "old-fashioned" views as go along with these. But if the opinions are old, the temper is modern. The discussion is marked by an unusual precision and strength of statement, while sometimes rising into a strain of noble eloquence, as, *e. g.*, in the estimate given of the moral meaning of the world's history, and of the ethical illumination and dynamic afforded by Christianity. The work constitutes one of the most acute and effective vindications of intuitive and theistic ethics with which we are acquainted; if it has any lack, it is in an adequate appreciation of the elements of truth contained in other systems. We must wait still for the treatise on ethical theory that shall synthesize in one coherent and complete statement the divers truths which the intuitionalist, the evolutionist, the eudæmonist and utilitarian have discerned and defended. And perhaps the time has not yet fully come, though it seems to be at hand, when such a work can be written.

WM. F. BLACKMAN.

YALE UNIVERSITY.

THE CHRISTIAN ECCLESIA. A Course of Lectures on the Early History and Early Conceptions of the Ecclesia; and Four Sermons. By FENTON JOHN ANTHONY HORT, D.D. Lady Margaret's Reader in Divinity in the University of Cambridge. London: Macmillan & Co., Limited; New York: The Macmillan Company, 1897. \$1.75.

THESE lectures were delivered at the University of Cambridge, England, in 1888 and 1889. Dr. Hort originally intended to examine the evidence on the subject of the ecclesia presented in the history of the early centuries of Christianity, but he failed to carry out his purpose. Still the treatise, as he left it, is quite complete. The effort of the editor of this volume to supply the deficiency by adding four of the author's sermons, preached on different occasions, is hardly a success. These discourses have but a very remote bearing upon the topic discussed in these scholarly lectures.

In this volume the author carefully unfolds the history of the word *ecclesia*. He points out its Hebrew equivalent, its use in the Septuagint, and the manner in which Christ used it in the gospel of Matthew.

He critically examines the account of the call of the apostles and the names by which they are designated. He points out their mission (1) to be with Christ, (2) to preach and teach, and (3) to heal diseases. He sets forth, also, their wider mission, as given at the close of the gospels and in the Acts, and descants on the one "incommunicable" mark of an apostle, that he must be able to bear witness to Christ's resurrection. These apostles, in his view, formed the central, original *ecclesia*, whose mission was to preach and to heal.

The growth of the *ecclesia* after the ascension is next considered. We first see the eleven in the upper room, probably renewing "their coherence as a definite body." Soon after a larger body is mentioned, that attended "steadfastly with one accord upon 'the prayer.'" Here were not only the apostles, but also certain women, the Lord's mother and brethren. Then appear the 120, who, under the lead of Peter, chose Matthias to fill the place of Judas. The pentecost soon followed, when thousands were added to the *ecclesia*. This *ecclesia* became a true, balanced commune of love; "the individuals were not lost in the community, nor the community in the individuals."

Administration was now begun by the apostles; but the work of administration becoming too onerous, and interfering with their higher and more spiritual functions, they laid it off upon the seven, who were chosen by the whole *ecclesia* for this special purpose. But this *ecclesia* could not be confined to Jerusalem; it spread throughout Judea, Samaria, and Galilee. It took root on Gentile soil, in Antioch of Syria. It was planted there through the agency of neither apostle nor evangelist, but by the preaching of laymen. It was made up of converted Jews and Gentiles. But its Gentile contingent did not separate it from fellowship with the *ecclesia* at Jerusalem. It sent help to the famine-stricken brethren there, and also laid before them the question whether circumcision was necessary to salvation.

As we move on in the sacred record, the conception of the *ecclesia* constantly grows more comprehensive. In Paul's address, at Miletus, to the elders of Ephesus, we find an especially significant use of the word: "the *ecclesia* of God which he purchased by the blood of his own." It is language which in strictness belongs "only to the one universal Christian *ecclesia*," but it is here used to designate the

individual ecclesia at Ephesus. In the epistles we "find similar investment of parts of the universal ecclesia with the high attributes of the whole." The reason of this is that, while each ecclesia has a corporate life of its own, it is not an isolated society, but a representative member of the universal ecclesia.

The author gives a careful, exhaustive criticism of the use of the term ecclesia in the epistles. This use reveals at the same time the independence of the churches and their community of interest. We learn also from Paul's first epistle to the Corinthians that peace is essential to the ecclesia, the "spirit of schism or division is the very contradiction of the idea of an ecclesia."

In Colossians and Ephesians we have the universal ecclesia. This is accounted for, not so much by Paul's progress in knowledge as by the fact that the danger of division between Jewish and Gentile churches had largely passed away. The middle wall of partition between them had been broken down. Moreover, Paul in Ephesians was setting forth Christ as the head of all things; so that both the fellowship of believers, without respect to nationality, and the demands of the apostle's theological thought made it the fitting moment to declare that there was now not only many ecclesiæ, but also one universal ecclesia, of which Christ was the head. Ideally this ecclesia was coextensive with humanity. To Paul it was "a kind of pledge for the complete fulfillment of God's purpose" to bring, in the dim future, all men into fellowship in Christ.

The author also thoroughly discusses the spiritual gifts bestowed on apostolic churches, as well as the offices and officers of those churches. He maintains that the apostles were not officers; that there were only two classes of officers, the seven and the elders; although deacons mentioned in 1 Tim. 3, and in Phil. 1: 1 were "analogous" to the seven. In his view the word *ἐπίσκοπος* is not another name employed to designate the officer called an elder, but is used rather to express an important function of the elder, that of oversight. Of officers higher than elders he finds "nothing like the episcopal system of later times." Still he thinks that we do not find in apostolic history "a set of authoritative precedents to be rigorously copied without regard to time or place." Nevertheless he holds that each ecclesia should be guided by ancient precedent on the one hand, as well as by adaptation to present and future needs on the other. "The lesson-book of the ecclesia, and of every ecclesia, is not a law, but a history."

By way of criticism we wish to say that this is an excellent book. Every page bears the impress of accurate and profound scholarship. The style is clear, simple, and vigorous. Many texts are interpreted in a fresh, suggestive way. The genesis of the early churches is clearly set forth. These lectures are an appreciable addition to our knowledge of the primitive Christian communities.

We doubt, however, the position of the author that *ἐπίσκοπος* simply expresses a function of the elder, and is not another name of that officer. The passages in which the word is found are most naturally interpreted on the supposition that, while it implicitly contains the idea of oversight, it is also another name by which a pastor or elder was designated. One of his names expressed one of his important functions. Phil. 1: 1; Titus 1: 5, 7; 1 Tim. 3: 2, 8, are passages which do not easily yield themselves to the interpretation suggested by our author.

Nor has he spoken the last word concerning the authority of apostolic precedent. It is a large and important subject, upon which, for lack of space, we cannot enter. He, however, admits that we should be guided in some measure by "ancient precedent." But why, if such precedents are not binding? How far shall we be guided by them? What shall we receive, what shall we reject? It is possible that the essential features of apostolic churches, clearly set forth in the New Testament, may be, not only history, but also law. Many who have cut loose from apostolic precedents have drifted into ecclesiastical hierarchies and despotisms.

GALUSHA ANDERSON.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

DER KLEINE KATECHISMUS MARTIN LUTHERS, in seiner jetzt erkannten Bedeutung. Erster Teil: Die Geschichte seiner Vorarbeiten. Mit Benutzung der 1894 veröffentlichten Katechismuspredigten quellenmässig und allgemein verständlich dargestellt. Von Lic. theol. HERMANN HACHFELD, Pastor a. D., Helmstedt. Berlin: Kommissionsverlag von Wiegandt & Grieben, 1897. Pp. xix + 150. M. 2.50.

THIS work is mainly historical. The author's aim is to set forth the preparatory labors which culminated in Luther's Small Catechism, which he justly calls a "wonderful book." That catechism certainly has a place in the church prominent enough to justify this renewed attention to the conditions under which it was produced.



In view of the prevalent lamentable ignorance of the fundamental principles of true Christianity, Luther, at various times from 1515 to 1520, preached before the Wittenberg congregation on the chief topics commonly embraced in catechetical instruction: the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer. His explanation of the first three commandments shows how men are to act toward God. In general they should reverence and trust him as a father and good friend. Under the commandments of the second table, he discusses how they should act toward their neighbor and fellow-men. The law is to be kept inwardly, in the heart. The creed is explained in its three articles, with reference to faith in God, in Christ and redemption, and in respect to the work of the Holy Spirit. "The Lord's Prayer is that simple, ceaseless prayer which becomes sweeter and more delightful the more and longer it is used." Here, in these sermons, we find already the spirit of Luther's catechetical manuals.

In 1520 Luther wrote what proved to be the basis or earliest substructure (*Grundlage*) of the Smaller Catechism: a "Short Form of the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer, with an introduction as to the meaning and interrelation of these three topics." He treated the same subjects more fully in sermons in 1523. Hachfeld's fourth chapter discusses the indispensability of a catechism for the evangelical congregation, especially for the young people. They can be properly evangelized only by leading them by to the Holy Scriptures, which requires catechetical instruction in the church, school, and home. Chapter 5 recalls the Saxon church-visitation and its necessity for the good order and self-help of the evangelical congregations. This visitation opened to view more sadly than ever the ignorance of the people; and in 1528 Luther preached three series of sermons at Wittenberg on the five parts of the catechism. To the first three parts he now adds the sacraments. In these sermons we find the true and immediate antecedents of Luther's two catechisms. We find in them the very words which have been incorporated in the catechisms. For the Small Catechism there was a thorough condensation of the material; for the larger a fuller incorporation. As to priority of preparation, or the question of reduction or development of one into the other, our author reaches no explicit conclusion. Though the larger was published about a month earlier than the smaller, their preparation may have gone on side by side.

Chapter 7 gives a history of catechisms of Brentz, Althammer,

and Lachmann. These are briefly sketched, and are shown to be in essential harmony with the teaching in Luther's catechism.

The eighth chapter is the most important of all. It discusses the evangelical character of the Small Catechism, the importance of catechization, the neglect of catechizing in the Roman Catholic church, the mission of the catechizer, and the proper preparation of the young for the reception of the sacraments.

The book is one of the most important contributions to the science of catechetics. Not only pastors, but theological teachers whose duty it is to lecture on catechetics, will find it of great value. It is especially conservative and evangelical, as well as learned. It probably marks the beginning of a return to more conservative Christian thinking in Germany. We shall hail with pleasure the second volume.

M. VALENTINE.

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Gettysburg, Pa.

THE CULTURE OF CHRISTIAN MANHOOD. Sunday Mornings in Battell Chapel. Edited by WILLIAM H. SALLMAN. New York, Chicago, and Toronto: Fleming H. Revell & Co., 1897. Pp. 309. \$1.50.

SIXTEEN sermons preached before the students of Yale University are brought together in this volume. In common with most colleges and universities, Yale holds to the theory that "the man who can preach helpfully to university men is the man who holds a city pastorate;" and, acting upon this belief, she has invited some of the most successful pastors of our land to speak to her students. Among those whose sermons appear in this volume are such well-known preachers as Charles Cuthbert Hall, Alexander McKenzie, Amory H. Bradford, Henry Van Dyke, David J. Burrell, and George A. Gordon.

In spite of the fact that so many men contribute to this volume, it is marked by a large measure of unity. This unity is due in part to the characters of the preachers, in part to the occasion. These men are marked by moral earnestness, and their sermons bear this stamp. There is no attempt at "smartness," no exhibition of cheap wit. These men think and speak with dignity. The fact that they speak to an audience made up of young men leads to a measure of unity in subjects treated. Dr. McClure's theme is "Trophies of Youth the Safeguard of Manhood." Dr. Herrick discusses "Manhood's Struggle and Victory." Dr. Van Dyke sets forth "The Meaning of Manhood."

Few of the preachers fail to deal with questions which are of special importance to young men.

These sermons from some of our representative preachers furnish a fine opportunity for the study of sermonic style. The students of divinity at Yale must have received large benefit, not only from the spiritual truths presented, but as well from the homiletic hints afforded by these sermons. In structure some of the work is seriously open to criticism. One preacher uses nearly one-half of his time in getting at the proposition which he is to discuss. Another in the text "I thought upon my ways, and turned my feet unto thy testimonies," finds the theme, "The Evolution of a Thinker." A third, discussing "Selected Lives," takes as his first division, "The Selected Life;" making his general theme and first division practically one. The style of some is simple, clear, direct. That of others is involved and somewhat stilted. The sermon on "The Part We Know," by Dr. McKenzie, is one of the very best in the volume. Taking words familiar to everyone—"Silver and gold have I none; but such as I have give I thee"—he sets forth with great freshness and force the importance of using that which we have. The thought is by no means a new one, but he gives to it a new importance. The introduction is short and simple, the divisions clear and striking, his vocabulary choice and vigorous.

LATHAN A. CRANDALL.

GENESIS OF THE SOCIAL CONSCIENCE. By H. S. NASH, Professor in the Episcopal Theological School at Cambridge. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1897. Pp. viii + 309. Cloth, \$1.50.

IN CHARMING and impressive style this work presents the evidence for the belief that historic Christianity is the purest and most powerful social force in history. External institutions and their development are passed over, the author's purpose being to disclose the mental factors which have wrought the transformations of society from within.

The starting point is the conception of man as soul, having worth within himself, apart from wealth, rank, or other visible distinctions. Christianity inherited from Hebraism and diffused in the world the monotheistic idea of God, the theological dogma which unifies the race and assures a common life in the universe. The idea of the one righteous God becomes an ideal, a creative force, a new starting point of progress.

Emphasis was placed upon personality and freedom, and thus upon the duty and power of realizing the best self. The sense of universal sin dealt a blow at the pretensions of aristocracy. The hope of a divine kingdom, in which humanity realizes a social bond, raises the estimate of the value of each member of the race. Duty acquires a new significance in the Christian society. The reformer's conscience is born, and with it the social question.

The gifts and limitations of paganism are treated. The activity of the missionary church shows God at work in the service of the lowly. The separation of church and state was necessary in order that man might be thought of as more than a mere instrument of political organization, as himself an end. The modern revolution was the secular expression of the intrinsic value of the common man.

This mode of treating history as the development of ideas has great advantages, since it serves to emphasize the spiritual factor. But there are disadvantages. Writing on behalf of the common man should usually be addressed to the common man, and the ordinary mortal interprets the spirit by means of the body. It is impossible to present philosophical concepts with the greatest vividness and force as abstractions. Social ideas are embodied in social institutions, and are strongly influenced by them. Nevertheless we have here brilliant forms of statement, a powerful defense of a Christianized democracy, and an apologetic argument of high value.

C. R. HENDERSON.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

*The Philosophy of Ancient India.* By Richard Garbe. (Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company, 1897; pp. 89; cloth, \$0.50; paper, \$0.25.) Two of the three essays presented here, reprinted from the *Monist* of 1894, are substantially the same as the third and fourth chapters of the introduction to the author's admirable treatise, *Die Sāṃkhya-Philosophie*. The "Brief Outline of a History of Indian Philosophy" adds a summary of the Sāṃkhya doctrine to the "Ueberlick über die anderen philosophischen Systeme Indiens." From other chapters of the same work are taken the account of the Yoga philosophy and the statement of the attitude of philosophers toward the mythology. The digression on the doctrine of *samsāra* is similarly transferred, and not very happily inserted at full length in this "brief outline." The essay on "The Connection between Indian and Greek

Philosophy," read before the Philological Congress in Chicago, 1893, is rather, as it is styled in its German form, "über den Zusammenhang der Sāṃkhya-Lehre mit der griechischen Philosophie." In both essays the precise citations are likely to be useless except to those for whose studies an acquaintance with Professor Garbe's complete exposition is indispensable. For separate publication both might with advantage have been considerably rearranged.

The third, "Hindu Monism. Who were its Authors, Priests or Warriors?" is a translation of an essay in *Nord und Süd*, 1893, "Die Weisheit des Brahmanen oder des Kriegers?" Here, on very insufficient grounds, the author urges that to the *kṣatriyas* belongs "the credit of clearly recognizing the hollowness of the sacrificial system and the absurdity of its symbolism," that they were "the dominant factor in the development of the monistic doctrine in the elder Upanishads" and the champions of intellectual enlightenment "opposed by its natural enemy, the priesthood." To their credit are then added the doctrines of the Buddhists, the Jains, and the Bhāgavatas; in all, "the greatest intellectual performances, or rather almost all the performances of significance for mankind, in India."—A. W. STRATTON.

*A Glossary of Indian Terms relating to Religion, Customs, Government Land; and Other Terms and Words in Common Use.* By G. Temple. (London: Luzac & Co., 1897; pp. 332, 8vo.) The compiler of this work says it is intended "chiefly for those who have not sufficient time to devote to the study of those languages of India to which this glossary pertains, and who yet, in the course of their reading of Indian subjects, feel the want of an explanation, in small compass, of terms relating to the religion, manners, customs, etc., of the Hindu and Mussalman peoples of India." Definitions of some 7000 words of all sorts are given. Most of these are brief; yet there is much that might well be omitted; the compiler, for instance, allows himself four pages for a description of the festival of Jagannāth.—A. W. STRATTON.

*Die Chronologie der Geschichte Israels, Aegyptens, Babyloniens und Assyriens von 2000–700 v. Chr.* is a book of eighty pages from the pen of Carl Niebuhr (Leipzig: Eduard Pfeiffer, 1896; pp. x + 80). In the first place, the reader is confronted with a book which has no division, no chapter, and no section headings. It has no adequate outline tables of the chronology of the period under discussion, and has no index. Its construction is about as inconvenient and confusing as it could be

made. There is a one-page *Inhalts-Uebersicht*, which is a slight key to what follows, but it can never take the place of headings properly inserted in the text. In the second place, the author has presented a discussion of current theories of the chronology of those great nations, taking as his point of departure the year 722 B. C., the date of the fall of Samaria, in Israel, and the year 701 B. C., the date of Sennacherib's campaign, in the westland. From these dates he recedes to the time of the Exodus, discussing with some fullness the commonly noted discrepancies between the biblical and the Assyrian systems of chronology. Some attention is given, also, to the methods of Hebrew annalists as seen in the books of Kings and Chronicles. In Egyptian dates he proceeds from Amenhotep III to the XXIIth dynasty, through the somewhat fragmentary and unsatisfactory chronology of that section of Egyptian history. More fullness is found in the treatment of Assyrian chronology. The entire book, while sane in its discussions for the most part, makes slight advances on such treatises as those of Wellhausen, Stade, and Kamphausen. *The treatment of oriental chronology will never appear until much new material is added to our present fragmentary stock.*—IRA M. PRICE.

*Zur Chronologie der Babylonier, Vergleichungstabellen der babylonischen und christlichen Zeitrechnung von Nabonassar (747 v. Chr.) bis 100 v. Chr., appeared (Wien: Aus der kaiserl.-königlichen Hof- u. Staats-Druckerei; in Commission bei Carl Gerold's Sohn, 1895) from the pen of Dr. E. Mahler as a summary and expansion of two small pamphlets (Der Kalender der Babylonier) issued in 1892. It is an imperial quarto of twenty-four pages, and presents a comparative table, occupying nineteen pages, of Babylonian and Christian chronology, year by year, from the time of Nabonassar (747 B. C.) down to 100 B. C. In his earlier pamphlets the author showed that the Babylonians as the Greeks, and the Jews of today, divided their time into cycles of nineteen years; and that every third, sixth, eighth, eleventh, fourteenth, sixteenth, and nineteenth years in each cycle were intercalary. On the basis of such calculation the author scales his dates in his comparative table. By means of this tabular view we are enabled to locate with a reasonable degree of accuracy the chief events of Babylonia in the period covered by the author. The latest Babylonian astronomical information seems to have been used by the author, so that his reckonings are in that respect strictly up-to-date.*—IRA M. PRICE.

*Was there a Second Isaiah?* By Rev. Thomas E. Bartlett. (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1897; pp. 42, 16mo; \$0.10.) This pamphlet is a popular, not to say sarcastic, discussion of the critical theory respecting the book of Isaiah. The author seems fairly familiar with certain phases of the controversy, but less familiar with the spirit and aims of historical criticism. He gives the impression that the critics are bound to split the book of Isaiah at any cost, no matter what becomes of the truth.

The author labors under two errors. First, he thinks that the critic, because he is a critic, has little or no faith in the supernatural. Certain naturalists in matters of religion have promulgated critical theories. In the author's logic this means that to be a critic is to be opposed to revealed religion; and that, accordingly, believers in revealed religion ought to shun the results of criticism, or, forsooth, they have denied the faith. Secondly, he fails to understand the fundamental principle of historical criticism in its application to Isa. 40-66. He confounds simple predicting of the future with the prophet's taking his stand in some future time, knowing its peoples, conditions, and experiences, and then, from that as his historical situation, predicting events still future. The critic says, Here the analogy of prophecy must guide us; Mr. Bartlett, The analogy of prophecy has nothing to do with it; it is not improbable, it is, therefore, probable.

Mr. Bartlett applies to the critical theory two tests. The first concerns the explanation of the decree of Cyrus, and a fanciful difficulty is conjured up. The second shuts one up to the belief that the New Testament evidence is valid for authorship, or else he must deny the authority of the New Testament. That these are the only alternatives is due to the imagination of the writer rather than to the facts in the case.—H. R. HATCH.

*Das Verhältniß des Menschenopfers zur israelitischen Religion.* Von Dr. Adolf Kamphausen, Dekan der evangelischen theologischen Fakultät. (Bonn: Verlag von Röhrscheid & Ebbecke, 1896; pp. 80; M. 1.50.) The first sentence of this discussion is aimed at a *Programm* presented in 1895 by the dean of the Catholic theological faculty, in the same university, Dr. Kaulen, on Judg. 11:30-40, the so-called "sacrifice of Jephthah's daughter." The author of our *brochure* soon demolishes the figurative interpretation of his rival, and proceeds from this point to discuss the relation of this offering, and human sacrifice in general, to Israel's religion. He clears his way by

an able reply to *Die Anfänge der israelitischen Religion und Geschichte*, delivered in 1894 by one of his colleagues, Dr. Meinhold. Then, in citing some of the latest and best literature on the theme, Dr. Kamphausen makes an eminently true and wise observation. He says that there is no department of history today which is so permeated with phantasy and speculation as the history of religion. But there are voices calling this branch of science back to facts, to a wise consideration.

The body of the book recites the laws against human sacrifice, and many of the cases in which it was practiced in Israel, and reviews briefly the opinions of the chief writers on the subject for the past fifty years. He admits that there is some exegetical ground for saying that human sacrifice is a section of Israel's religion. But Jehovah gives no definite command, in fact prohibits such worship. The ethical character of the nation is not the most perfect, and the human sacrifice of the Old Testament is rather a crudity than an approved and ethical deed.—IRA M. PRICE.

*Das Alte Testament im Lichte des Zeugnisses Christi.* Vortrag von Th. Beyer. (Berlin: Verlag von Wiegandt & Grieben, 1897; pp. 48; M. 0.50.) It is interesting to know that in many parts of Germany devout members of the national church have formed themselves into companies for the study of the Bible, and for prayer that skepticism may not close it to the world. It is interesting to know that some of these persons have organized a "Bibel-Alliance" for the purpose of publishing defenses of the Bible, both popular and technical. It is not so interesting, however, to read this lecture as an example of what the alliance is sending forth. It is intended for the people, rather than for scholars; but the people should not be asked to read and believe that which is unscholarly, unsound, illogical. A careful and sober estimate of the testimony of Christ concerning the Old Testament is much to be desired; but it is not furnished in this lecture. Those who hold that the early chapters of Genesis are exact history and exact science ought to have better reasons for the faith that is in them than such declarations of Christ as the following, which do not touch the matter at all: "My Father worketh hitherto, and I work;" "Thou lovedst me before the foundation of the world;" "Inherit the kingdom prepared for you before the foundation of the world." The lecturer assures us that before his fall Adam was not subject to errors of opinion, and that, but for the fall, there would be no such errors in



the world today. He considers it highly significant that in Hebrew and Latin "to err" and "to sin" are one and the same word. He assures us that the devil is expressly mentioned in Gen. 4 : 7 : "If thou doest not well, sin croucheth at the door," where, instead of "sin," we should translate: "the evil one." It is unfortunate that the common readers of Germany should be guided by a man whose mind proceeds in this tortuous way.—FRANKLIN JOHNSON.

*The Original Hebrew of a Portion of Ecclesiasticus (XXXIX.15 to XLIX.11)*, together with the early versions and an English translation, followed by the quotations from Ben Sira in rabbinical literature. Edited by A. E. Cowley, M.A., and Ad. Neubauer, M.A. With two facsimiles. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1897; pp. xlvii+41, 4to; 10s. 6d.) *Collo type Facsimiles of the Oxford Fragment of Ecclesiasticus. (XXXIX.15 to XLIX.11)*. Translated from the Hebrew, arranged in parallel columns with English Revised Version. With a facsimile. Edited by A. E. Cowley and Ad. Neubauer. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1897; pp. 78, 8vo; 2s. 6d.)

Among the manuscript fragments acquired lately by Mrs. Lewis, Mr. S. Schechter recognized one leaf as containing a fragment of Sirach (39:15—40:7) in Hebrew, which he published with introduction, English translation, and notes in the *Expositor* for July, 1896.<sup>1</sup> This was discussed and reviewed by Driver,<sup>2</sup> Budde,<sup>3</sup> Margoliouth,<sup>4</sup> Nestle,<sup>5</sup> and Lévi.<sup>6</sup> Almost simultaneously the Bodleian Library acquired, through Professor Sayce, a box of Hebrew and Arabic fragments, among which Neubauer recognized a portion of the same text of Sirach, consisting of nine leaves, and forming the continuation of Mrs. Lewis' leaf, from chap. 40:9 to 49:11. Both fragments were published together by Cowley and Neubauer, with a glossary of words not found in the Old Testament, or of rare occurrence, by Professor Driver. This publication, as was to be expected, aroused widespread attention. A number of reviews of this book have appeared here and abroad, which contain an appreciation of the Hebrew text, historico-literary observations, and valuable text-critical suggestions on the

<sup>1</sup> AGNES S. LEWIS, "Discovery of a Fragment of Ecclesiasticus in the Original Hebrew," *Academy*, Vol. 49, p. 405.

<sup>2</sup> *Guardian*, July, 1896.

<sup>5</sup> Beilage zur *Allg. Ztg.*, 116, pp. 7 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Deutsches Wochenblatt*, IX, No. 31.

<sup>6</sup> *Rev. ét. juives*, 1896, pp. 303 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Expositor*, Aug., pp. 140-51.

Hebrew original, as well as on the early versions of this book, a review of which is herewith attempted.

R. Smend went to Oxford to examine personally the manuscript, with a view of reëditing it together with a commentary on Ecclesiasticus he has in preparation. He calls attention to some omissions in the list of quotations given by the editors from rabbinical literature, charges the editors with having damaged the MS. by washing it, and suggests a number of emendations.<sup>7</sup> D. Kaufmann<sup>8</sup> criticises the editors for having misunderstood the word תחליה. The editors reply to both of them and review Smend's proposed emendations.<sup>9</sup> In the same periodical W. Bacher gives a mass of critical notes on the original and the versions, and G. Buchanan Gray comments on Ecclus. 41:19. Nöldeke<sup>10</sup> offers some general observations, critical suggestions, and corrections and additions to Driver's glossary. He emphasizes the fact that the author wrote in a language long dead, an opinion supported by a point made clear by Halévy in his article, quoted further on, that Ben Sira misunderstood Job 24:20. Further says he: "Among all the rich documentary discoveries of our time this one claims a foremost rank. In the field of the Old Testament nothing like it has happened before."

Isr. Lévi,<sup>11</sup> who promises to republish the Hebrew text, wrote an elaborate article in which he proves, if proof be necessary, that the Greek and Syriac versions are translations from the Hebrew, and not the reverse. To explain the differences between the Hebrew and the versions, on the one hand, and of the latter between themselves, on the other, he assumes that the Hebrew abounded in abbreviations which the respective translators explained differently. J. Halévy<sup>12</sup> has attempted a reconstruction of the Hebrew text, followed by a French translation, critical notes, and general observations on the historical results of the discovery. Assuming that Simon the Just was a contemporary of the author, he tries to prove his identity with Simon I, and hence concludes that the book must have been written about 290. Starting from this conclusion, he discusses its bearing on biblical criticism. With regard to the translator, he comes to the conclusion that the copy he used differed already from the author's original and was partly illegible ;

<sup>7</sup> *Theol. Literaturzeit.*, 1897, cols. 161-6, 265-8.

<sup>8</sup> *Monatsschrift für Gesch. u. Wiss. des Judenthums*, May, 1897.

<sup>9</sup> *Jewish Quarterly Review*, July, 1897.

<sup>10</sup> *Expositor*, May, 1897.

<sup>11</sup> *Rev. ét. juives*, 1897, pp. 1-50, 294-6.

<sup>12</sup> *Revue sémitique*, April, 1897, pp. 148-65; July, pp. 193-255.

that he had a poor knowledge of Hebrew, and performed his task carelessly. His demonstration that Ben Sira misunderstood a biblical passage, mentioned above, can be paralleled by what I have shown with reference to **אֲדָנָי**.<sup>13</sup>

H. Levin<sup>14</sup> calls attention that the quotation given by the editors *sub* No. LXXV occurs also in **סֵפֶר חֲסִידִים**, old edition, § 80. F. Perles<sup>15</sup> shows that the text of the Hebrew contains later expressions substituted by copyists for rare words, which are still preserved in the marginal readings, and offers a number of critical notes. D. H. Müller<sup>16</sup> remarks that the marginal variants are Targumistic glosses. Hope W. Hogg<sup>17</sup> discusses the additions and omissions of the Hebrew text.

Further general observations and critical suggestions are offered by Nestle,<sup>18</sup> Strack,<sup>19</sup> Rothstein,<sup>20</sup> Lambert,<sup>21</sup> Fraenkel,<sup>22</sup> Touzard,<sup>23</sup> W. Smith Taylor,<sup>24</sup> Kautzsch,<sup>25</sup> Levias,<sup>26</sup> and an anonymous writer.<sup>27</sup>

Mr. Schechter has lately discovered some more fragments of the Hebrew text of Ecclus. among the MSS. brought back from the Cairo genizah, which he will publish in the January number of the *Jewish Quarterly Review*.—C. LEVIAS.

*The Exile and the Restoration* (Bible Class Primer Series). By Rev. A. B. Davidson, D.D., LL.D. With a map. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark; New York: Imported by Chas. Scribner's Sons; no date; pp. 115; \$0.20, *net*.) This excellent series of little books has a recruit from the pen of Dr. Davidson. We suppose it is new, but it contains no hint on cover, title page, or in a preface as to its date of issuance—a neglect and custom of some publishers which, on the part of scholars, cannot be too severely censured.

<sup>13</sup> *A Grammar of the Aramaic Idiom Contained in the Babylonian Talmud*, p. 13, note 3.

<sup>14</sup> **כְּנֶסֶת הַגְּדוּלָה**, Vol. 2, p. 110.

<sup>15</sup> *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, XI, pp. 95–103.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 103–5.

<sup>17</sup> THE AMER. JOUR. OF THEOLOGY, 1897, pp. 777–86. Cf. also the same writer's article on the subject in *Expos. Times*, March, 1897.

<sup>18</sup> Beilage zur *Allgem. Zeitung*, 1896, No. 116; 1897, No. 38. Cf. also his remark in *Theol. Literaturzeit.*, 1897, col. 296, note. Also *Wochenschrift f. klass. Philologie*, Nos. 30–31, pp. 861 ff.

<sup>19</sup> *Theol. Literaturblatt*, 30. June 1897.

<sup>21</sup> *Journ. as.*, March–April, 1897.

<sup>20</sup> *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 27. Feb. 1897.

<sup>22</sup> *Monatsschrift*, May, 1897.

<sup>23</sup> *Revue biblique*, April and October, 1897.

<sup>24</sup> *Biblical World*, July, 1897.

<sup>25</sup> *Theol. Studien und Kritiken*, 1898, 1.

<sup>27</sup> *Athenæum*, March 20, 1897.

<sup>26</sup> *Am. Jour. of Sem. Lang. and Literat.*, Jan., 1898.

The author is happy in his outline and in the simplicity of his mode of presenting his theme. Clearness, precision, comprehensiveness, and compactness characterize the volume. A point or two require attention. The captivity of Jehoiachin is called the *first* (p. 21), that of Daniel (Dan. 1:1) in the reign of Jehoiakim and that at the close of Jehoiakim's reign (Jer. 52:28) being left out of consideration. The name of the great king of Babylon is retained in its erroneous (Nebuchadnezzar) rather than in its correct (Nebuchadrezzar) form; both, however, appear in Jeremiah. "The general opinion among scholars," he says (p. 55), "is that the original inhabitants of Babylonia were non-Semites, while in reality there is a large school which holds to the view that Semites were the first in the civilization of that land."

These, however, are insignificant spots on the full orb.—IRA M. PRICE.

*Das Judenthum in der vorchristlichen griechischen Welt.* Ein Beitrag zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Christenthums. Von M. Friedländer. (Wien und Leipzig: M. Breitenstein, 1897; pp. v+74; M. 1.25.) In this essay the author sets forth in an interesting manner a representation which he trusts will be a *Wegweiser* for younger and less, engaged students. From this point of view it has considerable value and significance. The mission of the diaspora the author regards as anti-Pharisaic and proselyting. So far from setting national limits to Judaism, the Jews of the dispersion endeavored to bring about a universal Mosaism. Of this endeavor we find many traces in the Acts, its special representatives being Apollos and Paul. It, therefore, becomes of the utmost importance in accounting for the success of Christianity, for the apostles gave to the dispersion the single element it lacked—the Christ.

The success of this cosmopolitan Judaism and heathenism is seen in the everywhere present synagogue—an institution that had astonishing vitality and universality, as appears in the words of Josephus (*Against Apion*, 2:38, 39), which are something more than boasting, not alone because of its corroboration of Acts, but also from the bitter words of Seneca, "the conquered have given laws to the conqueror"—in which is to be seen a reference to the center of the synagogue service itself, the law of Moses in its Greek translation. And yet there was a difference in these proselyting endeavors, and over it divided the religious parties which existed among the dispersion. As distinguished from the parties in Palestine, these were not in any

sense political, but were mutually hostile, in that one party endeavored to win over the world to an acceptance of Judaism in all its ceremonial aspect, while the other sought rather to bring the spirit of Mosaism into the heathen world.

In the support of these positions, as well as by others that are incidental to his treatment, the author has used sources freely and judiciously. For so small a book it contains a large amount of valuable information calculated to be of permanent value in the history of New Testament times.—SHAILER MATHEWS.

*Karl August Credner: Sein Leben und seine Theologie.* Von Prof. Dr. W. Baldensperger. Mit Credner's Bildnis. (Leipzig: Veit & Co., 1897; pp. 99; M. 1.) In publishing this address given by himself at the one hundredth anniversary of Credner's birth, Professor Baldensperger has added somewhat to its original form and has appended a number of notes in which he discusses rather fully the development of Credner's theological positions, and gives bibliographical details. The address itself is written with great sympathy, and not only throws light upon the struggles attending the beginnings of modern theological scholarship, but leads to a new appreciation of the work and character of Credner. None but a truly great man could have broken, as did he in 1840-5, from the grip of a formal, pedantic scholarship and a too political orthodoxy. On pp. 53-5 the author gives a summary of the chief points of Credner's programme for political reform that is interesting as showing how in his day the theologian was swept into political as well as theological struggles. As regards the latter, that Credner was forced into far too much strife is admitted by the author, but the explanation of the fact is clear. The controversies were forced upon him. The essay closes with a succinct appreciation of Credner's importance, in which Professor Baldensperger criticises the neglect with which he has been treated, charging in the appendix (p. 81) that others, including Reuss, plagiarized from his work. Notwithstanding its small compass, the book is thus a valuable monograph in the history of scientific theology.—SHAILER MATHEWS.

*Die Psychologie des Apostels Paulus.* Von Lic. Dr. Theodor Simon, Schlosspfarrer in Cottbus. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1897; pp. ii+118; M. 2.80.) The author of this pamphlet holds that the psychological principles of the apostle Paul are not merely concepts of a distant age to be contemplated as a part of the history of an inter-

esting subject, but the truth for all ages. Paul is preëminently the psychologist of the circle of Biblical writers. Moreover, he fulfills the ideal of a true psychologist in basing his views upon an induction of facts. This empiricism does not, however, consist in the barren observation of the phenomena of pure psychical life, but in the thorough understanding of the inner world of experience in which sin and grace are the prime factors. He is thus in advance of purely empirical psychologists in noting the disturbing effect of sin on the workings of mind and soul. What he has to teach on psychology is, therefore, worthy of all attention and acceptance. The author undertakes to interest as wide a circle of students as possible in this standpoint and the views presented from it, and accordingly clothes his thoughts in the most popular and simple forms. He abstains from burdening his text by citations from the works of his predecessors in this field. He has, however, examined the literature of the subject and appends a rather complete bibliography at the end of the essay for the benefit of such of his readers as may be aroused to undertake further study in biblical psychology. Though allying himself in general with the school of biblical students led by Delitzsch, the author is quite independent in his investigation and presents his results in an original form. The essay is, moreover, altogether constructive, ignoring critical questions and controversies, and contributes materially to the discussion of New Testament psychology.—A. C. ZENOS.

*Die Lehre Gregors von Nyssa vom Guten und Bösen und von der schliesslichen Überwindung des Bösen.* Von Lic. Theol. Wilhelm Vollert, Oberlehrer am Fürstlichen Gymnasium zu Gera. (Leipzig: A. Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung Nachf. (Georg Böhme), 1897; pp. iv + 58; M. 1.50.) The subject of this essay is clearly indicated by the title. Herr Vollert shows what the ancient philosophies had contributed toward the solution of this problem, also which elements of Gregory's system were Platonic, neo-Pythagorean, or stoic in their origin, and how much was distinctively Christian. It was Christianity that gave Gregory his doctrine of sin, yet he never felt called upon to abandon his well-known idea of the apokatastasis. Sin, like other evil, remained for him a negative thing, the lack of good. Thus he could still hold to what our author has forcibly stated in the paradox: "Das in dem Existierenden Nichtexistierende wird überhaupt nicht mehr existieren" (p. 40).

Acknowledgments to Professors Eucken and Heinze in the author's

preface show that his interest is largely philosophical, yet it is plain that he believes philosophy and theology should once more go hand in hand, as in the days of Gregory. The book is well written, and shows adequate acquaintance with the subjects treated. A convenient appendix gives, in tabular view, a number of parallels between the teaching of Gregory and that of other ancient philosophers.—J. WINTHROP PLATNER.

*The Growth of Christianity.* By Joseph Henry Crooker. (Chicago: Western Unitarian Sunday-School Society, 1897; pp. 241; paper, \$0.30; cloth, \$0.50.) This manual of church history for the use of "the older classes" of the Sunday school is written from the Unitarian, naturalistic point of view. It sweeps over the entire field of the history of the church, necessarily handles every topic in the most cursory manner, is too recondite to attract the youthful mind, and, by its rejection of the supernatural in the religion of Christ, repels the "general reader," who sees vastly more in Christianity than the author has been able to discover.—ERI B. HULBERT.

*A Short History of the Italian Waldenses,* who have inhabited the valleys of the Cottian Alps from ancient times to the present. By Sophia Bompiani. (New York: H. S. Barnes & Co.; London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1897; pp. 175; cloth, \$1.) The threefold object of this little book is to bring together what can be said for the antiquity of the Waldenses, to portray the persecutions that they endured, and to show the present status of the sect. The Waldenses obstinately reject the theory that Peter Waldo was their founder. They do not claim documentary evidence for an existence previous to his time, but they lay much stress upon "the traditions and conviction of an ancient race fixed for centuries in the same locality, and the rare traces of them found in the writings of their enemies."

The author writes with the zeal of an advocate, but her story cannot fail to awaken interest and sympathy wherever it shall be read.—J. W. MONCRIEF.

*Die Reformation als Kulturkampf.* Von F. Rahlwes, Pastor an St. Ulrici in Braunschweig. (Braunschweig: C. A. Schwetschke und Sohn, 1897; pp. 80, 8vo.) This excellent little pamphlet is the elaboration of a lecture. Its thesis is that the great creation of Luther is not the Lutheran church, but the Protestant spirit. The Lutheran

church may pass away, but the Protestant spirit, which underlies our modern life, will live eternally. And what is this spirit? The author defines it as the conviction of the godliness of our present, earthly life. The antique world, he says, published the glory of the sense life; the mediæval world, fleeing sense, sought only the heavenly beatitude; but Protestantism combined these conceptions, by teaching that sense and spirit can be brought into an effective and harmonious relation.—F. SCHWILL.

*Manual of Ecclesiastical Architecture.* Comprising a Study of its Various Styles, the Chronological Arrangements of its Elements, and its Relation to Christian Worship. By Prof. William Wallace Martin. (Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings; New York: Eaton & Mains, 1897; pp. 429; \$2.) The author writes as an admirer of architecture, rather than a professional architect, or a professional critic. His emotions find frequent expression, and his enthusiasm sometimes leads him to make statements which his cooler judgment can hardly approve, as when he tells us that "the Romanesque and the Gothic churches, in their perfected development, simply adopted the Byzantine construction." But it may be that his ardor, though somewhat excessive, will prove useful in kindling the interest of young readers and thus leading them to pursue the subject further than they otherwise would. The illustrations, of which there are more than five hundred, are, on the whole, well chosen. The chronological lists of the chief church buildings of the world constitute a valuable feature. Another of considerable value is the closing chapter on modern styles, in which a number of American church buildings are described. A better selection might have been made, for but few of those represented are worthy of being imitated, while many of those omitted are among the finest in our country.—FRANKLIN JOHNSON.

*De Incarnatione Verbi Dei*, together with Three Essays Subsidiary to the Same. By Rev. Alan S. Hawkesworth. With Commendatory Preface by Very Rev. E. A. Hoffman, S.T.D., LL.D., Dean of the General Theological Seminary. (Albany, N. Y.: Riggs Printing and Publishing Co., 1897; \$1.25.) The author's thesis is that the "Incarnation, being the complement of all natural truths and ideals, in nature and in man, and that both individually and racially, must also be and is the vital heart of Christianity." "Incarnation is, then, the supreme mystery; only comparable, even in a measure, to the incomprehensible



'modification' that certainly took place at prime creation." Those sentences will give the reader an idea of his main contention, and of his style, which is like ecclesiastical Latin—of which it would seem that the author had read more than of English. He "considers and confutes" all the heretical theories; explains the kenosis, atonement, and "session." The subjects of the three essays are, the essential nature of sin, spirit and matter ("matter simply a catena of phenomena"), and the primary criterion of truth ("we can and do know truth; not absolutely, but relatively; for both our intellectual prime data and the testimonies of our senses are, and must be, valid").—GEORGE B. FOSTER.

*Die heilige Schrift vom Standpunkte der ästhetischen Theologie gewürdigt* durch Otto Eggeling. (Braunschweig: G. A. Schwetschke & Sohn, 1895; pp. 64.) This may be called an elaborate oration. It has five divisions: (1) "The Language of Faith;" (2) "Miracles;" (3) "Poetry in the Old Testament;" (4) "The Most Beautiful Thing in Rome;" and (5) "More of Heaven." At first the reader finds but little connection between these various subjects, and the author does not exhibit a connection. But on consideration the reader discovers it. The author wastes no time in introductions or transitions or explications, and the reader finds himself, at the very beginning, plunged into a rushing and swirling stream of eloquence, and borne forward through a bewildering and yet entrancing succession of scenes, now graceful, now grand, and now awful. So rich is the style, and so abundant are the literary and artistic allusions and illustrations, that the reader almost forgets the system of thought. But unique and felicitous as is the form of the discussion, the matter is far more worthy of attention. The author is ready to accept all that negative criticism can ever say about the Scriptures and the miraculous, and purposes to lift us into a lofty atmosphere where we shall see for ourselves that the Scriptures are the very word of God, not only in their contents, but in the manifold and various methods of expression which they contain, and where the miraculous is ever about us. Sometimes the reader actually ascends with him, and forgets that he lives in a world of time and space. He has given valuable aid to a large class of doubters. The arrangement of his materials is appropriate: he deals first with our greatest theoretical difficulties, and then calls us, by a method of his own, into a region of rich devotional thought and sentiment. The most beautiful thing amidst all the artistic treasures of Rome is the cross. Protestantism has given to the world far more

of heaven than it possessed before the Reformation of the sixteenth century.—FRANKLIN JOHNSON.

*The Growing Revelation.* By Amory H. Bradford. (New York : The Macmillan Company, 1897; pp. 254; \$1.50.) These sermons were preached by the Montclair pastor, first in his own pulpit and then in various churches in England. They are warm, vital, intensely modern, and constitute an excellent example of "the theology that can be preached." Revelation, to Dr. Bradford, is by no means confined to the Scriptures, still less is it voiced in historic creeds; it appears to be nearly coincident with "the spiritual development of the world." The texts chosen are often simply "mottoes," and the last sermon has no text. Perhaps a friendly critic might point out a source of weakness here—as when the preacher, discoursing from the text, "Stand fast in the faith," says: "Without seeking to analyze what Paul here meant by 'the faith,' observe certain truths," etc. Again, he enlarges on the idea that Christ is "the desire of all nations," as if unconscious of any mistranslation.

But the sermons are admirable in their charity, catholicity, and sympathy with the life of today. They deal with many deep problems on which they do not hesitate to avow a Christian agnosticism. "How long will God allow the processes of retribution to go on? This mystery also is in the Father's hands." "Concerning the relation of the death of Christ to the deity and the moral order, speculation has been common and useless." Intent on practical ends, the writer refuses to lose himself in the abstract. The "modern" quality of the sermons is seen in the constant reference to the results of comparative religion, and to the amelioration of the social order. Their progressive character comes out thus: "Religion can no more be expressed in the terms of the Westminster confession than astronomy in Ptolemaic language." To the traditionalist such a volume will seem nebulous for want of definition; to men who are seeking to hold the truth, while admitting constant change in its formulation, this book will bring help.—W. H. P. FAUNCE.

WE HAVE received from the publishers, Richard Mühlmann's Verlag (Max Grosse), Halle, a. S., the third edition of *Christblumen*, eine Sammlung von Ansprachen zu den Christvespern gehalten in der St. Laurentius-Kirche von D. H. Hoffmann, 1897; 79 pp., 16mo; bound, M. 1.20. The author is a well-known minister in the university town of Halle, who, though aged, is still praising his Master and working in

his cause. They are not real sermons, but rather talks to his congregation during Christmas vespers—no stereotyped phraseology, but rather the outpouring of a pious heart; the word of a favored witness of Christ, possessing a rare gift of preaching alike to the young and the old, the learned and the simple, the rich and the poor, the noble and the humble. We welcome the gift.—The same firm has published in four parts K. Frank's *Weide meine Lämmer*: Die hl. Geschichte der Jugend erzählt und erklärt in 120 Kinderpredigten, 1897; pp. viii + 336, 8vo; M. 4. The book is a collection of sermonettes and addresses to children, none over three pages in length. The sentences are short, the language precise, the style concise; the ideas adapted to the minds of children; the whole an excellent manual for the instruction of children. The author treats the Old Testament from the creation narrative to the restoration of the Jewish kingdom (Ezra 1: 1-8; 3: 8-6, 10; Hag. 2: 1-10; Zech. 9: 9; Mal. 3: 1) in seventy-two addresses. Forty-eight are devoted to the New Testament history, as found in the gospels and the Acts of the Apostles. To German-speaking congregations, pastors, and Sunday-school teachers this book may be heartily commended.—The late D. Friedrich Ahlfeld, the famous Leipzig pastor, is by no means forgotten by those who admired and revered him, during his lifetime, as one of Germany's best representatives and most influential ministers. His published sermons and other works are found on the shelves of almost every German-speaking minister here and in the fatherland. From the collected works of his father Dr. Heinrich Ahlfeld gathered, in 1882, the collects and short summaries, consisting of text, brief interpretation, prayer, and hymn. Since 1882 this book (*Morgenandachten*, Halle, a. S., Richard Mühlmann's Verlag, 1897; pp. viii + 452, 8vo; M. 4) has gone through four editions, and has thus proved its value in closet and pulpit. These collects cover each about a page; the language is noble and refined; the sentences short and concise, breathing a truly religious spirit; the prayers simple and true.—The same firm has published the second edition of H. Hoffmann's *Kreuz und Krone*. Ein Jahrgang Predigten, meistens über freie Texte; 1897; pp. x + 397, 8vo; M. 5. It is a volume of excellent sermons, a continuation of the author's *Unterm Kreuz* and *Eins ist Not*. They are short, averaging about five and one-half pages, of which one-half of a page is taken up by the text. German ministers and preachers have learned now the enhanced value of short sermons written in short sentences, simple style, and noble, choice language.—W. MUSS-ARNOLT.

## CURRENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

THE NOTION OF MERIT IN THE HISTORY OF THEOLOGY. By WM. RUPP, D.D.; *The Reformed Church Review*, October, 1897, pp. 444-68.

THE words *merit* and *demerit* are now used in a moral sense, denoting quality of an act rather than of character. The theological sense is closer to the etymological signification, which is the reward due for services performed, especially those of the soldier. The Roman law was that obligation could be met by meritorious services: hence the words *solvere*, to pay a man's debt; or *satisfacere*, to satisfy his creditor by a meritorious service rendered either by himself or others. Tertullian employed the word in this latter sense, and often in his time it became the prevailing usage of the word merit in the church. Christ's work had not, in the earliest ages of the church, been regarded so much a *quid pro quo* satisfaction for sin as a deliverance from death and a healing power for the soul. But from the time of Tertullian the idea of satisfaction, an equipollence for sin, prevailed. Thence baptism was delayed so that all sins committed before would be forgiven. The juridical notion of merit held by the church was modified by the idea of the citizen in relation to the ruler of the state. The latter could satisfy for offenses only by giving money or services. The value of the service depended upon the relative importance of the one conferring it. And when offense was committed, the subsequent discharge of ordinary duty could not make amends. Extraordinary services, either by the offender himself or procuring them by the payment of money, were the only ground of merit. This modified notion of the word was further colored by the Saxon usage, according to which both guilt and satisfaction for it could be transferred. The members of a tribe were held responsible, and could act or suffer for each other; but the offense and satisfaction were in proportion to the dignity of the parties involved. The demerit of sin is infinite because committed against God. Hence only an infinite person could atone for it. But his merits could be transferred, and hence be procured by others. Those who had no merits could procure them by extra service or by proxy.

In the view of the church the necessity for an atonement arose from the opposition between justice and mercy. The divine wrath must be appeased, that is, justice be satisfied, before any grace could be bestowed. But the scholastic doctrine held that no one obtains eternal life without, in some way, deserving it. Christ's death procures the merits; the church holds the treasury of them, and can transfer them at her pleasure. Men may add to that treasury by works of supererogation. Salvation comes not through forgiveness, but through merits. No man can know when he is forgiven, or be certain of his salvation, because he can never know whether he has done enough to merit it. The doctrine of Anselm was that of satisfaction by Christ; while Abélard taught that his suffering is a proof of God's love, and is the source of our merit. Lombard, however, taught that no man can gain happiness without personally meriting it. Aquinas held that there are two kinds of merit: *de condigno*, that is, intrinsic, which Christ alone possessed; and *de congruo*, which is from grace. The two must be united, and the former can be bestowed only by transfer. Duns Scotus taught that merit and demerit, like all other moral qualities, even truth itself, depend upon the will of God. Therefore the atonement is only an arbitrary arrangement, and God can accept any service or penance, personal or vicarious, as well as the atonement itself. By this view the flood gates were opened in the church to good works, transferable without regard to character. As the church was the custodian of all merits, she could give them to whom, and for what cause, she pleased. Men get from God a reward for what they have acquired, and are meritorious for what they possess—not for what they are in themselves. These lax views were confirmed by the Council of Trent, and had already been the warrant for the doctrine of indulgences, which hastened the Reformation. This revolt was based on justification by faith in the merits of Christ, which doctrine held firmly the juridical idea. But merits are ours solely by grace, not by individual desert; and can be transferred from Christ to us only by the will of God and of his free grace. There can be no merit in any man from his own works. These are only the proof of what has been done for him, and by which he is enabled to become a new creature. Calvin in his Institutes, and the several confessions, held that the atonement is a satisfaction for sin, because God forgives men for the sake of Christ's completed work. This is a basis for their new life, which shall be such as to fit them for happiness by building up a character in conformity with the divine law which has already

been satisfied. These views, with slight modifications, are held by all evangelical churches up to the present time.

That there is the juridical notion in the divine government cannot be doubted. That vicarious atonement denotes a transfer of guilt, either as symbolical, in the case of all sacrifices but that of Christ, or as real, in his case, cannot be denied. It could have no other conceivable purpose. For, if no sin had been committed, no atonement would be demanded. Christ assuredly would not assume our sins for display, nor suffer for them without effecting some adequate result. The tendency of evangelical thought is certainly averse from the idea of merit for any work save that of Christ, and for any suffering by him except penal. We agree with the author of this admirable paper fully in the view that what is required for eternal life is not merit, either personal or transferred, but fitness. If the individual character is not built up by the agent acting through the responsibility imposed by freedom, he cannot be happy in this life or in the life to come. That fitness, while it possesses no *merit* in itself, is the warrant that God's free gift of pardon, as the reward for Christ's travail, has not been misapplied.

But we hold that the entire revelation, whether in the written word or in nature, is one of vicarious suffering. The obligation to duty is complete and perpetual; and when this is violated, some atonement must be made. This cannot be by the sinner who has offended, since no subsequent obedience to what he is perpetually bound can atone for the past offense. This must be by vicarious suffering, voluntarily assumed, and which is sufficient to pay the penalty. The Divine Lawgiver who himself established the law says: "Heaven and earth may pass away, but not one iota of this law can pass away until it all be fulfilled." If the punishment for sin be voluntarily assumed, it must be transferred. And it cannot be borne unless it be assumed. If we are saved by grace, not of ourselves, but the gift of God, then we are saved because of what someone else has done whose merits are transferred to us. By virtue of these merits we are accounted guiltless of all past offenses, and placed in a position where we can work out our own salvation; the spirit working in us to will and to do of his good pleasure. The boasting which anyone who was saved by merit could justly indulge is excluded by the law of faith.

This article, as its title indicates, is a history of the use of the word *merit* in the Christian church, the shades of meaning it has assumed, and the influence which, in its

varying significations, it has exerted; and, lastly, the author's view of the correct interpretation which should be given to it in relation to our spiritual life.

This is a timely article, and one of great value. But it is so terse in style, and so packed with matter, that a fair synopsis would equal it in extent.

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THE ATHEISM OF RELIGIONS. By J. H. CROOKER; *The New World*, September, 1897, pp. 519-31.

THE term atheism in this article does not mean philosophic doubt, superficial denial, or positive rejection of theism, but an arrested reverence which, failing to trace divineness throughout the universe, relegates portions of nature and humanity to a power other than God or a realm outside his kingdom of order. The Persians had intense faith in God, but their belief in Angro-Mainyus shows an atheistic gap in the divine order which modern science with its doctrine of evolution and of the place which sin and pain hold in the perfecting of life enables us to fill, offering a thought of God commensurate with the universe. The Brahmans, as represented in the Upanishads, had an acute and spiritual conception of God, but failed to find him in the natural and the human; there is as much atheism in the denial of those material realities with which modern science deals, as in the denial of spirit, and the caste system is but a denial of God in man, an atheism of the blackest character. Buddhism reverences man, but does not rise to faith in the universal soul incarnating itself in humanity, and by its warfare against desire, which can properly be interpreted only as a divine urgency within the soul, inculcates an atheistic philosophy of nature and denies the real divinity of man. Christianity is atheistic when it ignores the real and abiding presence of God in the world by conceiving of him as visiting the world only in occasional miracles, when it arrays justice against love, as in popular theories of the atonement, or restricts the divine fatherhood to the person of Jesus or the souls of the regenerate alone. We shall have a wholly theistic Christianity only when we recognize that all men are identical in essence with God, and that humanity, not Jesus alone, is the sphere of the divine incarnation. "The richest fruitage of the spirit is a thought of God that links itself with all that is beautiful in nature, that embraces all souls in its providential ministries, that finds revelation wherever truth is discovered and divine service wherever

truth is lived, and in the fullness of love and sympathy casts out the atheism latent in every form of inhumanity."

This is a clear and well-written article, descriptive rather than argumentative in character. The author does not seem fully to appreciate the fundamental reason for certain forms of the "atheism" which he is considering: namely, the difficulty of reconciling infinite goodness with the existence of sin and suffering; nor does the doctrine of evolution, upon which he relies, help matters very much. It does appear to be true that evil has had a place and function in the development of man, but why, under a rule of perfect goodness and love, the result should have been achieved by such means is a question that still presses for solution.

W. W. FENN.

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#### SOME DOCTRINAL FEATURES OF THE EARLY PROPHECIES OF ISAIAH.

By PROFESSOR GEERHARDUS VOS, Ph.D., D.D.; *The Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, July, 1897, pp. 444-63.

THE inaugural vision of Isaiah is the point of departure for the study of the doctrinal features of his early prophecies. Isa., chap. 6, sets forth this vision as it was received, without additions due to later experience. The outstanding features of the vision — namely, the self-revealed divine presence in infinite glory and purity, the dependence and sinfulness of the creature, and "the profoundest worship" growing out of "joyful self-surrender" — bear an intimate and manifest relation to the prophet's life and teaching. These features center about God, and the prophet's life and teaching are theocentric.

Isa., chaps. 2-5 and 9:8-10:4, contain the early prophecies of Isaiah, and the doctrinal features of these chapters show clearly the influence of the inaugural vision.

First, this influence is seen in the prophet's monotheism. He predicates divinity of Jehovah alone. "Idols are the caricature of divinity, idolatry is the caricature of religion." The materials of which the idols are made constitute "all the reality . . . represented by these deities." Of Jehovah's attributes Isaiah emphasizes holiness and glory. The holiness in its widest sense is "equivalent to all that which renders Jehovah distinct from every other being without special restriction to the ethical sphere." In it are combined "infinite majesty and moral excellence," and this combination furnished Isaiah with a "theological basis for the principle of retributive righteousness." The glory of Jehovah is "the outward manifestation" of the holiness. Divinity must reveal itself. Isaiah sees the divine glory everywhere.



Jehovah's word is a part of this glory and consequently must be effective in the world.

Next, this influence is seen in the prophet's conception of Jehovah's relation to Israel. "Sovereign lordship" is emphasized. Jehovah is king. It is Jehovah's ideal for Israel that Israel has failed to realize because of idolatry, luxurious living, and especially pride or self-deification. Furthermore, the day of judgment is the day for "the supreme self-manifestation of Jehovah," when he becomes the central figure, and to him all attention is turned.

Finally, this influence is seen in "the prophet's other eschatological ideas." Jehovah-worship, centered in the temple at Jerusalem, becomes "the goal of the world-conversion," and, beside this, "emphasis is placed on the larger sphere . . . for the self-revelation of Jehovah."

Isaiah views "the Israel of promise," not only as something for future realization, but also as something potentially present in the righteous remnant. The personal Messianic element is beset with difficulty of interpretation, yet, in any view, "the operation of the divine factor" is prominent. The inhabitants of the future Zion are holy, fully consecrated to Jehovah, with unlimited opportunities for religious service.

This article opens a suggestive field of inquiry respecting Isaiah's early ministry. That the inaugural vision was a powerful influence in Isaiah's life none will deny, but that it operated so largely to shape the form and substance of his early teaching needs fuller recognition. The article will be welcomed on account of its intrinsic worth, and also because it illustrates the principle of Old Testament interpretation, that there is always a necessary correspondence between the subjective condition and experience of a prophet and his teaching.

H. R. HATCH.

FAIRFIELD, ME.

THE DRAMATIC CHARACTER AND INTEGRITY OF JOB. By WILLIAM HENRY GREEN; *The Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, October, 1897, pp. 683-701.

THE BOOK OF JOB AND ITS LATEST COMMENTATOR. By T. K. CHEYNE; *The Expositor*, June, 1897, pp. 401-16.

HIQB, KAPITEL 14. Von D. H. MÜLLER; *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, XI. Band, 1. Heft, pp. 57-62.

1. BUDDE'S *Das Buch Hiob, übersetzt und erklärt*, is the *raison d'être* of the first article. In this book Professor Budde waives aside both the questions of historical reality of Job and of his book. The story is told in

a form to suit the public taste, hence the symmetry of the numbers respecting Job's property and his family, both before and after his trials. The speeches of Job and of his friends could not have belonged to the people's book, since Job is there seriously at fault, nor do the allusions in Ezek. 14: 14, 20 refer to any other than this people's book. The aim of this original people's book was to exhibit the unswerving constancy of the suffering patriarch, and to signalize the defeat of Satan who sought by the severest affliction to overthrow Job's integrity. The purpose of the poem is to show that Job's piety, though Jehovah testifies that there is none like him in the earth, was not without a flaw. Job's silence is broken when his character is assailed. This he resents with a most conspicuous and overweening spiritual pride. This was almost a revelation to himself, and he is here brought to see his own fault, and to fall down in penitence.

This ingenious conjecture is wholly unfounded. Studer parcels out Job among seven different writers, and finds plausible ground for separating the prose introduction and conclusion from the speeches of Job and of his friends because they are mutually inconsistent. Budde, on the other hand, affirms that they are in entire harmony. He also supposes that an additional chapter at the end of the book, which must have celebrated the triumph of Jehovah and the humiliation of Satan, has been dropped. The text of chap. 2: 10 has been corrected by cutting out "with his lips," and 42: 10 by erasing, "when he prayed for his friends," since the original legend is supposed to have known nothing of Job's friends.

There is not the slightest ground for imputing the introduction to any other than the author of the rest of the book. The introduction is necessary to prepare for what follows. The reader should know in advance that Job was an upright man; that his afflictions were sent (among other reasons) to exhibit the reality and strength of his piety to the confusion of the tempter. It is quite insupposable that this introduction and conclusion, which are so precisely adjusted to the rest of the book, could have been written by a different hand, and with a totally different design. There is every reason to believe that the history of this ancient patriarch is here related substantially as it occurred. A devoutly pious man is suddenly overwhelmed with disaster and humiliated to a place of scorn and contempt. In his distress and anguish he for a time loses a sense of God's favor and love, but after a time emerges into the clear sunshine of belief and trust. The experience of the aged saint suggested the theme to the inspired

author of this book, which he treats with poetic freedom, "embellishing without falsifying, aiming to set forth the substantial truth of the case, and to render its lessons more vivid and clear by the accessories of his act. Accordingly he brings to view the unseen agents who were actively concerned in the matter; and he uses the speeches of the book to reveal the feelings which were entertained, and to lead up to the issue to which all was finally brought."

We agree with Budde that the existence of strophes in Job and the Old Testament generally is unproved. We do not agree with him that the book of Job cannot be considered a drama, but is purely a didactic poem. Action is not confined, as Budde affirms, to the introduction and conclusion; these are auxiliary only to the action about which the book centers. After the statement of the situation, the drama proper opens. Satan with his three allies, Job's so-called friends, aggravate and tantalize the old sufferer. Each speech delivered is a whole and must be so interpreted.

Budde defends the integrity of the book of Job against recent critical assaults. His position is substantially the same as that held by him twenty years ago in his review of Studer. He maintains the genuineness of the speeches of Elihu. He replies most effectively to three classes of objections, urged by ancient and modern commentators, viz.: (1) their lack of connection with the rest of the book, (2) the form of the speeches, (3) the contents of the speeches.

Budde reckons all of the colored passages in Siegfried's polychrome edition of Job as properly belonging to the book; neither does he see the necessity of transposing the majority of the passages so treated by Siegfried. In Budde's and Siegfried's rejection altogether of eighty-seven verses and thirty-four parts of verses, they agree on only *five* verses and *one* part of a verse. It is very plain, then, that such discordant judgments must be largely based on subjective impressions rather than clearly ascertained facts.

2. "The course which the author [Budde] takes shows him to be altogether up to date." Questions of textual criticism seem to have chief prominence in this book. I shall direct my attention to the text-critical discussions of the author. Bickell, Siegfried, and Beer have done signal service in this line in recent years; Bickell by his metrical theory; Siegfried and Beer by their study of the versions and search for glosses, and "both by conjectural, but not, therefore, arbitrary emendations." Budde exhibits more judgment in this than Siegfried,

but prejudice against Bickell has somewhat injured his best results. Budde sometimes defends indefensible positions and produces an unsatisfactory text. On the whole, Budde's criticism of the text of chaps. 3-6 is disappointing, but much in advance of Dillmann's. In spite of occasional good suggestions, he does not sufficiently recognize the faultiness of our present text. It is greatly to Budde's merit that he has opened many problems; "and, however disappointed I may be at the frequent inadequacy of his treatment of them, I must not be supposed to think lightly of his book. Few, indeed, could have written it. But I am bound, as a humble fellow-worker, to ask the author to reconsider much that he has said. I cannot here say a twentieth part of what calls for expression" (p. 408). I will notice some things in the undisputed speeches in Job. Budde sees in 8:15 a later insertion, but overlooks the probability that it has taken the place of an illegible passage which introduced the parable of the creeping plant. On 7:17; 9:23; 10:17, 22c; 11:13-19 Budde is not up to date. The text of the famous passage in 19:25-29 is too freely corrected by Bickell and Siegfried, and taken with too much confidence by Budde. Chap. 24:13-24 is more satisfactorily handled by Budde than by Bickell, though there is still room for discussion. Chap. 28, though somewhat abridged by Budde, can plausibly lose several other verses.

The speeches of Elihu, strange to say, are regarded as an integral part of the original poem. About twenty-three verses are rejected as interpolations, and not a few corrections are introduced into the text. In the speeches of Jehovah, the author's suggestions are often excellent. Particular notice has been given to the descriptions of Behemoth and Leviathan, "and it would be ungrateful not to admit that the text has, on the whole, benefited.

\* 3. Chap. 14 closes the first series of speeches of Job and his friends. The closing speech includes chaps. 12-14. In the twelfth Job recognizes the greatness and might of God, who rules the elements and man, and whose power no one can withstand. But in spite of, or rather because of, the greatness and almightiness of God (chap. 13), the friends do an injustice to involve God in an unjustifiable act. Job will attempt to contest his case with God, even at the risk of losing his life. In the third part of the speech (chap. 14) the thought is expressed in a lyrico-philosophical poem—the most beautiful and elevated in all the book of Job. The poem falls into three parts, of which each part can be divided into two corresponding strophes, or

strophe and anti-strophe:  $(6 + 6) + (7 + 7) + (11 + 11)$ , [or verses  $(1-3 > 4-6) + (7-9 > 10-12) + (13-17 > 18-22)$ ]. This triple division is recognized by the majority of commentators. If, now, the thought of these three parts be analyzed, it will be seen that the second part is balanced over against the first. The strophical divisions and balancings require only slight textual alterations; and, in fact, such alterations rather prove the correctness of the strophical divisions already indicated.

These reviews are clear-cut pictures from the writers' points of view.

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CHRISTIAN DEMONOLOGY. By F. C. CONYBEARE; *Jewish Quarterly Review*, Vol. VIII, pp. 576-608; IX, pp. 59-114, 444-70, 581-603.

JESUS, his disciples, and all New Testament writers had a profound belief in the devil and evil spirits. They believed that these beings originated in a fall, and will come to an end at the final judgment. Meanwhile, they are the cause in man of all sin, disease, and death; but, especially, of disease, so that a physician is an exorcist. They are invisible, but not strictly immaterial, and their presence is known by physical effects. They enter into things, animals, and man, often by sevens. They are the powers behind heathen gods, and sacrifices are really made to them. They are the rulers of the present world. The chief mission of Christ was to overthrow Satan and his angels and so set up the kingdom of God. He cast them out by a simple word, but his disciples by the magical power of his name, on condition of faith. Such are the New Testament views. Jesus himself held them. But these views are not true, for the demons of the New Testament are precisely the same as the demons of all ages and religions, whose reality the modern spirit denies. This is proved by the history of demonology.

I. In the early church. The apostolic Fathers contain little about demons. In the *Shepherd* moral evils are ascribed to demons (or described as demons?). But Justin Martyr and Irenæus attest exorcisms in the name of Christ. The demons they saw driven out were as real as those expelled by Jesus. Tertullian proves for Africa, Minucius Felix for Rome, that demons were cast out of the sick in 200 A. D. Origen ascribes madness and sickness to demons, and has seen them expelled

by the name of Jesus and recitals from his history. The name, rightly invoked, cannot but bring the person.

II. Outside of Christianity. (1) The Jews. The Enoch books describe the origin and activities of demons, and their future punishment. So the Testaments of the Twelve. Philo believed in spirits, but hardly in evil spirits—still less in demoniacal possession, or in the demonic character of heathen Gods. He was far in advance of the New Testament and church Fathers. Josephus shared common Palestinian beliefs. The Old Testament is remarkably, though not entirely, free from stories of possession. In the Talmud such ideas are found in later, not in older parts. (2) Among Greeks belief in evil spirits is as old as the fourth century B. C., and from the first century A. D. demoniacal possessions and exorcisms are common. Celsus and Porphyry believed them as fully as Christians, but ascribed to them less influence. (3) Ancient Assyrians, in the oldest records of human history, disclose the same ideas of possession, all sickness being traced to demons, and the same forms of exorcism by magical words and rites. The whole Assyrian ritual was indeed “a sort of acted magic.” (4) In Zoroastrianism, though fundamentally dualistic, good spirits preceded bad, and the bad will be finally destroyed. Demons can be driven out by formulas. Zoroaster came to free men from their power. The New Testament belief may be in part of Zoroastrian origin. (5) From folklore parallels can be adduced to many New Testament ideas; *e. g.*, to the entrance of demons into swine; their frequenting waterless places; the ascription to them of storms (Mark 4 : 39), the sowing of tares, etc. “Binding and loosing” is a phrase denoting a magical power (Matt. 16 : 19 ; 18 : 18).

In the light of this history certain inferences are made touching the New Testament. Especially the importance attached to the *name* of Jesus (Matt. 7 : 22 ; Mark 9 : 38 ; Matt. 18 : 20 ; 16 : 17 ; John 14 : 14 ; Phil. 2 : 9, etc.) is explained by ancient magic. By the name the person or power was invoked and compelled. When we end our prayers with “in the name of Jesus Christ,” “we repeat a theurgic formula and adhere to a magic ritual which were in vogue in Babylon some 6000 years ago.” Again, from Acts 4 : 10, Justin Martyr, *Dial.*, 301 E, 311 B, Origen, *contra Celsum*, 1 : 6, 24 ; 3 : 24, we may infer that the first Christian creeds were formulas for exorcism, there being added to the name of Jesus a summary of his history, to make clear to the demons what power was invoked against them. True, the creed was connected with the baptismal formula, but exorcism was associated

with baptism, the evil spirit being expelled that the holy spirit might enter.

The conclusion is that the demonology of the New Testament is the same as that outside of it in every age. The decay of the belief is due, not to Christianity, but to rationalism overcoming superstitions which Christianity and the New Testament aggravated. Christ himself certainly regarded madness as due to demons, and probably also rheumatism, deafness, dumbness, fevers, and even tempests. He was "thoroughly immersed in all the popular superstitions of his age concerning evil spirits." He is not to be blamed, however, for sharing the views of his age, but, rather, praised for using his remarkable (mesmeric) power for such pure and unselfish ends, and for becoming, in spite of beliefs "which, if held today, would be rightly termed superstitious," so much better in character than the best of men.

The articles illustrate both the value and the danger of the comparative method in the study of religious problems. Here are valuable materials and interesting suggestions, but the collection of analogies has taken the place of criticism and interpretation.

(1) The question whether, or to what extent, Jesus shared the views of his age cannot be answered without a critical and comparative use of the gospels. The writer uses them as uncritically as the most hardened literalist. Texts are taken from John, or from any one of the synoptists, without source criticism, if only they contain, or can be made to contain, a crude and "superstitious" conception. The text need not even stand in critical editions (Mark 9:29 proves that Jesus believed with Porphyry that abstinence alone could keep demons off). The Ebionitic gospel is cited as the "oldest account" of the baptism of Jesus, because it says that the dove *entered into* him.

(2) In a historical study of a religious idea or usage its absence must be taken into account, as well as its presence, and its relation to other ideas must be fundamentally considered. What of those great branches of Old Testament and Jewish literature in which demons play no part? What of some denials and great silences regarding them in the words of prophets and wise men, and in the main teachings of Christ and Paul? According to Conybeare, the New Testament books should be chiefly concerned with exorcism. But they are not.

(3) The chief contention of these papers, that demonology is everywhere the same, overlooks differences in substance that may exist with likeness in form. There is, for example, a great difference between the man to whom disease and disaster mean devils and the man to whom devils mean sin. By the latter, the language of demonology may be, practically, and in effect, even if not consciously and in intention, figurative. Conybeare should be more disturbed than he is at the fact that Jesus used no magic formulas, but cast out demons by his simple word. With demons as malign, semi-physical agencies magic may deal, but over demons as sins of the heart or as perversions of the mind of man personality is sovereign.

The animus of these articles is unfortunate. The writer is looking for superstitions, and seems pleased to find more of them in the Bible than in paganism; more in the New Testament than in the Old; more in Jesus than in Philo. This animus not only annoys the reader, but harms the writer's critical faculty. In large measure he combats views we do not hold, and does not touch the questions we think, historically, most important. One would expect from so good a scholar a better example of historical discussion "from a newer and more critical standpoint."

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PROLEGOMENA ZUM LUCAS-EVANGELIUM. VON ADOLF HILGENFELD;  
*Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1897, pp. 411-32.

AFTER sketching the German investigation of the origin of the third gospel from Fr. Schleiermacher to H. Ewald, the writer states his view as a modification of Baur's. He holds the order Matthew, Mark, Luke. Matthew is the eastern form of the primitive gospel for the Gentile church, and has a decided anti-Pauline tendency. Mark is the western version of the primitive gospel, from which the anti-Pauline character of Matthew is removed. This prepared the way for the third gospel. The author of this skillfully turns against the Jews what Matthew aims at Paul. Where he adds to Matthew and Mark he had in part written sources, notably in the passage 9: 51-18: 14.

Hilgenfeld says that he has tried to steer between the Scylla of a pure tendency writing and the Charybdis of a mere copyist activity. Luke gathers out of the older writings, chiefly out of the first two canonical gospels, but he is also the first who gave to the material of the evangelical history the spirit of a moderate Paulinism.

Weisse's theory of two sources, weakened by Simons and Holtzmann, is not commended by the attempt of Feine, who represents Luke as having each of the original documents before him in two varying editions.

Hahn's denial that Luke counted Matthew and Mark among the "many" who had written is discussed at length, following the text of Luke 1: 1-4. The "many" belong to the side of the primitive apostles (as against Paul). Their writings were not in every respect satisfactory, and the author ad Theophilum resolved to compose a gospel. He does not claim to be an eyewitness or to have received aught from eyewitnesses. He traced the course of all things in the writings of the "many," and does not claim to draw from oral tradition. He writes primarily for his friend and patron Theophilus.



We may regard this dedication as something new, and as a proof that some of the many gospels had already been widely adopted for the use of the church.

A Pauline tone is heard also in the statement of the purpose of the third gospel—"that thou mightest know the certainty concerning the words (teachings) in which thou wast instructed." This implies that the author was not satisfied with the *teaching* of the extant gospels. He does not refer to their chronicle of events out of the life of Jesus.

This Pauline gospel has preserved much out of the early tradition which is of historical value.

In the *Altchristliche Prolegomena zu den kanonischen Evangelien* Hilgenfeld gives the *argumenta* prefixed to the gospels in the oldest editions of the Vulgate. He infers that Christian antiquity emphasized the close relation of the canonical gospels to the persons (or tendencies) of the evangelists.

Of these two articles by Hilgenfeld the second has very slight value, for the *argumenta* of the Vulgate contribute nothing to our knowledge of the origin of Luke's gospel.

The bulk of the first article is a criticism of Hahn, *Das Evangelium des Lucas erklärt*, Bd. I, II, 1892, 1894, and an analysis of Luke 1:1-4. I cannot discover in it a proof that Matthew and Mark were among the "many" who had drawn up narratives regarding the life of Jesus, nor can I see in Luke 1:1-4 any clear indication that the author took the side of Paul as against the primitive apostles.

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LE PROLOGUE DU QUATRIÈME ÉVANGILE. Par ALFRED LOISY; *Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature Religieuses*, Tome II (1897), Nos. 1, 2, 3.

I. Vss. 1-5 constitute a general preface to the gospel. They are characterized by a strophic arrangement and musical cadence. (1) *The Logos considered in himself*. Before time or the world was the Word. He exists independently of time.  $\delta \lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$  is not the "reason" of Philo, but the revelation or expression of God. John derived the word from current philosophy, and applies it as a scientific definition of Christ, which is interpreted in the body of the book. (2) *The Logos in relation to God*. Logos was not manifested in time nor seen. He existed "before" God, "near to him," "one with him;"  $\delta \theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$  here designates the Father. The absence of the article before  $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$  in the next phrase gives the noun a qualitative force. "The Word was God," *i. e.*, of divine nature. (3) *The Logos in relation to, the*

*created world.* In him resides the creative power. He reveals God, through him God creates. Every created thing has come into existence through him. Without him was nothing made, neither material nor things. The clause,  $\delta$   $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omicron\nu\epsilon\nu$ , according to the sense of the proposition and ancient punctuation of the Arians and Pneumatomachians, is joined to the phrase  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\ \zeta\omega\eta\ \eta\eta\nu$ , and has reference to the human race or inhabited world.  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omega$ , translated after the manner of the Arians, is interpreted as referring to  $\delta$   $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omicron\nu\epsilon\nu$ . "In that," in the created world, "there was life;" *i. e.*, the incarnation took place, bringing light and life, truth and grace to men.  $\text{Καὶ τὸ φῶς} \dots \kappa. \tau. \lambda.$  Light and darkness are here and throughout the gospel equivalent to truth and error, moral antitheses that have no affinity whatever.  $\text{Οὐ κατέλαβεν}$ , the darkness was not able to extinguish the light, was not able to arrest or overcome it. It shone despite the darkness.

II. Vss. 6-13. The historical preface of the gospel explaining the mission of Jesus by comparison with that of John the Baptist. The literary characteristics of the first section are less prominent. The supposition that vss. 5, 7, 8 combat the idea that John was the Messiah is without foundation. John's witness is produced to prove, not that he was not the Messiah, but that Jesus was. John became the witness of the incarnation.  $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\tau\omicron\ \text{ἄνθρωπος} \dots \kappa. \tau. \lambda.$  John was sent of God as the ancient prophets were. He came to bear witness to the light, Jesus, and the gospel he gave men. His witness was to the end that all men might believe in the Word made flesh.  $\text{Οὐκ ἦν ἐκεῖνος} \dots \kappa. \tau. \lambda.$  John's witness is a positive assertion concerning Jesus, completed by a denial concerning himself. The accent is on the  $\text{οὐκ}$ ; to say that John was *not* the Messiah is to say Jesus was.  $\eta\eta\nu\ \tau\omicron\ \phi\acute{\omega}\varsigma \dots \kappa. \tau. \lambda.$  While John was fulfilling his mission as prophet, the "true Light" came into the world. "Who lighteth every man" qualifies the "Light which was coming into the world."  $\text{κόσμος}$  is the world of living men at the moment of incarnation — no reference to the creative act of the Logos. He came into the world he made, and the world did not know him.  $\text{εἰς τὰ ἴδια} \dots \kappa. \tau. \lambda.$  The same idea expressed more concretely.  $\text{ἴδια}$ , "the world;"  $\text{ἴδιοι}$ , men, his creatures. Men are divided into two classes, those who receive the Christ and those who reject him. To "receive the Word" is to be disposed to hear, understand, and believe him. To such as receive him he gave the power to become the sons of God, born not of Abraham, but of the spirit.  $\text{οἱ οὐκ ἐξ αἱμάτων} \dots \kappa. \tau. \lambda.$  Vs. 13, as read in the ordinary text, is abnormal and difficult. An old reading, attested by ecclesiastical writers of the second

century, is perhaps the primitive reading. This substitutes for the plural *οἱ* the singular, "Who was born not of blood," etc., "but of God." One becomes a child of God in believing on the Son of God, born not of blood, nor flesh, nor the will of man, but of God, *ἰ. ε.*, the Word made flesh. This incarnation does not necessarily refer to the virginal conception; it is the whole life of Jesus from baptism till after his resurrection. The precise moment of the incarnation is not indicated, but the fact itself was manifest in the baptism, and his glory revealed in his works.

III. Vss. 14-18. This paragraph treats of the Word made flesh. If the reading of the second century be adopted, a simple "*καὶ*" is sufficient to establish the connection between vss. 13 and 14. *καὶ ὁ λόγος . . . κ. τ. λ.* The Word was born not of men, but of God. This birth was the incarnation. *σάρξ* here means a man. The Word became a man, giving up none of his divine prerogatives. The *ἡμῖν* includes those who have "seen his glory," and perhaps those who have believed without seeing. The Word was publicly manifest, revealing his glory in miracle and teaching. This glory is that of an only son, "the only God born of God." *Χάριτος καὶ ἀληθείας* are the gifts of salvation, and the true knowledge of God. *Ἰωάννης μαρτυρεῖ*, etc. John bears witness to the incarnation, recalling his prophetic utterance before he had seen the Holy Spirit descend upon Jesus. *ὀπίσω* and *ἔμπροσθεν* relate primarily to space. One who comes behind is inferior; he who goes before is superior. *Ὅτι πρῶτός, μου ἦν*. This superiority is because of the eternal origin of the Word. *Ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ πληρώματος*, etc. John no longer is speaking. The Word was full of grace and truth, and *we* have received of his fullness. *Χάριν ἀντὶ Χάριτος* is equivalent to "grace upon grace." *Ὅτι ὁ νόμος*, etc. Moses gave the law; Jesus brought no commandment, but the gift of salvation and the true knowledge of God. Grace not given as law, once for all, but came and continues to come through Jesus. The name "Jesus Christ" "has been the term pursued from the commencement of the prologue." Henceforth it will be, not the Word, but Jesus Christ, who will be the subject of the gospel. He who brings this grace and truth is "only begotten God" (*μονογενὴς θεός*), the revelator of the Father. All revelation, even the Old Testament, was made through him, who is God from eternity. *Ὁ ὢν εἰς τὸν κόλπον*, etc. He was in the bosom of the Father, and is, because he has returned. No one has ever seen God save the Only-begotten, who is in heaven, in the bosom of the Father. These words refer to the glorified Messiah, the Word returned to God who sent him

forth. *Εἰς* with *ᾧ* expresses the movement of a child in its mother's arms, rather than a child brought and placed upon her knee; *ᾧ* excludes the idea of going either to or from. The whole phrase emphasizes the intimate union between Father and Son.

The article is interesting, scholarly, and suggestive. The logical exegesis, based on the punctuation and text of early writers, is attractive, if not satisfactory. It is, however, a question of the relative value of different witnesses to the ancient text, in which undue weight must not be given to internal evidence. The summary dismissal of the hypothesis of a "John party" in Ephesus is not altogether convincing; more might be said on the subject.

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#### THE INCARNATION AS A PROOF OF THE DOCTRINE OF THE KENOSIS.

By REV. F. C. H. WENDEL, PH.D.; *Bibliotheca Sacra*, October, 1897, pp. 729-46.

THE New Testament passages that bear upon the incarnation may be arranged under five heads: (1) The accounts in Matthew and Luke of the birth of Jesus; (2) the passages which represent him as *sent* into the world by the Father; (3) those in which his *coming* is spoken of as his own act; (4) those in which, his preëxistence being asserted or implied, he is represented as becoming flesh, a real incarnation; (5) those which represent him as emptying himself in becoming incarnate.

No attempt need be made to explain the miraculous accounts of the birth in harmony with natural laws. Both the *sending* and the *coming* imply the subordination of the Son to the Father and the preëxistence of the Son. Only in the fourth class do we find a distinct announcement of the incarnation. From John's prologue we learn that the conception by the virgin did not mark the beginning of the existence of the God-man. The fact announced by John that the Logos who was in the beginning with God and who was God became flesh and dwelt among men belongs to the same category as the miraculous birth.

The last class of passages, specially Phil. 2: 6-8, presents the additional fact that the Logos, in becoming flesh, emptied himself of something expressed in the words *τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ*, for it was this that he "counted not a prize to be grasped."

Having followed thus far the guidance of Scripture, interesting speculative questions meet us here, two of which seem worthy of fur-

ther attention — one as to the nature and limit of this self-emptying or self-limitation, the other as to the consciousness of the incarnate Logos.

1. The Logos did not empty himself of the *μορφή θεοῦ*, or the essence of divinity, but of the functions and prerogatives of divinity. The so-called attributes of omnipotence, omnipresence, and omniscience may be regarded as modes of the divine existence. In the incarnation the divine Logos limited himself in the exercise of these modes of divine existence in order that he might conform himself to the modes of human existence. Thus he knew not the hour of his second coming, not because he was no longer divine in essence, but because he had ceased for a period to exercise the functions of divinity.

2. Christ's own words evince that he did not have (like the demons) a dual consciousness. The divine and human natures were bound together in a single theanthropic personality, with a single theanthropic self-consciousness. Psychologically personality and self-consciousness are inseparable. If the theanthropic personality existed at the moment of the conception, theanthropic self-consciousness must have existed at the same moment. But it must be conceived, in accordance with human analogy, as a mere germ, developed subsequently, so that the Christ may not have come to the full recognition of his theanthropic personality till a later period in his earthly life.

The outcome of the incarnation, then, is a being who, while he is true God, is at the same time true man.

The writer's discussion of his theme is thorough and candid, and his views are in the main clearly expressed. But it is hard to avoid the suspicion that the phrases "theanthropic personality" and "theanthropic consciousness" cover rather than reveal thought. What we would like to know is what the theanthropic consciousness contains.

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THE METHODIST SAINTS AND MARTYRS. By Rev. ROBERT C. NIGHTINGALE; *Contemporary Review*, September, 378-88.

THE Methodist martyrs have been forgotten in the general canonization of sincere religious believers. But these early Methodist preachers surpassed the Puritans of the seventeenth century in sanity, in cheerfulness, in Christ-like peace of mind, and love of their persecutors. Nelson and Olivers and Mitchell especially revealed the martyr quality. Their persecution in the name and by the agents of

the church does not detract from their glory. Their faith in the unseen world was as great as their courage and as marked as their simplicity and patience. This made them joyful in spite of tribulation, and cheerful in discomfort. "Brother Nelson," cried John Wesley, as both lay on the floor, "be of good cheer; I have one whole side yet, for the skin is off but one side." But this joyful faith was blended with common sense and clear-sightedness. Compared with the Oxford movement, Methodism has a surprising stability, it reflects unchangingly the disposition of John Wesley, whereas Tractarianism developed into Puseyism, then into ritualism, and has now become Anglo-Catholicism.

This tribute from a churchman to very remarkable men is glowing enough, but stained by a needless fling at modern Wesleyan preachers, and by the suggestion that "the only effectual way of retaining able men" is that of suiting the reward to the worth of the man receiving it."

A more surprising *non sequitur* to an article on Methodist martyrs or martyrs of any kind is inconceivable.

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SOCIAL EVOLUTION AND THE CHURCHES. By REV. HENRY DAVIES, PH.D.; *Bibliotheca Sacra*, October, 1897, pp. 714-28.

RELIGION, in spite of prejudicial criticism, is a serious element in life. The church stands for a permanent social interest, and it forms an organic part of the process of evolution. The doctrine of evolution implies that all the manifold of experience comes from one source. The process of life is from simple to complex. Disintegration of the churches is desirable as a condition of better and higher phases of activity.

The idea of religion is undergoing profound modifications. The conception of evolution has brought the transcendent and the actual into close proximity, and God seems nearer than ever. Hence unison is emphasized in religious organization, because the ethical conception of God is a centralizing, unifying force. Churches are judged by their deeds rather than by their doctrines.

What the churches will do in the future and whether they will understand the need and duty of the age remains to be seen. But external criticism and interior tendencies give ground for hope that the church will win for itself the confidence of mankind by fidelity to the

new obligations. " Hope lies in the continuation of the scientific and religious forces at work among us ; that is to say, in a deeper comprehension of the unity which underlies the whole circle of life."

The article is quoted as a significant example of a mode of reasoning which seems to be the inevitable outcome of modern training in biology and psychology. The constant use of the working hypothesis of evolution in natural science, history, and sociology insensibly prepares the mind for applying the same processes in theology.

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## THE PAULINE DOCTRINE OF SIN.

By ORELLO CONE,  
Berlin.

IN the writings of Paul no explicit doctrine of sin, its origin, nature, and operations, is distinctively set forth as a part of a complete theological system. In fact, there is no Pauline system of doctrine to which a teaching concerning sin could have an articulate relation in the sense of dogmatic construction. The currents of the apostle's thought center in soteriology, and the classical passage regarding the entrance of sin into the world (Rom. 5:12-19) is one of the members of an antithesis, the two terms of which are Adam, the head of the old order of sin and death, and Christ, the founder of the new order of righteousness and life (see also 1 Cor. 15:45-50). It would, however, be a mistake to conclude from this circumstance that his teaching regarding sin is of slight importance to his doctrine as a whole. On the contrary, it is of such fundamental significance that a right understanding of it is essential to an adequate comprehension and a due relating of other aspects of his thought. The profound interest of the apostle himself in the subject is evident from the prominence given to it in the opening chapters of the epistle to the Romans and from numerous passages in the four great epistles (see in particular Rom. 4:7, 8; 5:12-21; 6:1, 2, 6, 7, 10, 11, 12-14, 22, 23; 7:5, 7-9; 1 Cor. 15:3, 17, 56; 2 Cor. 5:21; Gal. 1:4; 2:17; 3:22).



Sin is conceived by Paul under a twofold aspect: (1) as a principle and a power in the individual and in human life and history (*ἁμαρτία*), and (2) as an act in violation of the divine law (*παράβασις, ἁμαρτάνειν*). The former may be regarded as its objective and the latter as its subjective aspect. The term *ἁμαρτία* has not, however, throughout an objective reference, but sometimes expresses in the plural number concrete acts of disobedience, as when sins are said to be "covered" (Rom. 4:7), or "taken away" (Rom. 11:27), and when Christ is said to have "died for our sins" (1 Cor. 15:3; see also 1 Cor. 15:17 and Gal. 1:4). Sin as a category, a general term, a principle, is spoken of as a subject to which certain predicates may be attached quite as if it were conceived as a personal agent. It has come into the world, where it has dominion, works concupiscence, slays, comes to life, deceives, does the wrong which the better self rejects, holds men in bondage, and is a force which has a "law" (Rom. 5:12, 21; 6:14, 17; 7:9, 11, 20, 23, 25). The universal sway of this power in human life and history is a capital proposition of the apostle's which he undertakes to establish by an induction from observed facts of sinfulness, by individual experience, and by Scripture (Rom., chaps. 1, 2, 3:10-12, 19, 23; 7:23). He makes no exception in favor of the Jews who, equally with the Gentiles, are "included under sin." In this respect he is not in accord with the Jewish theology, striking agreements with which are not wanting elsewhere in his thought, as will appear in the course of our inquiry. For the Jewish theology maintained not only the possibility of sinlessness in man, but also that some men were actually without sin, for example, the patriarchs, Elijah, and Hezekiah (see Weber, *System der altsynagogalen palästnischen Theologie*, pp. 52 f., 223 f.).

How Paul thought sin (*ἁμαρτία*) as a power and principle to be connected with human nature is a problem which must be considered before we can further pursue the investigation of the subject in hand. The discussion of this question requires a glance at one or two points in his doctrine of man, or his anthropology. In the apostle's physical anthropology the outer

man (ὁ ἔξω ἄνθρωπος) is regarded as a material organism, the substance of which is flesh (σάρξ). This is the perishable part of man's nature, which "cannot inherit the kingdom of God," the "corruptible," which in the resurrection "must put on incorruption" (1 Cor. 15:50, 53, 54). A man may speak of it as belonging to himself and as that of which he is in part composed (Rom. 7:18, "my flesh;" 7:14, "I am fleshly," σάρκινος, of flesh). Bodily or physical descent is "according to the flesh" (Rom. 9:5, 8; Gal. 4:23; 1 Cor. 10:18), and to live the bodily life is to "be in the flesh," while the material support of the physical being is designated as "carnal things" (2 Cor. 10:3; Rom. 15:27). The matter constituting the body cannot, however, be regarded as lifeless, and accordingly Paul employs the term ψυχή for the life-principle, and it has been truly remarked that σάρξ and ψυχή are so closely related in his anthropology that the one conception is not to be thought of without the other. Inseparable in life, they are together devoted to corruption. The closely related sense of the two terms is shown by the use in the same signification of the adjectives σάρκινος and ψυχικός, and by the extended application of both words with πᾶς to denote all men (πᾶσα σάρξ, πᾶσα ψυχή) in accordance with Old Testament usage (see also σῶμα ψυχικόν, "natural body," *i.e.*, body of flesh, as contrasted with the "spiritual body," 1 Cor. 15:44). The flexibility of words in the Pauline terminology (a fact too often overlooked in the study of the apostle's thought) is apparent in the frequent employment of "flesh" in the sense of "body" or "members," and *vice versa*. Accordingly we find "body of sin" and "flesh of sin" (Rom. 6:6; 8:3) and "flesh" and "body" in substantially the same sense (Rom. 8:13; 2 Cor. 4:10, 11; 5:6; 10:2, 3; Phil. 1:22, 24). Yet the employment of "body" where "flesh" would be entirely inappropriate and even self-contradictory shows that the two terms are not in the Pauline usage throughout synonymous. The discrimination maintained by Lüdemann, Pfeiderer, Holtzmann, Schmiedel, and others, that σάρξ denotes the "substance" and σῶμα the "form" of the outer man is tenable so long as it is not applied with too much "vigor and rigor." For Paul

undoubtedly conceived the resurrection-body, the *σῶμα πνευματικόν*, as having a form identical with that of the *σῶμα ψυχικόν*, but a different substance, since it was to be a "body of glory," "fashioned like unto" that of the risen and ascended Christ (1 Cor. 15:44, 49; Phil. 3:21). While the body is said to be "mortal" (Rom. 6:12), as it must be when conceived simply as consisting of corruptible flesh, it is declared to be capable of "redemption" (Rom 8:23), *i. e.*, of being saved from "perishing" in death, and of being "quickened" (Rom. 8:11), on condition that the Spirit of Him who raised up Christ from the dead dwelt in its possessor. It is noteworthy that such affirmations are nowhere made of the flesh. The discrimination in question is supported by the frequent antitheses of "flesh" and all that pertains to and partakes of it, and the divine Spirit and its operations and ministry. "He that soweth to his flesh (not "body") shall of the flesh reap corruption; but he that soweth to the Spirit shall of the Spirit reap life everlasting" (Gal. 6:8). The terms of these antitheses are such as "flesh" (*σάρξ*, for which we cannot think of Paul as here using "body") and "spirit" (*πνεῦμα*); "corruption" (*φθορά*), which pertains to the flesh, and "incorruption" (*ἀφθαρσία*); "the natural" (*τὸ ψυχικόν*) and "the spiritual" (*τὸ πνευματικόν*); "fleshly" (*σαρκικά*) and "mighty" (*δυνατά*), etc. (Rom. 1:3, 4; 2:28, 29; 1 Cor. 2:14, 15; 2 Cor. 1:12; 10:4; Gal. 4:29). The contention that *σάρξ* denotes the whole man empirically constituted and conscious of his opposition to the law fails in view of the antitheses of the outer and the inner man, and is irreconcilable with the distinction made with unmistakable clearness between the self (*ἐγώ*) and the sin dwelling in the flesh, and between the "law in the members" and "the law of the mind" (*νοῦς*) in Rom. 7:17-23.

In the ethical signification of *σάρξ* in the anthropology of Paul we find the relation of sin to human nature, and it is precisely in the conflict already mentioned between the outer and the inner man that the kernel of the problem lies. Leaving on one side for the present the consideration of the question how sin came to exist in man (a question which Paul does not definitely answer), it will be sufficient to indicate the

part of his nature to which it is assigned. There is certainly no want of precision in the apostle's declarations on this point. In speaking of the law as calling sin into activity he says that in man (for he must here be regarded as personating mankind in general), "that is, in his flesh, dwelleth no good thing," and when, a little further on, he asserts that it is not the man, that is, the essential *ἐγώ*, who does the wrong, but sin that dwelleth in him, it is evident that sin as a power and principle is equivalent in his thought to the "no good thing," or evil, of the preceding verse, and that, accordingly, it has its seat in the flesh. The physical sense of *σάρξ* in this connection is apparent from what immediately follows, when he proceeds to contrast the outer and the inner man, and represents the subject as delighting in the law of God after the inner man, but finding in his "members" another law warring against the law of his mind and bringing him into captivity to the law of sin, which is in his members. The conclusion of this much misunderstood passage is: "So then with the mind (*νοῦς*) I myself serve the law of God, but with the flesh (*σάρξ*) the law of sin," where *σάρξ* must evidently be interpreted by "members" in the preceding verse (Rom. 7: 17-25). This interpretation is supported by the fact that Paul often connects sin with the body regarded as the form which the flesh assumes in the earthly life of man. "The body of sin" (Rom. 6: 6) signifies the physical organism, or the "members," so far as it is controlled by sin, and is parallel with "the flesh of sin," or "sinful flesh" (Rom. 8: 3). "This body of death" (not "the body of this death") in Rom. 7: 24 and the *σῶμα νεκρόν* of Rom. 8: 10 correspond with "mortal flesh" in 2 Cor. 4: 11. Compare also "live after the flesh" and "mortify the deeds of the body" in Rom. 8: 13, and "crucify the flesh" in Gal. 5: 24.

The misinterpretation of *σάρξ* as something different from the material substance of man's earthly body is due in part to the erroneous idea that the apostle's thought on the subject moved entirely within the circle of the Old Testament anthropology. His conception includes, indeed, the essential notion of flesh *בָּשָׂר* expressed in the canonical Hebrew writings,

which, according to Wendt (*Die Begriffe Fleisch und Geist*, etc.), is that of "living beings with the accessory notion of the absolute weakness and transitoriness of their nature over against the power and living operation of God." But he passes altogether beyond the Old Testament idea in associating with the *σάρξ* an element of sinfulness which Wendt is unable to find in any of the writers of that literature. (See Dickson, *Paul's Use of the Terms Flesh and Spirit*, p. 112.) Paul "would have remained," says Holtzmann, "within the Jewish representation if, according to his apprehension, just as the inner man, reason, heart, conscience, would gravitate to the good, so the outer man, or rather the flesh of which it consists, would also gravitate to the bad" (*Neutestamentliche Theologie*, II, p. 38). But for the apostle the flesh, while not itself sin, contains impulses, desires, and lusts which are in direct opposition to the good, which "war against the law of the mind," and bring man into captivity to the law of sin that is in his members (Rom. 7 : 23). Whether in this position Paul was on the ground of the later Jewish theology or that of Hellenistic ethical dualism or that of the first Christian anthropology, which was his own, is a question which has received contradictory answers. There is probably truth in all three positions. While the radical metaphysical dualism of Greek thought finds no expression in his writings, the Hellenistic influence is probably apparent in his ethical dualism of the *νοῦς* and the *σάρξ*, which, with the substitution generally of *σῶμα*, *τὰ πάθη*, and related terms for *σάρξ*, is frequently found in Philo. In his idea of the flesh in relation to the mind, which would serve the law of God, he appears to be in accord with the Hellenistic Wisdom of Solomon, according to which the body is an encumbrance to the *νοῦς*. His doctrine of the flesh bears, again, a close analogy to the weaker dualism of the later Jewish theology, according to which, while the soul is pure by nature, the body is impure, not simply as perishable, but because it is the seat of the evil impulse called the *jaser hara*, which is to it what the leaven is to the dough—a fermenting, impelling power (Weber, *System*, p. 221). This is counteracted, however, to some degree by the good impulse which resides in the soul,

and which, in exceptional cases, was thought to have been so strengthened by religious exercises as completely to overcome the *jeser hara*. The idea, finally, that the flesh, not constituting a part of the real personality of man, is doomed to perish, while the body may, by means of the indwelling divine Spirit, be "quickened" into a *σῶμα πνευματικόν*, is a distinctively original feature of the Pauline anthropology. The "redemption of the body" is a specifically Christian conception, and rests upon the central doctrine of the Pauline theology that Christ became, in his resurrection, the head of a new order of the Spirit and of life, which was intended, through faith, to overcome the Adamic order of sin and death.

The interpretation of *σάρξ*, which finds it to denote not the substance of the physical or "natural" body, but "the weak and creaturely side of our nature," is objectionable, because it separates the apostle's physical and ethical anthropology at the foundation. It yields a result which is altogether vague and confusing and a definition which itself needs to be defined. What is this weak and creaturely side of human nature in view of the fundamental distinctions of the outer and the inner man? Paul employs no language which naturally yields itself to this interpretation. He says in so many words: "Let not sin, therefore, reign in your mortal body, that ye should obey it in the lusts thereof," where *σῶμα* means the flesh as organized in the psychical or natural body. So long as the Christians were in this physical body, and had not yet the *σῶμα πνευματικόν*, they were in danger of yielding to its "lusts," and of making their "members" instruments of unrighteousness, on account of the "infirmity" of their "flesh" (Rom. 6:12, 13, 19). The law in the members which wars against the law of the mind (Rom. 7:23) is the mode of operation of the lusts of the flesh proceeding with the fateful regularity of a natural necessity. With the lusts of the flesh and the lusts of the body as interchangeable terms there can be no question that the *σάρξ* is conceived as the body organized for its temporal existence. (Compare Rom. 6:12 and 13:14.) "The likeness of sinful flesh" (*σαρκὸς ἁμαρτίας*) in which Christ is said to have appeared (Rom. 8:3)

evidently has reference to his physical being as a man, and not to "the weak and creaturely side of his nature," however we may interpret the difficult *ὁμολωμα*. It was, moreover, "in the flesh" of Christ on the cross that the judgment of condemnation upon sin was executed. It is only when we regard the flesh, not as a vague "side of human nature," but as a definite part of it, that the opposition of the *σάρξ* and the *πνεῦμα*, *i. e.*, the divine Spirit, which occupies so conspicuous a place in the apostle's theology, has a clearly defined significance. In this grand ethical antithesis the outer, psychical, sarkical man, the earthly, material man, with stormy passions and fateful lusts, is conceived as at warfare with the inner man, the *νοῦς* and the human *πνεῦμα*, in which the Spirit of God finds an abode. The conflict is represented in the apostle's thought as one power, one substance, contending against another power and substance, each having its spontaneous and contradictory impulses and desires. The issue of the tragic contest is determined according as on the one hand "the lusts of the flesh," "the law in the members" (Rom. 7:23; Gal. 5:16), or on the other the forces of the divine *πνεῦμα* preponderate: "For if ye live after the flesh ye shall die; but if ye through the Spirit do mortify the deeds of the body ye shall live" (Rom. 8:13). The fundamental relation of the physical and ethical sides of the apostle's anthropology is apparent in the employment already mentioned of the attributive terms derived from *σάρξ*, *σάρκινος*, consisting of flesh as to the outer man, and *σαρκικός*, morally fleshly so far as the subject is determined in his activity by the lusts of his sarkical nature. Because he is *σάρκινος*, fleshly as to the physical substance of his being, he is *σαρκικός*, fleshly as to the quality of his ethical life, *i. e.*, living in the flesh, he walks according to the flesh, unless the divine Spirit intervenes, and "cuts the causal nexus" between the nature which is *σάρκινος* and the actions which are *σαρκικά* (Rom. 4:12; 2 Cor. 10:3). A few terse words in the pathetic and impassioned passage, Rom. 7:14-25, indicate the relation between the flesh, as such, and sin — a relation inseparable, except through the supernatural intervention of the divine *πνεῦμα* — "But I am of flesh (*σάρκινος*),

sold under sin," where the relation of the two clauses evidently is that the former gives the reason for the latter — because I am of flesh, I am sold under sin, doomed like a slave to its dread dominion, so that even "the law of the mind" is ineffective against the fatal "law in the members."

The objection to the interpretation of *σάρξ* herein defended on the ground of 2 Cor. 7: 1, "Let us cleanse ourselves from all filthiness (defilement) of the flesh," rests upon an erroneous idea of the relation of sin to the flesh in the thought of the apostle, and upon a misapprehension of the passage itself. Dickson's difficulty is thus disposed of (*loc. cit.*, pp. 310, 313), who errs, and confuses the whole matter in supposing that in the interpretation which he opposes sin and the flesh are identified, instead of the latter being regarded as the seat of the former. The judgment of Dr. Schmiedel (in *Hand-Commentar*, on the passage), that the words are "certainly un-Pauline," results from a too rigorous application of the term "flesh" as distinct from the "body," conceived to mean the flesh as organized in the human earthly existence. "The flesh," he remarks, "is defiled, and hence one can only speak of a cleansing of it when in conversion it should be set free from sin. . . . In fact, then, it comes to this: that this power of sin is suppressed in Christians through the Spirit of God; removed out of the flesh it is not." "Only the body," he says further, "is the temple of the Holy Spirit and capable of holiness" (1 Cor. 6: 19; 7: 34). But it is an error to suppose that Paul makes a rigorous distinction between the *σάρξ* and the *σῶμα* and its "members" in relation to the seat of sin. What difference exists in his thought between "the law in the members" and the uniform and necessary working of the lusts of the flesh? The body, which may become the temple of the Holy Spirit, is the body of flesh, and those who are not "in the flesh," since the Spirit of God dwells in them, who have "crucified the flesh" (Rom. 8: 9; Gal. 5: 24), are in peril of "yielding their members as instruments of unrighteousness" (Rom. 6: 13). To be "holy both in body and spirit" (1 Cor. 7: 34) is the same thing as to be cleansed from all defilement of the flesh and spirit, and to have the members as "instruments of righteous-



ness." If, however, the meaning of the passage were necessarily, "Let us cleanse ourselves from all defilement that may come to the flesh and spirit," then "defilement of flesh" might be regarded as un-Pauline, since the flesh is by nature already defiled. But if we may render it in the sense that the apostle exhorted the Corinthians to cleanse themselves from all defilement which inheres in the flesh as the seat of sin, and may taint the spirit from its connection with the flesh, then the passage is in accord with the Pauline doctrine that even the believers whose flesh had been crucified with Christ were still in peril from it (Rom. 6:12, 13, 19).

In view of all the foregoing considerations, the judgment of Holtzmann does not appear to be expressed with too much vigor when he says (*Neutest. Theol.*, II, p. 40): "When a writer so plainly gives his readers to understand that by 'flesh' he really means flesh, and nothing but flesh; that for the elucidation of his meaning he speaks occasionally of 'deeds of the body' (Rom. 8:13, actually not different from 'the works of the flesh,' Gal. 5:19), and of 'the law of sin in the members' (in them dwells sin, as in the flesh, Rom. 8:18, 23), then it is not he, at least, who is to blame, but the determination of his theological expositors to misunderstand him, . . . when to his words the only sense which they can have is continually denied, and from the throughout clear and unitary conception which they express is derived an understanding that is arbitrarily changing, contradictory, and with difficulty intelligible." The objection which is raised on the ground that in Gal. 5:19 ff., referred to in the foregoing quotation, other sins are mentioned than those proceeding immediately from the *σάρξ* literally regarded, is invalid, because it would be manifestly unjust to such a thinker as Paul to require that if he regarded the sensuous nature as the seat of sin, its manifestations must be directly related to the body alone, and not allowed a wider range into the domain of thought and feeling. It has already been pointed out that the apostle thought man to be "sold under sin," in bondage to it, because he was *σάρκινος*, or of flesh. But the "sin" in question in this passage is sin in general, and not sin

specifically related to the physical nature. The physical basis is not, however, lost sight of, and, in fact, the list of "works of the flesh" in the passage under consideration begins and ends with offenses of a directly sensuous character. Man, being by nature *σάρκινος*, becomes ethically *σαρκικός* or carnal in the entire scope of his activity, and this sactical quality of his acts exists precisely and only because he is "of flesh." Moreover, are we able to determine categorically, with our present knowledge of psychical phenomena, what connection "hatred, wrath, and strife" have with the physical nature, or dare we affirm dogmatically that they have none?

The latent sin which has its seat in the flesh is brought into activity, "revived" (Rom. 7:9), through the agency of the "law." By the term *νόμος* or *ὁ νόμος* Paul understands primarily the Mosaic legislation, moral and ceremonial; includes under it, however, the Old Testament Scriptures generally, and recognizes an inward law where no outward commandment has been given in Rom. 2:9: "For, when the Gentiles, who have no law, do by nature the things contained in the law, these, not having a law (*i. e.*, according to the Jewish idea of the law as an express injunction), are a law unto themselves." This last view of law, which was current among the Greeks, has an important relation, as will appear further on, to the apostle's doctrine of the entrance of sin and death into the world. With all his depreciation of the law, Paul concedes so much to the genius of his race out of which it sprang as to declare it to be "spiritual" and "holy, just, and good." It is, however, ineffective in spiritual results, because man is "of flesh" (*σάρκινος*, Rom. 7:14). It cannot stop the course of sin and produce righteousness, because it is "weak through the flesh" (Rom. 8:3), powerless against the lusts of the *σάρξ*, by whose force its divine ordinances are swept aside, so that it is totally inoperative "to make alive" (*ζωοποιῆσαι*, Gal. 3:21). Though man may "delight in the law of God" according to the *νόμος τοῦ νοῦς*, the other *νόμος* in his "members" overcomes the good impulses of the "mind," and he can only cry out in impotent despair: "O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from this body of death?" (Rom. 7:24).

Thus he finds the commandment, which was ordained to life, to be unto death (Rom. 7:10). But Paul does not stop here in his exposition of the relation of the law to sin. Not only is it unable to "make alive," *i. e.*, although "spiritual" and "holy," to effect righteousness, but it also actually produces subjective sin or transgression, since through it comes the knowledge of sin, the consciousness that the impulses of the flesh, which without the law take their inevitable course by natural necessity, are in fact sinful. "The motions of sin" are "by the law," and without it man would never have known sin, for "I had not known lust (as such) except the law had said, 'Thou shalt not covet'" (Rom. 7:5, 7). It is through "the commandment" that the sin which was as such before inoperative "took occasion," and "wrought all manner of concupiscence." "For without the law sin was (is) dead" (Rom. 7:8). This is a general proposition regarding sin and the law, and is to the same purport as the declaration that "sin is not imputed where there is no law" (Rom. 5:13). Without the law, by which the apostle probably means an express commandment, the lusts of the flesh, in their nature sinful, partaking of *ἀμαρτία*, pursue their natural course blindly, and the man is "alive" (lives), but "when the commandment came, sin revived" and the man "died" (Rom. 7:9). Whether if "the commandment" had not come man would have lived forever in this merely animal existence without moral consciousness is a question which Paul neither raises nor answers, and which we may pass by, for the present at least. It should, however, be remarked that if he had in mind the human race prior to the giving of the law through Moses, he is not consistent with himself in giving this alone a place in the scheme; for he recognizes for the Gentiles an inward law and a conscience according to which they are held responsible (Rom 2:14-16). Perhaps there hovered before his mind the Adamic legend of the innocent childhood of the race or the thought of the childhood of the individual before the dawn of conscience. In any case the *ὁ νόμος* in vs. 12, which evidently means the Mosaic law, and the occurrence of "commandment" (*ἐντολή*) repeatedly in vss. 9-13, which he does not employ to designate the inner

law (Rom. 13:9; 1 Cor. 7:19; 14:37), create a difficulty for which there appears to be no solution without violence to the natural sense of the passage. We might, indeed, suppose the apostle to have regarded the law of the conscience unenlightened by divine revelation as carrying an *ἐντολή* by implication, but this is a gratuitous expedient, and the probability is that the question in hand did not present itself to him at all.

The apostle's teaching on this subject has a point and vividness which are doubtless due to his own experience of sin and to his conversion, and it may be regarded as his original contribution to hamartiology. The doctrine was certainly remote from the Jewish point of view and even antagonistic to the thought and feeling of a Jew that sin became exceeding sinful by the commandment, and that the law was given for the express purpose of making "the offense abound" (Rom. 5:20; 7:13). The sin that is in the flesh is brought to life through the presence of the commandment, and rushes forth into every forbidden field simply because of the prohibition. The objective sin becomes subjective, the "material sin" becomes "formal." All that Paul says, however, on the law and sin is incidental to a purpose to which any specific doctrine of sin was for him subordinate, to show, namely, that righteousness is unattainable through the law. If the law can do nothing but make men sinners and expose them to death and the wrath of God, it certainly does not open a way to eternal life. The entire observance of its requirements is impossible. The more a man knows of it, the wider yawns the chasm within him between ideal and achievement, between what the law of his mind requires and what the law in his members fatally compels him to do. It is an error, however, to suppose that Paul thought the law to be imperfect as a law or an incomplete disclosure of the divine will. The Old Testament was to him the perfect word of God. Accordingly, if the law was a pedagogue to lead men to Christ, it had this office in the sense that it was intended to hold them in subjection, convict them of sin, show them their inability to save themselves by their own works, and fling them at last upon Christ who abolished the old law and revealed the new law of

the Spirit and of life. He therefore, as Weizsäcker remarks, "accepted the paradox involved in the two propositions, that the law contains the commands of God by whose fulfillment man obtains life and righteousness, and that, as a matter of fact, its only effect was to produce the knowledge of sin." The solution of this paradox is superficial according to which the law is conceived as "spiritual" and given "unto life," but performs a transitional function in producing the knowledge of sin and in showing to man the impossibility of salvation by works, in order to prepare the way for salvation under the new dispensation, and so in fact to fulfill its original purpose. An incidental result of the law, that Paul himself discovered, does not invalidate its original intention, which he declares in the most precise terms to have been "to life" (*εἰς ζωὴν*); and yet in the same breath he asserts that he had found the law to be "unto death" (*εἰς θάνατον*, Rom. 7 : 10). A divine ordinance produces a result directly the opposite of its original intention. Vs. 13 does not resolve the paradox, for although he there says that not the law which is good is the occasion of death to him, but rather sin, the responsibility still falls upon the law, since it was given in order that sin might abound. If "the sting of death is sin," "the strength of sin is the law" (1 Cor. 15 : 56). To the question which one of the two terms of the antinomy under consideration is supported by the historico-religious facts relative to the law the apostle himself furnishes the only valid answer when he says that this was given "unto life." From the point of view of the Old Testament the law was unquestionably given, not to make "sin abound," but to produce righteousness. Obedience is not therein enjoined by the voice of teachers and prophets from age to age as if it were an impossibility, but as an achievement within the power of men. Actual righteousness achieved by conforming through good works to the will of God is not enforced by unremitting warning and exhortation as if it were an unattainable ideal, but as a possible accomplishment of which many shining examples exist. It is hardly necessary to add that the teaching of Jesus in this regard is in accord with that of the illustrious representatives of the genius of the old

Hebrew morality and religion (Matt. 5 : 19 ; 7 : 21 ; 8 : 50 ; 19 : 16-21 ; Luke 16 : 29). Even Paul himself occasionally shows that he had in fact "profited in the Jews' religion" (Gal. 1 : 14), and echoes the mighty voice of his race, when he for the moment loses sight of the dogmatic purpose which led him into the antinomy in question (Rom. 2 : 6-13 ; 1 Cor. 3 : 13 ; 5 : 10 ; Gal. 6 : 7). Another obscurity appears in the connection in which the apostle here speaks of "the law" as occasioning sin in connection with the flesh, and declares that without it no formal sin could exist. That he has in mind, as before remarked, the Mosaic law, and includes its moral precepts, is evident from the words: "I had not known lust except the law had said, 'Thou shalt not covet'" (Rom. 7 : 7). Yet he recognizes sin as existing in an aggravated form among the Gentiles "who have not the law," and speaks of sinning "without law" (Rom. 2 : 12, 14). His intense preoccupation with polemical dialectic, and the impetuous rush of his thought toward the end that this proposed for him furnish the only explanation of such paradoxes, which are stumbling-blocks to those only who are wanting in insight into the nature and the absorbing aims of the great apostle.

Paul's teaching regarding the entrance of sin into the world is one of the most difficult and most disputed points of his theology ; yet, as before remarked, he does not set out to formulate a specific doctrine on the subject. The matter involves the questions : whether he means to teach that sin first made its appearance in the world through Adam's transgression, whether in that transgression was implied a "fall" of Adam in the traditional sense of the term and a radical change of human nature, whether in the sin of the progenitor as the federal head of the race all men sinned, and whether sin is to be regarded as belonging originally to the divine order of human existence or as chargeable to man's free activity. The classical passage on the subject is the much disputed Rom. 5 : 12-19, which opens with the declaration that "as by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin, and so death passed upon all men, for that all sinned"—the thought is here broken off to be resumed in the eighteenth verse, where the parallel between Adam and Christ

is carried out. That the apostle does not here mean that sin came into the world through Adam as a man having the fleshly nature (*σάρκινος*), and thus beginning an order of life in which sinfulness or sin as an objective power was to prevail, is evident from the fact that in vss. 17, 18, and 19 he speaks of Adam's "offense" and "disobedience." He has in mind, then, Adam's transgression of the divine commandment in accordance with the account in Genesis. Through this transgression, he declares death (physical death without hope of resurrection except through "the last Adam," the "life-giving spirit," 1 Cor. 15:45) passed upon or unto all men, for that all sinned. The *cruz interpretum* of this passage is the expression *ἐφ' ᾧ πάντες ἥμαρτον*, which can only mean, "inasmuch as (because) all sinned" (2 Cor. 5:4; Phil. 3:12), and the central question is whether Adam's sin is regarded as the sin of all, or all are declared to have sinned individually. The former interpretation is without support in the Greek text, since *ἐφ' ᾧ* does not mean "in whom," and since to supply "in him" after "sinned" is to read a new idea into the passage. The simple statement is that "all sinned" as the reason why all are subject to death, and Paul never employs the verb "to sin" (*ἁμαρτάνω*) in any other sense than that of individual transgression. Accordingly, the meaning is not that all men became sinful at the same time with Adam and through his sin. Nevertheless, the expression "by one man" must have its rights, so that the sin of Adam shall not be cut off from connection with the sin of his posterity, and the transgressions of the latter for which they suffer death be regarded as independent of his "offense." Otherwise the argument of the entire section would be destroyed, which draws a parallel between Adam and Christ as the respective heads of the two world-orders of sin and death and righteousness and life; and as men do not and cannot attain salvation without connection with "the last Adam," so they are not conceived as bringing destruction upon themselves or as being naturally subject to death independently of "the first Adam." "As in Adam (*i. e.*, on the ground of Adam) all die, so in Christ shall all be made alive." For as by one man's disobedience many were made

sinners, so by the obedience of one shall many be made righteous" (1 Cor. 15:22; Rom. 5:19). If, however, under the new order men do not become righteous simply because of the righteousness of Christ and without their own choice, neither under the old order did Paul think them to be subject to death without their own acts of sin. Each representative head is conceived only as the occasion of the results of his work, on the one hand in the tragic order of death, and on the other in the blessed order of life—the occasion indispensable to all that follows in either order. It may be questioned whether Pfleiderer does not state the case too strongly when he says that the sin of Adam's posterity is regarded as "the necessary consequence" of the sin of the first man (*Paulinismus*, 2. Aufl., p. 54). It does not necessarily follow from the employment of the aorist ἥμαρτον that the sinning of all is conceived as contained in that of Adam, although this sense must be conceded as grammatically possible. It is not, however, the only grammatically defensible sense. The aorist is technically not used for the perfect, and "have sinned" may be an incorrect translation if one will be excessively exact. But strict accuracy is not always observed in the use of the aorist, and this tense is often employed when a connection with the present closely analogous to our perfect is intended. It would not be regarded as a gross inaccuracy to translate in Luke 1:1, ἐπεχείρησαν "have taken in hand," or to make one invited guest say in 14:19, "I have bought a field," and another, "I have married a wife." So in each case the Revised Version. Moreover, Paul himself says: "For all have sinned and are come short of the glory of God" (Rom. 3:23), where ἥμαρτον certainly does not denote such a definite past act filling only one point of time as is claimed for it in the passage in question, but means that all began to sin in some past time and have continued sinning till at the present, as before, they are in the condition mentioned. The perfect tense could not express this idea more clearly. In fact, the perfect of ἀμαρτάνω is rarely used in the New Testament and not at all by Paul except in the participial form, while the aorist is repeatedly employed in connections in which our perfect would



be the accurate equivalent (Luke 15:18, 21; Rom. 2:12; 1 Cor. 7:28, "if thou marry, thou hast not sinned," ἡμαρτες). In almost every place except Rom. 5:12 the revisers have rendered the aorist of ἁμαρτάνω by the perfect tense. Why not there?

The interpretation which we have given to Rom. 5:12 is the only one consistent with vss. 13 and 14, in which the apostle proceeds to establish the proposition that all individually sinned: "For until the law sin was in the world; but sin is not imputed when there is no law. Nevertheless death reigned from Adam until Moses even over them that had not sinned after the similitude of Adam's transgression." This does not mean, as Lipsius (in *Hand-Commentar*) will have it, and as Meyer maintains, that individuals were not punished by death for their actual sins, but by reason of the objective transference of the sin of Adam. This might be Paul's meaning in accordance with his doctrine that "without the law sin is dead" (Rom. 7:8), if a sin that is "dead" be punishable, but why should he take the trouble to state the obvious fact that sin which is not sin in fact and in form is not "imputed"? Meyer's remark on this point, which is irreconcilable with his interpretation of the passage as a whole, is that "in the absence of the law the action which in and by itself is unlawful is no *transgression* of the law and cannot, therefore, be brought into account *as such*." But that these "actions" performed under the universal reign of ἁμαρτία were regarded by Paul as individual sins is evident from Rom. 1:19-32; 2:12. They were violations of the inner law by those who knew "the judgment of God that they who commit such things are worthy of death" (Rom. 1:32). Besides, in the passage in hand he says of those who lived before the giving of the formal law that they had "sinned," although not like Adam by violating an express outward commandment. This certainly is not a sinning "in Adam." The death, then, that "reigned from Adam until Moses," reigned over all because "all sinned." Meyer remarks that the rabbinical writers derived universal mortality from the fall of Adam, all having sinned in him, and thinks that Paul's doctrine may have had its roots in his Jewish training. According to Weber, however, (*System*, pp. 240 f.) the Jewish

theologians found an antinomy in the two propositions that death came as the consequence of Adam's sin and that sin is not inheritable. They concluded accordingly that death has power over the individual only on the ground of his own sin. Paul's teaching also was that death came into the world as the penalty of Adam's offense, and that, since penalty can be conceived as inflicted only where there is actual sin, the death of his descendants, sin not being transmissible, was due to the fact that all had sinned. The death of innocent children is not taken into the account.

The difficulties which inhere in the Pauline doctrine of the origin of sin are not, however, cleared up by the passages thus far considered. It cannot be denied that in Rom. 5 : 12 ff. the apostle speaks of sin as though it had no existence in the world prior to Adam's transgression, and as though through the principle of solidarity "by some sort of continuity" the descendants of the progenitor were subject to sin and death through him. Such expressions as, "By one man's offense death reigned;" "By the offense of our judgment came upon all men to condemnation," and "By one man's disobedience many were made sinners" (Rom. 5 : 17, 18, 19), indicate that Adam's act is conceived, not as the act of an isolated individual from which no consequences follow to others, but as one fraught with such far-reaching tragic results as can proceed only from the head of the race, just as Christ's act of atonement extended to the whole series of his descendants in the spiritual order. In other words, the teaching appears to be that, just as grace could not "reign through righteousness unto eternal life" except "through Christ," "sin," and so "death" as its consequence, "reigned" primarily "by one" (Rom. 5 : 17, 21). If in these passages the origin of sin in the descendants of Adam appears to lie outside themselves, it is not in 2 Cor. 11 : 3 placed in the progenitors themselves, but in the serpent, or Satan, in which evil personality Paul evidently believed (Rom. 16 : 20 ; 1 Cor. 5 : 5 ; 7 : 5 ; 2 Cor. 2 : 11 ; 11 : 14). To the question raised by Sabatier (*L'Apôtre Paul*, 3<sup>me</sup> éd., 1896, p. 384): "Why, then, did not the apostle say that sin entered into the world with Satan and by him?" the

inquiry may be proposed to determine what he does mean to say here, if not precisely this. For, according to Sabatier himself, he here follows the Adamic legend in Genesis as an "authority," and that recognizes no sin either objective or subjective in the progenitors except through an outward seduction. On the other hand, according to a series of passages already quoted and elucidated, the apostle regards the origin of "formal" sin in the individual as due to "material" sin residing in the flesh in connection with the law which provokes and calls it into activity. He certainly ascribes to all the descendants of Adam an indwelling principle of sin which is "dead" until the law brings it to life. And this, too, despite the principle of solidarity and some sort of causal connection of the first sin with that which reigned in the world subsequent to Adam, he appears to regard as the natural condition of man. The first man, Adam, was only a "living soul" (*ψυχή*), was "earthly" (*χοϊκός*), and had not the spiritual quality of "the second man from heaven," otherwise he would not have sinned. In the divine order "that is not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural," and the *ψυχή* and the *πνεῦμα* represent the antithetic orders of life (1 Cor. 15:45 f.). "The natural (*ψυχικός*) man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God" (1 Cor. 2:14), *i. e.*, he is essentially *σαρκικός* because he is "of the flesh" (*σάρκινος*), and "no good thing" dwells in him, namely, in his flesh, but rather sin ready to manifest itself when the "occasion" is presented "through the commandment," and to "bring forth fruit unto death." It is a natural conclusion from these premises that one at least of the apostle's doctrines of the origin of sin was that it resided primarily in the nature of man and in "the first man Adam" as well as in his descendants. If this conception, so far as Adam is concerned, does not appear in the account of the first sin in Genesis, which he seems to accept in ascribing sin to the temptation or deception of Satan, then there is in this regard, if not an antinomy, at least a gap in his thought which he has not formally filled. That he believed the children of Adam to have "all sinned" in the same way and for the same reason, *i. e.*, because they had like him the evil

impulse in the flesh, is evident from the foregoing considerations. There is, then, no solution of the antinomy which is contained in this proposition and in the other that sin and death came to men through Adam, except on the assumption that their fleshly nature, their evil impulses, were inherited from him. But Paul nowhere intimates the doctrine that either the nature of Adam or that of his descendants underwent a change by reason of the first transgression. We must conclude, accordingly, that his teaching, as we have it, furnishes no means of resolving this paradox.

That the traditional doctrine of the fall of man is not taught by Paul is not only based upon exegesis, according to which such a teaching would be incompatible with the idea that man was originally "earthly," *i. e.*, the opposite of "spiritual," but also upon the natural and obvious philosophy of the matter derivable from the reasoning of the apostle. For assuming the premises from which he proceeds, the Eden legend, the absence of fleshly or sinful impulses in "the first man" leaves the beginning of sin inexplicable. That this difficulty inheres in the Genesis story, and that Paul appears once to have overlooked it, need not enter into the consideration. Enough, that it is a fundamental principle of his thought that only the man can be superior to the flesh and sin in whom dwells the life-giving Spirit imparted through Christ. Sin inheres in the flesh of the psychical or natural man, and it is from the fleshly nature that sin proceeds, that is, it is grounded in the original constitution of man. Sin did not make man fleshly through "the fall," but he sinned first, and has always sinned, because of the flesh. The law is spiritual, but man is carnal, sold under sin. According to the inner man he aspires and strives toward the service of God in which his mind delights, but the law in his members brings him into captivity to the law of sin and death which is in his members, so that he does what he would not and what he hates. "In no place," says Weizsäcker, "where the antithesis of flesh and spirit is broadly discussed is there any hint that the flesh, considered in its moral aspect, is a secondary growth (*ein gewordenes*). It is only its full moral influence that is to be thought of as a later development. . . . But the law is inca-

pable of attaining its object. It was weak on account of the flesh (Rom. 8:3). After all this there can hardly be a doubt that for Paul the antithesis of flesh and spirit ultimately rests on the nature of the flesh, that is, on the natural quality of man" (*Apost. Zeitalter*, p. 131; Eng. trans., Vol. I, p. 152).

We are thus led to the conclusion that according to a fundamental doctrine of Paul man cannot be regarded as naturally immortal. It was "by man" that death came, by "the first man," who was "earthly" and as such by nature doomed to corruption (*φθορά*). "In Adam all die." Life, incorruption, the glory of the blessed in the Messianic kingdom, the resurrection, pertain only to those who, through having accepted Christ, have "the earnest (pledge) of the Spirit," and who can hopefully wait for "the redemption" of their bodies (Rom. 8:23). Even believers, though possessing "the Spirit," are conceived as subject to physical death, and it was only when Christ should come for the resurrection that the dead would be "raised incorruptible," and the saints then living would "be changed" (1 Cor. 15:52). Incorruptibility belongs only to the kingdom of God, which "flesh and blood cannot inherit." The body, which is mortal by reason of having the flesh as its substance, becomes triumphant over death only when "quickened" by the indwelling Spirit of God. This is only another way of saying that the body of the believer conceived as a form will have at the resurrection an incorruptible spiritual substance, and will become, like that of Christ in his exalted state, a "body of glory." With this principle, which cannot be removed from the apostle's theology without leaving it a soulless body, it is not easy to reconcile his doctrine that death came into the world in consequence of Adam's transgression, that "by one man's offense death reigned by one" (Rom. 5:17), and that "death passed upon all because all sinned." Death is "the wages of sin," and the doctrine that it is imposed as a divine judgment for sin could not well be more explicitly expressed than it is in the words: "Therefore as by the offense of one judgment came upon all men to condemnation," etc. (Rom. 5:18), when the "offense" is the sin on account of which "death reigned" (vs. 17). We

have, then, the two propositions over against each other, (1) that man, being "of flesh" and "earthly," is naturally mortal, and (2) that his mortality is by reason of the divine judgment upon sin. It is true, as Sabatier remarks, that Paul does not say that "the physical law of death did not exist in the world before the sin of Adam." Neither does he say explicitly that Adam was by nature immortal, and would not have died if he had not sinned. But this proposition and its opposite are legitimate deductions from two series of passages. The same inconsistency existed in the later Jewish theology, which taught that Adam was created mortal, and yet in consequence of the fall became subject to death (Weber, *System*, pp. 214, 238). The Pauline antinomy cannot be solved; it can only be explained, as it has been, by supposing that two ways of regarding the subject were in the apostle's mind without reconciliation: the Pharisaic-Jewish, according to which death was a positive punishment of the definite transgression of Adam, and that corresponding to the old Hebraism as well as to Hellenism, according to which death was the natural consequence of the perishableness of all earthly material (so Pfleiderer, Holtzmann, Schmiedel, and others). The passage concerning "the groaning creation" (Rom. 8 : 19-22) is in accord with the ancient Hebrew tradition recorded in Gen. 3 : 17 as well as with the later Jewish theology. The latter taught that the earth had its part in the curse of Adam, so that not only human nature, but also the inanimate creation, underwent a change in consequence of the fall. The earth brought forth harmful insects, and the course of the planets was altered as a result of Adam's sin; their path was lengthened and their speed retarded (Weber, *System*, p. 216). An echo of this idea appears to be the teaching that "the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now," in "earnest expectation" waiting "for the manifestation of the Son of God"—the glorious revelation of their sonship which would be effected at the parousia, "the restoration of all things." That this condition of the creation is not conceived as inhering in its original constitution, but as imposed upon it from without, is evident from the expression, "on account of him who subjected" it, whether this one be man

effecting the result through sin, or God who did it "because his counsel and will had to be thus satisfied." The sin which struck man with mortality brought a malediction upon nature.

The objection to this construction of the Pauline theology, according to which sin is conceived as arising out of the natural fleshly impulse of human nature in conjunction with the divine law, that it makes God the author of sin, though not "scientific" from the point of view of exegesis, but dogmatic, may well have a brief consideration, because its discussion will throw light upon the apostle's hamartiology. If man was originally of "flesh" (*σάρκινος*), "earthy" (*χοϊκός*), and "psychical" (*ψυχικός*), so that sin must immediately "revive" when the commandment comes, and if the power of this inherent *ἀμαρτία* was so great that its desolating sway has been universal, it would appear to be a valid inference that sin is a part of the divine order (Rom. 9:13, 17, 18; 10:7; 11:32; Gal. 3:21, 22), a necessary result of the infirmity of the human constitution. In fact, according to the strenuous theism of Paul, God is the author of everything (Rom. 11:36; 1 Cor. 8:6). It is he who created "the first man," the psychical, earthy one (Rom. 9:20-22), and he also created the last Adam, "the life-giving Spirit," who was destined conditionally to restore all that the former had devastated. The apostle knows nothing of an absolute human freedom. On the one hand, the psychical man is powerless under the servitude to the flesh and its indwelling sinfulness (Rom. 7:14, 23). "The carnal mind is not subject to the law of God, neither indeed can be" (Rom. 8:7). Thus man cannot liberate and save himself. But, on the other hand, his salvation is effected by the supernatural intervention of the mighty Spirit of God, by whose power his spiritual life is just as certainly determined as his sinful activity was governed by the indomitable "carnal mind." The sons of God are "driven," impelled, determined in their living by the Spirit of God (*πνεύματι θεοῦ ἄγονται*, Rom. 8:14). If the unregenerate man is determined in his activity by the compelling flesh, the believer, who has the Spirit, acts under the compulsion of this supernal power, this masterful over-soul. "Since the days of the prophets no one had so strongly felt this constraint

of the divine thought upon man as Paul. If in general man regards the operations of his being as his free actions, believes that he pushes, and is pushed, is like a stone which is thrown, and thinks it flies, much more did the apostle clearly feel the flight of his spirit to be a cast from the hand of God" (Haus-rath, *Neutest. Zeitgesch.*, III, p. 113). Yet the apostle employs in unmistakable terms the language of freedom and responsibility. He condemns men for their transgressions, and exhorts them to the activities of obedience and righteousness quite as if he regarded them as free agents and moral beings in the libertarian sense. If all this denotes an antinomy in his thought, it is one which still lurks in our thinking, and which theistic philosophy has not yet been able to resolve.

The dark picture of the natural man's servitude to the flesh and his inability to do right is relieved by the doctrine of the *ἔσω ἄνθρωπος*, so that Paul cannot be charged with teaching the traditional dogma of total depravity. The flesh is not the whole man, despite Holsten's acute reasoning. There is delight in the law of God after the inner man, and the mind (*νοῦς*) renders a spontaneous service to the divine order of virtue, struggling against the fleshly impulses which reign in the members (Rom. 7:22 f.). While according to the apostle's philosophy of salvation the *νοῦς* is unable without the divine *πνεῦμα* to attain righteousness, and appears to be represented in Rom. 7:13-23 as consenting to the law that it is good and serving it, so far at least as a recognition of its demands and a desire to fulfill them are concerned, but still doing what it hates, there is, on the other hand, in passages written without the doctrinal pre-occupation which often leads him into extreme statements a recognition of man's ability to "do by nature the things contained in the law," even when the subjects are Gentiles who have only the inward law. It would, indeed, be a fruitful inquiry that should enable the expositors of Paul to determine to what extent a manifest polemic-dogmatic interest on his part in connection with the antinomies of his thought should incline them to regard one or the other member of them as expressing his deepest conviction. There is, however, only an apparent anti-



nomy in his teaching on the subject in question, and the importance of the right anthropological point of view to a comprehension of his doctrine is here apparent. The *νοῦς* is a part of man, and is to be distinguished from the divine *πνεῦμα*, which is elsewhere represented as striving against the flesh. The activity in the direction of the good which he here ascribes to the *νοῦς* renders his teaching on the subject of man's moral ability essentially different from Augustine's.

The dreadful consequences which Paul attaches to sin indicate the deep earnestness which underlay his teaching regarding its nature and operations. As has already been pointed out, the judgment upon sin is conceived as an immediate decree of God, a divine condemnation. The hard and impenitent heart treasures up "wrath" that will break forth "in the day of wrath," *i. e.*, at the judgment of the parousia which will manifest the divine "indignation and wrath," and bring "tribulation and anguish" upon evil-doers, then to be overwhelmed by the might of Him who "taketh vengeance" (Rom. 2:5, 8, 9; 3:5; 5:9; see also Eph. 5:6). This terrible judgment conceived and executed by almighty power denotes the dread significance of "death" (*θάνατος*) which is so frequently mentioned as the penalty of sin. This means not only the going out of existence of the physical body, of soul (*ψυχή*, life-principle of the flesh) and body, but also the exclusion of the individual from participation in the resurrection, his hopeless tarrying in the underworld, *hades*, the realm of the dead, if not the absolute destruction of his personality. The words "corruption" (*φθορά*), "destruction" (*ἀπώλεια*), and their corresponding verbs (*φθειρεσθαι* and *ἀπόλλυσθαι*) do not mean simply punishment and to punish, and do not convey the mere idea of temporal overthrow, but their proper sense is exclusion from existence as ordinarily understood, and in particular from the life of believers who alone, since they had "the Spirit," could hope for resurrection. It is not of great moment whether the terms signify the absolute extinction of being or simply exclusion from the resurrection, for according to the ideas of the time the sad and gloomy existence of shades in the underworld was scarcely to be preferred to annihilation. The

Jewish theology believed in the destruction of the wicked in gehenna, with discrimination against some (Weber, *System.*, pp. 374, 375). For Paul's use of the words see in particular Rom. 9:22; 1 Cor. 3:17. Such being the apostle's view of the fate of the wicked, it is evident that the doctrine of their endless punishment has no support in his writings, but that his thought on the matter is rather expressed by the *αἰφνίδιος ὄλεθρος* (swift destruction) of 1 Thess. 5:3.

The Pauline doctrine of sin considered by itself presents a gloomy view of human nature, life, and destiny—the indomitable flesh with its debasing appetites and passions; the law in the members in endless warfare against the law of the mind; the inner man which delights in the law of God engaged in a doubtful struggle with the powers of evil; and the universal reign of death in whose awful harvest the wicked are gathered to destruction. A full view of his thought requires a consideration of his doctrine of redemption, from which a gleam of hope is thrown upon this darkness, and in which the despairing exclamation, "O wretched man that I am," is answered by the cry of triumph, "Thanks be to God who giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ."

## THE THEOLOGY OF ALBRECHT RITSCHL.<sup>1</sup>

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ALBRECHT RITSCHL is the most prominent name in German theology at the close of the nineteenth century, as Schleiermacher was at its beginning. The eminent German theologians of the century were students of Schleiermacher, and his name appears in their writings more frequently than that of any other modern author; yet when his influence was greatest the number of his disciples in prominent professorships, in religious journalism, and in popular and scholarly theological literature was far inferior to those who compose the Ritschl school today. Professors Harnack, Kaftan, Herrmann, Schultz, Wendt are a few of the members of this school, whose power is specially felt in the universities, in some of which they control the theological

<sup>1</sup> A reference to the principal works used in the preparation of this article will enable the reader to understand the authority for the statements made. The author met Ritschl at Göttingen in 1865, and also knew some of his most eminent pupils, among them Harnack and Kaftan. The following books contain the theology of Ritschl: *Die christliche Lehre von der Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung*, three volumes, the first giving the history of the doctrine, the second the scriptural basis, and the third the system itself; *Unterricht in der christlichen Religion*, intended as a basis for religious instruction in gymnasia; and *Theologie und Metaphysik*, being a reply to attacks on his system, especially to those of Luthardt, Frank, and Weiss, and at the same time explaining the relation of his theology to philosophy. On these three works the article is based; but many others have been used. His earlier books and his *Geschichte des Pietismus* are not so essential for a knowledge of his system. A brief but clear exposition and defense of Ritschl's theology is given by Pastor Julius Thikoetter: *Darstellung und Beurtheilung der Theologie Albrecht Ritschl's*. The works of other disciples, particularly those of Herrmann, are also important. An elaborate critique of Ritschl's philosophical basis is given by L. Staehlin: *Kant, Lotze und Ritschl*, translated by Dr. D. W. Simon, Edinburgh. Professor Pfeiderer, Berlin, the liberal theologian, subjects to keen criticism the philosophical and theological views of Ritschl in *Die Ritschl'sche Lehre*.

The references to Ritschl's works are always made to the first edition. Numerous changes were made in the later editions, but they do not affect the essential elements of his system.

faculty. The activity of the members is marvelous and embraces all departments of religious thought and life. The interest excited by the new theology extends to the orthodox and the various shades of liberalism, to Catholics as well as Protestants, to members of the Greek church and to such as make no religious profession, and to America as well as to the different countries of Europe.

Theologians who are not familiar with the German language find it difficult to form a clear conception of this system. The style of Ritschl is involved, and many of his sentences are untranslatable. He used old terms, but not always in the old sense. Both in method and doctrine he breaks with traditionalism and proposes to inaugurate a new era in theology. Even in its native land theologians dispute about the meaning and tendency of this system, and Ritschl and his followers have frequently complained that they are misunderstood and misrepresented. For two decades their teachings have been subjects of violent controversy; and the attacks of the orthodox and liberals, and the defense by the Ritschlians, have not lessened the confusion. The time for a final decision on the merits of this theology has not come; we have not the needed perspective, and the advocates and opponents are too partisan. But whatever may be merely tentative in the way of criticism, the basis on which the system rests, its chief doctrines, and its relation to the traditional views can be given. Nor are the power and rapid spread of the new theology a mystery. It is in a peculiar sense a product of the times and for the times. Ritschl has produced one of the most important epochs in the religious thought of Germany since the days of Luther; and if this epoch is to be understood it must be studied in connection with its age and its immediate environment. It is as true of Ritschl as of Luther, Spener, Wesley, and Schleiermacher, that his teachings are an expression and interpretation of dominant factors in his age; and it is chiefly to this fact that we must attribute their rapid spread.

1. *The fundamental conceptions of Ritschl's theology.*—The religious and theological training of Ritschl belongs to that

period of criticism and negation when the most scholarly attacks known to history were made on the person and the teachings of Jesus Christ. Born in Berlin, March 25, 1822, he studied at the universities of Bonn, Halle, Heidelberg, and Tübingen. F. C. Baur, the learned founder and leader of the Tübingen school, was agitating theology by his radical criticism of the books of the New Testament and of the character of the primitive church. In 1835 Strauss published his *Leben Jesu*, in which he attempted to reduce the most essential elements in the life of Jesus to myths. Sixty years after the appearance of that book we can form but a faint conception of the excitement and even consternation which it caused in theological and religious circles. The theological literature of the day teemed with christological discussions; all the eminent evangelical theologians wrote in defense of the genuineness of the picture given of Christ in the gospels; in every university the life of Jesus was an absorbing theme; the very attacks made the church aware of the value of the person of Christ. This was the atmosphere in which Ritschl spent his student life. At Bonn he came under the influence of Nitzsch, who aimed to unite into one system dogmatics and ethics, which were usually treated separately, and who emphasized love as the essential element of religion. He came in contact with Tholuck at Halle, and gave this significant criticism of the eminent theologian: "Tholuck is scientifically incommensurable. . . . The one fixed thing in him is his subjectivity." He was evidently more deeply influenced by Erdmann, the Hegelian professor of philosophy at Halle, than by Tholuck. Hegel's philosophy was, indeed, losing its prestige in Germany, but was still studied eagerly in universities. Baur and Strauss and the whole Tübingen school adopted its principles both in their destructive criticism and their constructive work. The theological negations attributed to Hegelianism were prominent factors in ending the reign of this philosophy. Under Erdmann, and later under Baur, Ritschl was affected by Hegelian speculation, but, in common with the trend of the times, he experienced a reaction against its abstractions and its dogmatism. Near the close of his life, in criticising the views of an opponent who

insisted on conceiving God as the Absolute, he exclaimed: "The Absolute! How sublime the sound! Dimly only do I remember that this word occupied my thoughts in youth, when the Hegelian terminology threatened to draw me as well as others into its vortex. It is long ago, and the word has become strange to me since I found that it contained no fruitful thought."<sup>2</sup>

Ritschl was attracted to the University of Tübingen by the fame of Baur, particularly by his *History of the Doctrine of the Atonement*, published in 1838. Although he was not one of Baur's most devoted pupils, his first works were written in the critical spirit of the Tübingen school, *The Gospel of Marcion and the Canonical Gospel of Luke*, 1846, and *The Origin of the Old Catholic Church*, 1850. He was too independent a thinker to remain long under Baur's leadership. Renewed study convinced him that the speculative basis and philosophical constructions of the Tübingen school are false, and that its criticism is one-sided and more destructive than the facts warrant. He passed through the school and abandoned it, and his knowledge of its principles enabled him the more successfully to attack them. In 1857 he published the second edition of *The Origin of the Old Catholic Church*, and stated in the preface that he was obliged to antagonize the conclusions of the Tübingen school "principally and radically." He rejected the theory that the conflict between the original apostles and Paul with respect to the Judaistic element in Christianity determined the character of the literature of the New Testament and of the early church; and instead of accepting with that school only Romans, Corinthians, and Galatians, as Pauline epistles, he defended the genuineness of nearly every book in the New Testament.

It is not necessary for our purpose to trace the career of Ritschl. His studies, his lectures, his books, and the development of his system so absorbed his time and energies that he had little left for practical affairs. He became *Privat-Dozent* in the University of Bonn in 1846, professor extraordinary 1853, and professor ordinary 1860. From 1864 until his death, March 20, 1889, he was professor of dogmatic theology in the

<sup>2</sup> *Theologie und Metaphysik*, p. 16.

University of Göttingen. It was during the twenty-five years spent at this institution that he completed his system and formed what is known as the Ritschl, or Göttingen, school.

About the middle of this century there occurred a reaction against speculative philosophy in Germany similar to that which Ritschl experienced respecting Hegel's system and the philosophical basis of the school of Baur. The fifty years from the appearance of Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason*, in 1781, till the death of Hegel, in 1831, are without a parallel in philosophical speculation. Empirical investigations were depreciated by thinkers like Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel, and God and man and the universe were to be interpreted by metaphysics. So unsatisfactory, however, were the results that the very name of philosophy fell into disrepute. Its teachings were looked upon as vague and uncertain, its study was pronounced fruitless, and scholars questioned whether it has a specific sphere and definite objects, and whether its realm is not fiction instead of reality. The great change which now occurred put empirical investigation in place of metaphysical speculation. The reign of natural science began, promoted by the definiteness of its objects, the mathematical exactness of its method, and the finality of its results, and by its marvelous discoveries and their practical application to the arts. A demand for realism followed idealism; what reason had failed to discover was now thought to lie within the province of the senses and experience, so that sensationalism and empiricism took the place of rationalism, and the subjectiveness which philosophy was supposed to have fostered gave way to the clamor for objective realism. The scientific method became so dominant that it was made the test for the human disciplines as well as for natural science. History, psychology, philosophy, ethics, theology, and religion were to be made scientific, and if this was not possible their value and validity were questioned. An era of naturalism prevailed during which materialism was spread among the cultured and the masses. As Lotze said, it was strange that the mind, the only object which can interpret matter, should lose itself in matter. Unless atheism was openly avowed,

agnosticism respecting spiritual objects was professed extensively in scholarly circles.

One system retained its hold on scholars during this period of the disintegration of philosophical schools, that of Kant. It is not his entire system which is conserved in neo-Kantianism, but only what is known as his theory of knowledge. His ethical principles, his acceptance of God, freedom, and immortality, and many of his speculations, are rejected; but so much of his philosophy as harmonizes with the modern empirical and scientific trend is retained. Kant is commonly regarded as the great metaphysician; but he, more than any other thinker, destroyed metaphysic, showing that speculations about objects which transcend experience are not within the limits of human reason. We may have ideas which transcend experience, but we have no means of demonstrating the existence of real objects which correspond with these ideas. We can never tell what things are in themselves or *per se* (*das Ding an sich*). We receive certain impressions; there are appearances or phenomena in consciousness; we cannot go beyond these to the things which produce them. Our world, therefore, is phenomenal, a world of appearances. Kant himself, while thus limiting the speculative reason, left a large and valid sphere for what he called the practical reason. In one place he says that he found it necessary to destroy knowledge, or what was taken for knowledge, in order to find room for faith. He aimed to substitute rigorous criticism for unfounded metaphysic and arrogant intellectual dogmatism. Kant has been called "the all-crushing one," and his system is properly designated the "critical philosophy." No other thinker has an equal share in making the critical spirit and method dominant in modern thought.

The situation thus outlined is essential for understanding the basis of Ritschl's theology. For this basis we go to his own experience and to the age. He abandoned the traditional theology when he entered the Tübingen school; when he left that school and rejected its speculations he was obliged to determine his philosophical status and lay the foundation for his faith and his theology. It was evident to him that in the early church,



in the Middle Ages, and since the days of Descartes, too much influence had been exerted on theology by philosophy. Especially was this influence felt in Germany, where theologians have so often been designated as Kantian or Hegelian, and where a philosophical system rather than revelation was frequently made the determining factor. This was recognized by Schleiermacher, and he desired to make religion and theology more independent of philosophy, but was himself too much of a philosopher to accomplish this aim.

The statement so often made that Ritschl opposes philosophy is a mistake. What he opposes is the determination of the character of religious doctrines by means of any philosophical system. He admits that every theologian requires a theory of knowledge as the basis of his investigations and for the construction of his system. The problem for solution, therefore, was how to give theology the most solid foundation and the best logical form, without permitting philosophy to pervert the teachings of religion. His main contention is that metaphysic ought to be banished from religion and theology; but metaphysic is not the whole of philosophy. His opposition to speculation in religious matters is emphatic and fundamental for his system. Theoretical knowledge, he holds, cannot discover spiritual objects or judge them; all that pertains to religion must be determined religiously and practically. Reason cannot find a basis for religion or prove the existence of God; its efforts to do so he regards as a perversion of religion. There is, he says, no natural religion, no natural theology. By thus assigning to religion a sphere peculiar to itself, he claims that it lies beyond the domain of philosophy and science, and cannot be affected by their attacks.

By far the most important point in Ritschl's relation to philosophy is his theory of knowledge. These two problems were to be solved: What are the conditions for attaining certainty in religious doctrines? What method shall prevail in theology? It was common for theologians to follow the *a priori* or deductive method; with the help of philosophy some principles or ideas were postulated as final, and from these the theological

system was deduced. If the principles or ideas were questioned, the entire system was invalidated.

Ritschl's experience in the Hegelian philosophy and the school of Baur, and a study of the existing state of theology, convinced him that this method gives no secure basis. Recognizing the validity of empirical knowledge, he turned from speculation to experience for the substance of religious truth. He is so afraid of speculation and theory that he never ventures far beyond the knowledge obtained directly through experience. If reason has free play with this empirical knowledge, it may put empty abstractions and deceitful fictions for the practical truth needed in religion.

Through the influence of Kant and Lotze, the latter his colleague for many years in the University of Göttingen, he denied that we have, or can have, any knowledge of what things are in themselves. Our religious world is phenomenal; aside from the phenomena we know nothing about spiritual objects. Metaphysic as ontology deals with things *per se*, with the nature of objects as distinct from the phenomena in consciousness; it has nothing to do with religion and must be wholly excluded from theology. We know what impressions we receive in religion; we can define them as spiritual; but we can form no conception of what spirit itself is. The impressions received are ultimate for us; we cannot know being, substance, or essence. Ontology is impossible.

It is evident that thus the old metaphysical basis of theology is gone. Theologians were accustomed to speak confidently and dogmatically of the nature of God and of the human soul. This nature of God and the divine attributes thought to inhere in this nature were made the seed from which theology was developed. The greatness of the revolution at which Ritschl aimed is seen in the fact that he pronounces such a conception of God a fiction; it is ontological, not religious or theological. God was usually defined as the Absolute; for this there is no warrant, he said. What shall religious thought do with the Absolute? God thus becomes the Unrelated One; but every thought of God that has significance for us brings him into practical relation with us. At

best, speculation on the nature of God ends in pantheism. Ritschl, therefore, rejects all speculation and theory about the being of God, and says that the cosmological and teleological arguments can give no conception of his nature or demonstration of his existence.

What, then, is the criterion of religious truth? In Ritschl's answer we discover the strong influence of Lotze. Lotze still more than Kant emphasizes the ethical factor in philosophy. He teaches that for us the question of supreme importance is not what things are in themselves—a question which in reality does not concern us—but how they are related to us. Theoretical knowledge, according to Lotze, aims solely at the truth; but in ethics we aim at determining questions of value. Our ethical judgments are value-judgments (*Werth-Urtheile*). Ritschl agrees with Lotze respecting these value-judgments, and applies them to religion as well as to ethics. Thus, instead of the usual intellectual or speculative tests, his criterion of religious objects is their value for us. The existence of God cannot be demonstrated by the reason; but we need him, and this is evidence enough for his existence. Here the matter rests. It might be argued that we are so made that what is really adapted to our nature cannot deceive us, but must be true; for Ritschl, however, this would be too theoretical, and he makes no effort to show why value-judgments are final. If what is practical is ultimate, then it is inconsistent to go to theoretical knowledge for the demonstration of what is practical. Otto Ritschl, the son of Albrecht, has, however, written a book to show that our judgments ultimately rest on judgments of value.

2. *The theological doctrines.* (a) *The Scriptures.*—Religion in its purity, without the admixture of any foreign element, is the aim of Ritschl. After dismissing speculation, natural religion, and natural theology, he finds but one source of religion left, and that is revelation. Christianity is the perfect religion; Jesus Christ is its author; and he is the source of the revelation. Ritschl does not attempt to explain how Jesus obtained this revelation; he treats it as an ultimate fact. The value of this revelation is the final appeal; and its value is evident

from its effect on the first disciples and on humanity since their day.

While he proposes to base theology wholly on the revelation given in Christ, he rejects the traditional views of inspiration. He puts no theory of his own in their place, and regards any theory on the subject as not only useless, but an actual hindrance to theology.

He makes the significance of the Old Testament consist in the fact that it prepares the way for the New Testament. Its teachings are not in themselves authoritative for us; only what is distinctly recognized and developed in the New is of abiding value. Even the contents of the New Testament must be used critically.<sup>3</sup> A view which stands isolated as that of an individual author may not be authoritative; the test of validity is the consensus of the writers or the fact that a doctrine was held by the early church. In his own exegesis he exercises great freedom in the use of the teachings of the New Testament. In every instance the theologian must determine by critical investigation and comparison what shall be received as an integral part of Christian doctrine. But the aim of criticism is a valid knowledge of Christianity and the construction of the system of Christian truth. We can best define his method by designating it as critically constructive. The fact that a doctrine fits in the general system of Christian truth is naturally a decisive evidence in its favor.

We have no writings by Jesus himself, the source of all revelation; how, then, do we obtain a knowledge of his teachings? From the testimony of the disciples. From this we learn the immediate effect of his doctrine. In the consciousness of the first disciples and of the early church we have a reflection of the consciousness of Christ. In this way we get the Christian religion in its pure form; later it was perverted by the introduction of philosophical views from Plato and Aristotle.

<sup>3</sup> In *Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung*, Vol. II, p. 15, Ritschl says that "the theology which wants to learn the Christian religion from its original sources depends solely on the writings of the New Testament. If the thoughts of the apostles can be proved to have been influenced in subordinate matters by apocryphal works, then, of course, they are not authoritative for theology."

The intimate relation between the Old Testament and the New gives Ritschl a criterion for making an important distinction between the literature of the primitive church and of a later period. The Christian writers who succeeded the apostles professed to adopt their views, but they fail to place themselves so directly on the Old Testament. The intimate relation of a book to the Old Testament is, therefore, evidence in favor of its apostolic origin or of its belonging to the productions of the primitive church.

(b) *Jesus Christ*.—The central thought with respect to Christ in Ritschl's system is the fact that he is the embodiment and source of the Christian revelation and founder of the kingdom of God. So far as the nature of Christ is concerned, we have a direct application of Ritschl's claim that things in themselves cannot be known. All questions pertaining to the nature or the substance of the person of Christ are dismissed as irrelevant. This removes from consideration that part of the christological problem which has so long been regarded as fundamental for theology, namely, the relation of Christ's nature to that of the Father. He, indeed, emphasizes Christ's oneness with the Father and makes this the ground of the validity of the Christian doctrines; but this unity with the Father is not a metaphysical judgment respecting the substance of Christ's person, of which we know nothing; it only means that the will of Christ is the same as that of God. Christ realizes the purpose of God, and Christ's work is God's work; therefore he is called the Son of God, therefore the attributes of divinity are ascribed to him, and he is revered as divine.

Ritschl's exegesis of John 10: 30; 17: 11, 21, 22, is significant. Here Christ affirms his oneness with the Father; but in the latter passages the oneness with the Father has its analogy in the unity of believers. Believers, however, are not one in substance, but in disposition, in will, in aim; therefore Ritschl argues that the same kind of unity must exist between God and Christ.

The specific purpose which is declared to make Christ one with God is his aim to establish the kingdom of God. In this mission of Christ all his aims and labors are concentrated, so

that in the establishment of the kingdom we behold the culmination and completion of his work. The purpose of God to establish the kingdom is already manifest in the Old Testament, but what other prophets only foretold Jesus, the royal prophet, actually accomplishes. "Jesus does not stop where the other prophets did, at the proclamation of the nearness of God's kingdom, but he is the prophet who, by means of his peculiar activity, at last actually establishes the reign of God. . . . It is in his prophetic activity that he is the embodiment of the divine reign, and in respect to his peculiar relation to God his Father he is superior to David."<sup>4</sup>

The practical aspect of Christ is thus the absorbing one, namely, the activity of Christ, which Ritschl calls the ethical view. He holds that the reality of a personal life consists solely in its action; therefore Christ's activity is the sole test of his relation to the Father. "Whoever can say of himself that his continuous official activity is the work of God proves by his very life-work the claimed unity with God."<sup>5</sup>

Christ's place is unique. He alone is the founder of the kingdom which others had foretold and whose benefits are shared by multitudes. This uniqueness of Christ does not, however, imply that he is unapproachable by others in character. Ritschl says that, when Christ is called divine, we are not to suppose that he is absolutely exalted above the members of his church. The attribute of divinity ascribed to him is to be taken as a guarantee that the whole of human nature can be made divine.<sup>6</sup> In one respect, however, Christ is unapproachable: the

<sup>4</sup> HERZOG, *Real-Encyclopaedie*, 2d ed.; "Reich Gottes," an article by Ritschl.

<sup>5</sup> *Theologie und Metaphysik*, p. 28.

<sup>6</sup> *Unterricht*, p. 22. Ritschl states that the grace, the faithfulness, and the victory over the world, manifested in Christ's life and death, are the very attributes of God which are significant for the Christian religion. And as these divine attributes are found in Christ, we can call him divine. "Dabei ist vorbehalten, dass die Gottheit Christi nicht als Ausdruck eines absoluten Abstandes seiner Person von den Gliedern seiner Gemeinde verstanden werde. Vielmehr ist jenes Attribut ursprünglich so gemeint, dass die Gottheit Christi für die Vergöttung der ganzen menschlichen Natur unmittelbare Bürgschaft leiste." On p. 46 Ritschl states that the Protestant is free from the fear respecting God which animates the Catholic; and in order to have the courage to seek the righteousness of the kingdom of God he needs no other guarantee than "the grace of God revealed in the man Jesus Christ."

glory of establishing the kingdom belongs exclusively to him. No one before him entered into that intimate relation with God which enabled him to manifest so fully the divine will as Christ did. God is seen in the aim of Jesus to save the human family by establishing this kingdom. In the steadfastness of this aim and in the victory over the world which Christ proclaims as his mission we have the proof of his oneness with the Father. No opposition of the world, not even his crucifixion, can affect this union with God. Ritschl uses various expressions to indicate Christ's relation to the Father, but the meaning of all is that his life-work, the establishment of the kingdom, is God's work, and therefore he and the Father are one.

This oneness with God gives peculiar significance to the word of Jesus. No less in his word than in his work is he a manifestation of God. Jesus gives the perfect revelation of the perfect religion. In the study of the New Testament it must be our aim to get the testimony of Christ as the revelation of God.<sup>7</sup>

There is no place in this scheme for the orthodox view of Christ's death. This will become more evident when we consider Ritschl's doctrine of God and of sin. The atonement and the system of redemption based on it are eliminated. The death of Christ belongs to the purpose of his life to do the will of God; it is an evidence of his faithfulness, and proves that all the powers of the world cannot affect his purpose to establish the kingdom of God. The church sees in the crucifixion the demonstration that Christ's confidence in the Father was unbounded and that his victory over the world was complete. The death of Christ on the cross is for the believer the strongest motive for trusting God, for faithfulness in the discharge of duty,

<sup>7</sup>In one place Ritschl says: "Now Jesus, in that he is the first to make real in his own life the aim of God's kingdom, is for this reason peculiar, because everyone accomplishing just as perfectly the same aim would be dependent of him, and, therefore, would be unlike him. Therefore, as the archetype of the human beings who are to be so united as to form the kingdom of God, he is the original object of God's love, so that the very love of God to the members of the kingdom is mediated solely through him. If, therefore, this person (Christ), devoted to a peculiar calling, animated by the constant motive of disinterested love for humanity, is properly appreciated, he will be recognized as the perfect revelation of God as love, grace, and faithfulness."

and for striving to overcome the world. The Father gives his approval of Christ's work by raising him from the dead.

The work of Christ is viewed chiefly as prophetic. But as Christ not merely submits to the will of the Father, but freely chooses that will, even unto death, for the sake of establishing the kingdom of God, he sacrifices himself for the sake of the church, and therefore he is a priest. Through the victory gained over the world by the kingdom he establishes we have the kingly office of Christ.

By the preëxistence of Christ Ritschl understands that God from eternity loved Christ as the one who should come into the world as the founder of the kingdom. Jesus has no actual, personal existence before his birth at Bethlehem; but he existed in the divine mind because God foresaw and foreordained his coming. Ritschl has nothing to say with respect to Christ's sitting at the right hand of God. It is something of which we can have no experience, and, therefore, it has no significance for us. Christ is, however, still active on earth; that is, the kingdom which he established continues the work which he began. All our knowledge of Christ is confined to his historic manifestation on earth.<sup>8</sup>

Ritschl's Christology is dominated by his theory of value-judgments. The supreme consideration is what Christ is to us and does for us, his value for our hearts and life. He saves us from the dominion of the world and brings us to God, and that is enough. What Christ does for us is made the basis of all affirmations respecting him; but Ritschl limits these affirmations to what is recognized as having some practical bearing. Theories which transcend estimates of value he rejects. Large spheres of the old theology are assigned by him to the realm of agnosticism. Respecting eschatology, whether based on Christ's discourses or the teachings of the apostles, he has little to say. His system does not include an extended or definite escha-

<sup>8</sup> "Now, Christ is manifest to us neither as preëxistent nor as exalted on the right hand of God, but solely as he appeared in his earthly life; and his action on men in the state of exaltation is nothing more than a continuance of the action of his historical appearance — of his phenomenal existence and life on earth." STAHLIN, *Kant, Lotze und Ritschl*, p. 224.



tology. We can confidently leave the future to the love of the Father.

(c) *The doctrine of God.*—How little Ritschl can avoid theorizing is evident from his account of the source of religion; but when he does theorize on ethics and religion, he generally states that what is thus learned is equally established by practical considerations. Theological speculation has heretofore been especially prominent in the discussion of the doctrine of God, and Ritschl's attempt to do away with speculation in theology becomes most marked in his treatment of this doctrine. He teaches that God cannot be known by means of worldly wisdom, but solely through the revelation given in Christ. He goes farther and says: "If a Christian attempts to obtain metaphysical knowledge of God, he abandons his Christian standpoint and takes the standpoint which, in general, corresponds with the position of heathenism."<sup>9</sup>

Man is a part of nature, subject to its laws, and limited and oppressed by the natural objects about him; but he also has spiritual energies which distinguish him from material objects and point to a supernatural destiny. It is in this contrast in man that the source of religion is found. By means of the idea of God and by putting man into relation with God this contrast in human nature becomes more marked, and the conflict between the aspiration of the soul and the depressing influence of material things is intensified. The significance of the idea of God consists in the fact that it frees man from the dominion of nature and enables him to realize his aspirations. Ritschl defines religion as "the spiritual organ of man which, with God's help, is to free him from the ordinary natural limitations of his being."<sup>10</sup> God thus becomes the means of attaining what man recognizes as the chief end of his existence. "Every religious conception is based on the fact that the human mind distinguishes itself in some degree, so far as value is estimated, from the surrounding phenomena and the influences of nature. All religion is an interpretation of the course of the world; and

<sup>9</sup> *Theologie und Metaphysik*, p. 9.

<sup>10</sup> *Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung*, Vol. III, p. 174.

according to this interpretation the exalted Power which rules in or over this course maintains the worth of the personal spirit against the limitations of nature and against the natural effects of human society." <sup>11</sup>

This purely practical aim of religion is fully realized in the conception of God given by Christ. From Christ we learn what God does for us; he is estimated according to his value in enabling us to attain our destiny. Ritschl claims that the essence of God is love, and that this conception of him is exhaustive and the means of interpreting all the divine attributes. This love involves his personality; also his omnipotence and omniscience, for otherwise he could not execute his loving purpose. Ritschl teaches that no other doctrine respecting God is required than that he is love and that he purposes to establish his kingdom of love through Christ, the eternally Beloved One.

As thus absorbed by the idea of love, God must be viewed in his relation to men solely as intent on their salvation. God's holiness means his exaltation, his solitariness, not that he abhors sin; his righteousness does not demand punishment or satisfaction for guilt, but it means grace which seeks the sinner's redemption; wrath is not an attribute of God, but something which the sinner under conviction ascribes to God.

Human beings, or beings with something akin to God in them, are the objects of divine love. He cannot love the material world, because it is too different from him. Yet the world must be viewed from the standpoint of God as love, for he creates the material universe in order to accomplish his loving purpose to save men. The value of the world consists in the fact that it ministers to men as objects of God's love.

Ritschl teaches that it is not enough to define God as personality or as good. Instead of abstractions we want what is concrete and actual. It is essential that we know the quality of the divine personality and the specific direction of the divine will. Therefore he defines God as love in that he makes it his

<sup>11</sup> *Theologie und Metaphysik*, p. 7.

aim to train the human family for the kingdom of God, in which man is to reach his supernatural destiny.<sup>12</sup>

(d) *Man*.—In what might be called his anthropology Ritschl's conception of sin is fundamental. He rejects the doctrine of natural and total depravity taught by Augustine and the reformers of the sixteenth century. "Neither Jesus nor any writer of the New Testament hints or presupposes that through natural generation sin is made general; the passages of the Old Testament which approach this view are not doctrinal and no law for the Christian conception."<sup>13</sup> Nothing in our nature or destiny implies that sin is inevitable, and we must admit the possibility of a sinless life. "Therefore the sinlessness of Jesus is not in conflict with his human nature."<sup>14</sup> But while men are not born with or in sin, there is a possibility and strong probability of sinning. The will which ought to choose the good has no perfect knowledge of the good; it is attracted to the world and comes under the dominion of material things; in human society it comes in contact with sin and is perverted. Sin thus comes in the process of the individual's development, and manifests itself particularly in the form of selfishness. So far as we can learn from observation, sin is universal. We can designate this reign of sin as the kingdom of sin, in distinction from the kingdom of God. Man being ignorant of the good, selfish, controlled by material interests, his sin means alienation from God; it prevents the union of men in the kingdom of God, and it hinders the promotion of God's glory by means of this kingdom. This sinful tendency can be overcome only by the complete subjection of the will of man to the will of God, whereby the world is conquered and the exalted destiny of the soul attained.

We cannot ascribe the punishment of sin to any direct act of God, similar to the sentence of a criminal by an earthly judge. The punishment for sin consists in the natural conse-

<sup>12</sup> "Gott ist also die Liebe, insofern als er seinen Selbstzweck setzt in die Heranbildung des Menschengeschlechts zum Reiche Gottes als der überweltlichen Zweckbestimmung der Menschen selbst." (*Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung*, Vol. III, p. 242.)

<sup>13</sup> *Unterricht*, p. 30.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 31.

quences of sin ; these consequences can be viewed only as divine punishment for sin so far as God is the creator and ruler of the world. Sin thus punishes itself. Through his attachment to the world the sinner excludes himself from communion with God and prevents the attainment of the true aim of life, and that means punishment. Sin is an affair of the disposition as well as of the life ; but inasmuch as the sinner does not fully know the good or the effects of his conduct, we must judge sin as essentially ignorance.

How, now, are we to conceive the process of redemption ? It is a process which takes place exclusively in man ; it has no effect whatever on God, who is unchangeable. The external significance of redemption consists in taking the sinner from the dominion of the world and making him a member of the kingdom of God. Since God is love, he needs no reconciliation, but is always ready to receive the sinner into communion with himself. The sinner's conversion ends his alienation from God ; that is, he reconciles himself to God, not God to him. Christ's redemptory work thus affects man, but has no effect on God's relation to man. Jesus by means of his teaching, his life, and his death reveals God as love, showing that the Father waits to welcome the sinner. When the sinner finds himself mistaken in viewing God as angry with him and learns that God loves him, his enmity ceases and his attitude to God changes from alienation to communion. Thus sin viewed as ignorance is overcome by the removal of this ignorance in the act of conversion. A change in disposition is, however, also involved. The sinner now recognizes God as his Father, responds with love to God's love, and chooses the kingdom with its purpose of love as his kingdom. Christ is the mediator in so far as he reveals God and establishes the kingdom of God ; he is to the sinner the personification and image of God, the embodiment of the divine love and purpose of redemption, the Logos in whom are revealed the reason and will of the Father. The sinner is saved through the faith which only Christ makes possible.

In Ritschl's theology, therefore, we must interpret atonement, redemption, reconciliation, justification, salvation, and

similar terms, as involving a change which takes place in man when regenerated and converted, a change which affects his relation to God, to the world, and to the kingdom of God, but which does not affect the purpose, the attitude, or the will of God.

Conversion must be viewed as a continuous process, whose genuineness is attested by the believer's faithfulness in his specific calling. Christian perfection can be attained by the humblest servant as well as by the most exalted dignitary in the church. Ritschl has no sympathy with a quietistic or ascetic life; our calling in this world is to be viewed as from God, and faithfulness in it is the proof of Christian character. Christ's faithfulness unto death is the model. The religious life is action; but its activity is based on perfect confidence in the Father and on the assurance of the richest blessings in the performance of duty. As theology exists for the sake of religion, and as religion exists for man's welfare, so we find that Ritschl emphasizes the comforting, sustaining, and helpful elements in Christianity. According to him the religious view of the world regards God as having all the forces of nature under his control for the help of man. Miracles are declared to be striking natural phenomena in which the believer experiences special help from God, and which are to be considered as peculiar evidences of God's readiness to extend his grace to his children. Miracles are, therefore, involved in faith in God's providence, but have no other significance. A miracle always presupposes faith. "Whoever has religious faith will experience miracles in himself, and in comparison with these nothing is less necessary than to be concerned about miracles which others have experienced."<sup>13</sup> In other words, for speculative or theoretical knowledge miracles have no significance.

(e) *The kingdom of God.*—To Ritschl belongs the credit of giving prominence to the kingdom of God, which had long been neglected by theologians. The prominence given to this subject almost warrants us in calling his system the theology of the kingdom. Thikoetter says that the kingdom of God is the leading

<sup>13</sup> *Unterricht*, pp. 13-14.

principle of this theology, that it is the highest good, and the central religious and ethical idea from which the whole of systematic divinity must be developed. The kingdom of God as the ultimate divine purpose "determines creation, redemption, and sanctification."<sup>16</sup> In distinction from the individualistic tendency which has been a marked feature of Protestantism, we have in the new theology a striking religious socialism.

Ritschl is radically opposed to mysticism or the attempt of the individual to revel in direct personal communion with God. Such communion he regards as too subjective, as liable to deception, and as the occasion of fanaticism. The Christian is declared to sustain no immediate relation to Christ; the only relation he sustains to him is through the congregation of believers. The believer as an individual is not the object of God's love, but the totality or congregation of believers; the individual Christian is partaker of this love only so far as he is a member of this congregation. Even the assurance of pardon can come only through union with the church. "The forgiveness of sin is not a blessing which each one has perpetually to achieve anew through individual conviction of sin and of need, but the totality of the religious congregation possesses the highest good, and of this the individual becomes a possessor by belonging to that congregation."<sup>17</sup> Ritschl says that, as God can be known only through Christ, so can he be known only through membership in the church. The church is the mediator of all the truth and grace which come from the Father through Christ. The congregation of believers thus takes the place on earth which Christ occupied during his earthly life, so that only through this congregation is any Christian knowledge or Christian relation possible. "Justification or redemption, inasmuch as it is positively dependent on the historical manifestation and activity of Christ, applies first of all to the totality of that religious congregation which Christ established; and it applies

<sup>16</sup> *Darstellung und Beurtheilung der Theologie Albrecht Ritschl's.*

<sup>17</sup> *Thikoetter, l. c.*, p. 18. Just before the quotation the author says that the believer recognizes the church as possessing the power to forgive sin, "*die Besitzerin der Sündenvergebung.*"

to individuals only in so far as by means of faith in the gospel they join this congregation."<sup>18</sup>

By thus making the church the repository of all truth and grace, and the individual Christian absolutely dependent on the church, Ritschl subjected himself to the charge of advocating the papal view. His claim for the church is not inferior to that of Catholicism; but his view of the church itself is different. He does not regard it as an external institution subject to legal enactments and obligatory ordinances and hierarchical rule, but as invisible, spiritual, the communion of saints. It is the true church of Christ of which he affirms that only through it can redemption be attained. It is a far more serious charge that the absolute dependence of the believer on the church robs him of the greatest blessing of direct communion with God. Ritschl, however, thinks it a gain in that it avoids mystical and pietistic fanaticism and the perversion of the true intent of religion.

The church, in its external form, embraces hypocrites and sinners, and, therefore, cannot be identified with the communion of saints. But, in the sense used above, as an invisible organism of true believers, the members of the church are the same as those who constitute the kingdom of God. Ritschl, however, warns against identifying the church, even in this spiritual sense, with this kingdom. The persons are the same in both cases, but their functions differ in the kingdom and the church. Believers constitute the church as a body of worshipers. The church is an institution with established ordinances, and with organs, such as ministers and church officers, to make these ordinances effective. But believers, as constituting the kingdom of God, are not united for the sake of worship, but for the purpose of Christian activity, whose motive is love. The church is thus the sphere of Christian worship; the kingdom of God is the sphere of Christian action. The aim of the Christian activity which characterizes the kingdom is the promotion of the kingdom itself as the sum of divine grace and the means of promoting the glory of God and the welfare of men. The char-

<sup>18</sup> *Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung*, Vol. III, p. 120.

acter of the kingdom is supernatural; therefore, changes in earthly relations—in the family, in states, and human institutions generally—do not affect the kingdom, which is subject to divine, and not to earthly, laws. The believer cannot doubt that God's purpose of love will be realized in the final triumph of this kingdom and in eternal life.

Through membership in the kingdom the love of God, of Christ, and of the kingdom itself becomes the love of the individual Christian. Believers who belong to the kingdom obtain through it the same relation to the Father which Christ sustains to him.<sup>19</sup> By making the purpose of Christ their own, believers become like Christ. The activity of believers in the kingdom of God is identified by Ritschl with the work of the Holy Spirit, though at times he speaks of this Spirit as if representing an idea or a relation.

So much space has been taken in presenting the main features of Ritschl's theology that extended criticism is out of the question. With the system before him each one can form an estimate of its value and of its relation to the traditional views. The purely practical aim, and the exclusion of theoretical knowledge, make us wonder whether it ought not to be called a system of religious truth or the teaching of Christianity, rather than theology. It is certainly not theology in the old sense, according to which the Christian doctrines are related to other departments of thought and justified against the attacks of philosophy and science.

No one who examines this new system of religious teaching can fail to recognize Ritschl's independence, originality, and great achievements. From 1857, at a time when destructive criticism thrust dogmatic studies into the background, he concentrated his attention on them, particularly on the cardinal doctrine of redemption, and devoted his assiduous life to theological construction. He had the gift of seizing and placing into the foreground those fundamental problems on which religion depends. Instead of following mechanically the old traditions, he recognized the demand for a revision of the prev-

<sup>19</sup> *Unterricht*, p. 3.



alent methods, and for a new beginning on a more solid basis. His conviction that philosophy, with its ever-changing systems, ought not to dominate religion and theology is not only true, but likewise, in view of the history of theology, a much-needed truth. Nor can we withhold admiration from his confidence in the religion of Christ as needing only to be presented in its purity, without philosophical and theoretical admixture, in order to produce the conviction of its genuineness. The disciples and early church felt its power; why should it not still be self-authenticating? And when we consider the inestimable service rendered by ethics and religion, we cannot question the importance of emphasizing their supreme value. In an age of materialism he exalted the spiritual aspirations and demanded the subordination of material interests; and in an age when theology was speculated out of reach of practical concerns he insisted on subordinating theology to religion, and on making it minister to practical Christianity.

To this recognition of so much that is admirable in the spirit and aim of Ritschl should be added the conviction of his sincerity. We must take into account the struggle required to pass from the school of Baur to a positive religious faith. His system was developed in an era of criticism and agnosticism; and we have every reason to believe that it was not the product of ambition, or of a desire for novelty, but of an inner impulse to satisfy his religious needs by means of the most earnest inquiries. That his own religious convictions were deep and firm is evident from his works, from the testimony of his pupils, and from the biography written by his son.

When, however, we inquire into the estimate of his theology as a system of Christian doctrine, we must pronounce it a presentation rather than a solution of problems. It is a ferment, not a finality. On every great doctrine which it discusses it excites more questions than it answers. It meets certain empirical requirements of the age; but are these requirements themselves ultimate, and do they exhaust the demands of the human mind? We can reject the *a priori* speculations of Plato and Hegel, and begin with the facts as Aristotle did, and with him

draw inferences from them which may be called speculative, but which are as much a necessity for the mind as it is to recognize the impressions received through the senses. From the phenomena we naturally make inferences respecting their source. We may not be able to give mathematical demonstrations respecting the nature of God, of Christ, and of the soul; but that does not prove a valid faith impossible. The energy of the mind refuses to rest in the dualism of Ritschl between practical and theoretical knowledge. The believer, if at all alive to the demands of reason, cannot adopt what Ritschl calls the Christian view of the world, and at the same time ignore the philosophical and scientific view. As the mind is one, so it requires unity, harmony, and an all-comprehensive system of thought. Considering the philosophical basis of his theology, we can understand a statement once made by Professor Harnack, that philosophy was Ritschl's weakest point.

Ritschl opposes subjectivity as a dangerous element in religion; yet his own system is too subjective, depending on personal impressions of value. Theology must search for a system which has objective value for all seekers of truth, not value merely for such as have Christian experience. For those who already believe this system has abundant confirmations; but they are valid only for the existing faith. What apologetic value for unbelievers has this theology as a system of objective truth?

We need other proof than that given of the validity of Scripture. Christ is made the ground of all religious authority; but the question how he obtained his revelation, and what proof he had of its validity, is not answered. Nor can we see why Christ, if only the first of prophets, should be called divine, and should receive divine honors. Must not his nature be unique if his relation to God is unique? And if we can trust his teachings so far as practical, why not likewise such as lie beyond the reach of experience? His Christology is unsatisfactory. The scriptural view of God certainly embraces much more than that of Ritschl. The new theology here reveals its phenomenalism to its serious disadvantage. Ritschl's doctrine of sin fails to reach the depth of Paul's discussion of depravity. In the exaltation

of the unity of believers we are in danger of losing the religious individuality in the totality of the kingdom, a totality which is one of those general notions which he professes to shun.

In the different editions of Ritschl's works his exegesis often varies. The exegesis itself leaves the impression that in many instances it is the product of his dogmatic system rather than that his system is the product of Scripture.

Ritschl's school contains too many independent thinkers to be controlled wholly by his views. They evidently also look on his theology, whatever abiding results they attribute to it, as a ferment and a problem. From the right wing, of which Kaftan is, perhaps, the best representative, to the left, represented by Bender, who reduces religion to a species of natural evolution, numerous conflicting views prevail.

## THE INTERPRETATION OF PARABLES.

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NO PECULIARITY of the teaching of Jesus is more pronounced than its concreteness. The Jew naturally thought in tropes, but the figures of speech used by Jesus are remarkable even for a Jew. To say nothing of their number, there is hardly any phase of human life that he has not utilized. Yet these comparisons and similes and metaphors make the interpretation of his words a matter of considerable uncertainty. For not only must one have the archæological knowledge that will make his allusions intelligible, but one must also have so quick an eye for resemblances that the real points of contact between the two spheres brought thus together may be immediately and infallibly seen.

But the difficulty that thus inheres in the very element that has made Jesus so readily understood is at its height in the parables. There, in the succession of elements and changing relationships, has ever been a most productive soil for misunderstandings and unsymmetrical teachings. To some interpreters they have been no more than anecdotes, and to others profoundly inspired epitomes of teachings which must be obtained by some method of substitution or allegorizing. The same story that to one scholar has taught severity has to another been full of grace; that which has been to one man a message from beyond the veil of death that told of endless torment has to another taught the possibility of the restoration of the penitent dead. In fact, so kaleidoscopic have interpretations and consequent doctrines become that men have hesitated to accept any teaching derived from parables that could not be substantiated by other passages of Scripture. The admitted difficulty lying back of interpretation and misinterpretation has been the absence of criteria by which to judge what elements of the parable are sig-

nificant and what are only literary settings and insignificant details. To obviate this difficulty certain rules have been formulated, but many of these are very indefinite and have practically reduced interpretation to a matter of taste on the part of the interpreter. With such a standard of judgment it is evident that anything like certainty as regards the meaning of Jesus will be sadly wanting. Classifications have, naturally, been numerous enough. On chronological principles one can group parables as belonging to different periods of Jesus' ministry; on the basis of their doctrinal content they may be seen to be theoretic, evangelistic, and minatory; or, according to relations to the kingdom of God, they may be said to concern the kingdom, the subjects, and the king.

But none of these or similar classifications rests upon any difference in kind considered as a basis for determining the principles of exegesis to be applied in their interpretation. All the parables, however classified, are interpreted after the same method. Yet it is evident that if they were intended by Jesus to serve different purposes, we have in this fact a basis for classification that will give criteria for interpretation. It is the purpose of this paper to make, if possible, such a classification, and to derive from it (if once obtained) rules for parabolic exegesis—at least in so far as the parables of Jesus are concerned. In it such proverbial parables as Luke 4:23, "Physician, heal thyself," will be omitted, and attention given wholly to those which embody a narrative which is used as an example or illustration of a truth in the sphere of religion or morals.

Any such classification must be discovered solely from a study of the use made of parables by Jesus himself. For, while he did not invent them as a literary form, he certainly has given us their classic examples, and as any teacher can be trusted as the best interpreter of his own thought and method, so Jesus must be followed in his use of parables. If he had no coherency or method in teaching sufficient to make such an assumption valid, we are left to the mercy of irresponsible exegesis and poetical fancy.

## I.

1. That Jesus did not begin the use of parables until some weeks or months of his ministry had passed is evident from all three synoptists. His first message was a repetition of that of John: "Repent, for the kingdom of God is come." So far as one can infer from the scanty data in the gospels, this call to repentance, with possibly its necessary complement of ethical instruction, was the main item of his preaching throughout those early days in Galilee in which he was engaged in winning a popular hearing and gathering his disciples. Such preaching and teaching was given in apothegm or maxim, and if any use whatever was made of figurative language, it consisted of simple comparisons or metaphors. And not only is this evident from the few teachings we have remaining from this early Galilean period, but from another and very significant fact. When Jesus began to use parables as a vehicle of instruction, his disciples were astonished and wished to know the grounds for the new method: "Why teachest thou them in *parables*?" (Matt. 13:10.)

In the answer given them by Jesus we should expect to find at least hints as to his own reasons for dropping the direct ethical teaching of his earlier work and the adoption of a form familiar to the Jews, it is true, from the methods of their rabbis, but as yet unused by himself. Yet, as recorded by the synoptists, this answer involves one in some perplexity. So far as Matthew (13:11-17) is concerned, at the first glance it seems clear that Jesus used parables because (*ὅτι*) of the grossness of heart and dullness of the crowds. But was this, then, that they might the better understand him by virtue of the illustrations? So some, and especially Jülicher,<sup>1</sup> emphatically declare; but such an answer seems forbidden by Mark (4:11, 12), who reports Jesus as declaring that he used the parable for precisely the opposite purpose—"Unto them that are without, all things are done in parables, that (*ἵνα*) seeing they may see and not perceive." It is impossible to regard the construction here used as anything but one of purpose, or, at the very utmost, a result

<sup>1</sup> *Gleichnissreden Jesu*, I, pp. 121-49.

conceived of finally, and we are, therefore, forced to discover which of the two forms the more nearly represents the actual thought and words of Jesus himself. The critical question must receive an answer before any interpretation can be attempted.

At the outset it must be admitted that, as the result of one's first impression, the reading of Matthew seems more in accord with the spirit of Jesus than that of Mark. And it can be also said that such a view gains some support from the fact that it is easier to think that the second Matthew, with his predilection for *iva* clauses, would leave the form of Jesus' words untouched, if they actually were as recorded in Mark, than that he would change them to a causal clause. Further, it may be claimed that, whereas there is no reason for the appearance of a *ὅτι* clause in Matthew, unless it actually was in the source employed by the evangelist, Mark's reverence for Jesus may have led him to regard the misunderstanding of him by the Jews as necessarily intended by the Master,<sup>2</sup> and thus to change the *ὅτι* to a *iva* construction. Finally, it might also seem as if in the statement of Mark (4:33) that the capacity of the hearers was the measure of Jesus' teaching, there lay the implication that the parable was chosen as a means of making plain to gross minds teachings otherwise not intelligible.

So far as the last statement is concerned, two possibilities suggest themselves: the clause of vs. 33, "as they were able to hear it," is the work of a redactor writing under the influence of Matthew; or, more probably, it may indicate in a general way Mark's opinion that, in his use of parables, Jesus regarded the capacities of his unsympathetic and unintelligent hearers to receive the word even while it was not understood. And, under any consideration, vs. 33 is not so unmistakably parallel with Matt. 13:13 as to establish its priority to Mark 4:12 beyond question. Nor on *a priori* grounds is it possible to settle the question offhand by any appeal to what Matthew is likely to have written. For, although the force of the argument based upon his predilections may be admitted, it is fairly met by the counter consideration that it is easy to find motives for a

<sup>2</sup> So JÜLICHER, I, p. 149.

change from the apparently harsh form of Mark to the milder form of Matthew.

If, however, one attempts the solution of the problem on reasonably definite critical criteria, it is possible to make very probable the originality of the saying of Jesus as recorded by Mark. For, in the first place, notwithstanding the likelihood that such a general position may be liable to some exceptions, it is reasonably safe to hold that, in material common to all three synoptics, Mark has preserved the most original form of the tradition. In the present case, therefore, the presumption is in favor of the *ἴνα* construction rather than the *ὅτι*. But, in the second place, this assumption is thoroughly substantiated by the possibility of discovering in the passage in Matthew traces of the essential thought of Jesus as it stands less edited in Mark. For in a comparison of the two accounts (since Luke's may here be disregarded as essentially that of Mark) it will appear that in both alike the teaching of the parable is represented as not being clear to the great multitude, or, indeed, to the disciples themselves, since even they had need of Jesus' explanation. In both accounts, too, it is the state of mind and heart on the part of the multitude that led to the adoption of the new form of teaching, and in both accounts (though not in precisely the same connection) is the basis of the disciples' superior knowledge shown to be their sympathy with divine truth, which, though imperfect, was none the less real. Jesus could expound the parabolic teaching to the disciples; he could not to the multitude. Thus, in each account, the grounds for Jesus' use of the parable are the same. The people at large were too gross intellectually to admit of receiving truth; the disciples, though incapable of interpreting the parable, were not incapable of receiving its interpretation. As Matthew himself says, to them it was given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of God, but to the multitudes it was not given. Now it is clear that the reception of the mystery lay not in the listening to the parables, but in the interpretation given them by Jesus — as Mark 4:35 correctly states; and this interpretation was made possible only by the spiritual receptivity of the disciples. To those who had



was more given, that they might have an abundance (Matt. 13:12). Thus, in each account, the underlying reason for the use of the parable is a distinction in favor of the disciples as against the gross-minded crowds. In Matthew as well as Mark it is chosen because, by its offering opportunities for more explicit teaching in its interpretation, it enabled Jesus to speak to the multitude freely, while withholding from them certain teachings that were intended only for the chosen few. But what is this but saying that, in speaking to the multitudes, as Mark reports, Jesus used parables in order that they might not understand?

If such a course should seem to lay Jesus open to the charge of withholding the gospel and even the means of conversion from certain people, such a conclusion must be admitted to be true, and, indeed, is expressly so stated by Mark (4:12). And an impartial consideration of the ministry of Jesus will show that his judgment in adopting such a method was sound and justified by results. Two reasons for such an opinion immediately suggest themselves. In the first place, at the time when Jesus began the use of parables he had so far progressed in the establishment of the kingdom of God as to have arrived at the point where the simple announcement that it was approaching, or had really come, would no longer suffice. Henceforth his teaching deals even more explicitly with a new and vital matter—the nature and the attractions of the kingdom. But here he was exposed to the greatest peril of being misunderstood by unspiritual hearers to be a founder of a political institution and the leader of a revolt. If such a misunderstanding once became widespread, he would be shut out from further religious teachings, and his new kingdom would be swept out of existence by revolution.

Nor was this his only peril. It would have been no difficult task in the earlier period of his ministry so to have presented the kingdom of God, even as a non-political institution, that men would have rushed into it. The history of the church at Jerusalem makes it evident that the Pharisees themselves were not averse to receiving a Christianity that was simply a completed Judaism. Had Jesus been content to make some slight concessions, and on the whole to represent himself

and his mission in a more conciliatory way, there is no reason why the Pharisees and their sympathizers should not have anticipated their later conversion and allied themselves with him as they did later with his apostles. But had great numbers of such ritualists and legalists joined the new kingdom, bringing with them their misapprehensions and prejudices, the new movement would have been ruined by its very success. A new rabbinism would have replaced the old, a profoundly spiritual movement would have appeared but the confirmation and completion of a most deadening formalism, and the career of Judaistic Christianity would have begun before the true conception of Christ and his work had become sufficiently strong to withstand it.

In the light of this double danger that threatened a too sudden success, three possible courses were open to Jesus : either he might cease his public ministry and devote himself altogether to the training of the little group of disciples he had thus far gathered ; or, he could adopt a form of teaching which, while not causing him to lose his influence upon the mass of the people, would both hide his teaching and the kingdom of God from those who, because of their prejudices, would misinterpret it, and yet make it possible for him in private to unfold with increasing clearness his mission and his person to his disciples. The third possibility, that of two sets of teaching, one for the masses and another for the initiates, was indeed possible, but thoroughly out of keeping with both his plan and character.

Of these three courses Jesus chose the second. And the new form of teaching was the parable. The new instrument had the advantage of both concealing and illustrating truth. As presented by its aid, the kingdom of God would not be exposed to misinterpretation by those who could not appreciate its spiritual side, while at the same time those who were more sympathetic with the aims of Jesus could be instructed as to its nature and progress.

Again, another but similar consideration is suggested by Mark 4 : 33. As a truth expressed in a figure will be retained, though not understood, far better than if stated exactly in literal language, so would the undiscovered truth contained in the

parable be always at hand in the unsympathetic or but partially enlightened mind against the day when, for some reason, new spiritual sympathies should be aroused. Then the story that had been retained because of its external interest would be suddenly seen to have contained within it an unsuspected teaching that would at once be assimilated by the renewed man. Again to him that had would there be given, out of the analogy held in memory without any thought of its spiritual import, a new knowledge of the kingdom.

This, then, was the original pedagogic purpose in the use of parables—to set forth the kingdom of God. At first this had to be in such a manner as would hide truth from those who would misuse it, while revealing it to friends. But this esoteric element is not present in all parables. There is a second class, the purpose of which is not in the least to obscure or veil, but only to illumine the nature of the kingdom. At the time when they were uttered, that is, in the later ministry of Jesus, he was no longer exposed to the danger of being swept into revolution or rabbinism. His position is sufficiently clear to all, friend and foe alike. After the crisis in Galilee that led to his open break with the Pharisees, no man outside his followers would be likely to accept him as a possible Messiah, and the kingdom which he preached even by the supreme effort of his enemies could not be twisted into anything but one not of this world. But thus far he had left the great question of the relation of the new kingdom to the Gentile world practically untouched, and there was need of rejecting the view current even among his disciples (Acts 1:6) that made the Jew the favorite of heaven and a knowledge of the law an unquestionable claim upon the favor of God and the blessings promised to Abraham. He was, therefore, obliged to set forth the cosmopolitan rather than national character of the kingdom. This exposition was forced upon him less by his disciples, however, than by the bearing and claims of the Pharisees, and consequently was developed in the midst of a controversy which has left its traces in the parables themselves. In the very nature of the case, therefore, concealment of purpose was as impossible as unnecessary. There was

no longer any reason for reserving interpretations for the disciples. The danger of a possibly too great popularity was past, and the only danger remaining was that the religious monopoly of the Jews should fail to see that he expected and hastened its dissolution.

Thus parables of this sort, although belonging to the later ministry and lacking practically all the esoteric element, have more affinity with those of Matthew, chap. 13, than with others more closely connected with them in point of chronology. For such parables as the Great Feast (Luke 14:15-24), the Two Sons (Matt. 21:28-32), the Unfaithful Servants (Matt. 21:33-43, and parallels), the Wedding Feast (Matt. 22:1-14) deal not with specific elements of conduct, but with a more or less general and abstract subject—the nature and progress of the kingdom. There is, indeed, a difference along the line of directness and explicitness between them and those of Matthew, chap. 13, but they still are concerned with the kingdom of God as an institution, rather than with the duties of its members or others, and were spoken to mixed audiences, being intended for reception by friend and foe alike. Here, as in the first parables, the dominant purpose of Jesus is to set forth the nature of the kingdom.

2. Over against these parables of the kingdom, whether esoteric or illuminating, there is another group of parables which have no such general destination, but are intended for specific classes of persons, either friend or foe. Their teaching, however wide its applicability, is primarily intended to lead some specific class or person into nobler conduct, or at least to rebuke ignoble conduct. Thus the parables of the Good Samaritan (Luke 10:25-37), the Two Debtors (Matt. 18:23-35), the Unfaithful Servant (Matt. 24:45-51; Luke 12:37-48), the Fig Tree (Luke 13:6-9), the Lost Coin, Sheep, Son (Luke 15:3-32), the Rich Man and Lazarus (Luke 16:19-31), the Pharisee and Publican (Luke 18:9-14), the Laborers in the Vineyard (Matt. 20:1-16), were all suggested by some teaching or false assumption of privilege by the Pharisees and lawgivers, some being directly born of controversy; while those of the Friend at Midnight (Luke 11:5-13), the Chief Seats (Luke 14:7-11), the

Unjust Steward (Luke 16: 1-13), the Unjust Judge (Luke 18: 1-8), the Minæ (Luke 19: 11-28), the Ten Virgins (Matt. 25: 1-13), and at least the inner parable of the Pounds (Matt. 25: 14-30), are intended to enforce specific truths or duties which would be applicable to the disciples alone.

Parables with such a purpose as this obviously make a very different group from those in which the effort is one of exposition rather than of persuasion or controversy. It is one thing to set forth a teaching in some completeness, its relations and contents indicated by a greater or less wealth of metaphor, and quite another to attempt to shame or inspire a man to the acceptance of some obvious truth or duty. And this difference in purpose is precisely that which separates the parables of the kingdom from all others. They are theoretic and expository; all others are homiletic, seeking to affect conduct.

Thus the classification of parables which a study of the pedagogical method of Jesus suggests as a basis for their interpretation is this: (1) Parables of the kingdom: *a*) esoteric, those intended to conceal truth from some hearers, while serving as a medium for communicating it to others; *b*) illuminating, intended to make evident certain of the phases of the kingdom to all hearers. (2) Homiletic parables, whose purpose is simply to enforce specific truths or duties.

## II.

Thus lying beneath and conditioning the pedagogic purpose determining the use of the parable there lay the nature of the teaching it was intended to convey. But this is not all. Interpretation seeks only to set forth the truth with its real content, and, therefore, we should expect that, in his interpretation of his parables, Jesus would be governed by some variety in the nature of the truth they present. Differences of method in his interpretation should be found to run along the same line as that which has already appeared from a study of his purpose in using parables. If, then, he should be found to interpret those which concern the nature and the progress of the kingdom of God in one way and those which have to do with conduct either

directly or through the illumination of some ethical truth in quite another way, it would at once be clear that we have in sight a definite organon for parabolic interpretation.

1. An examination of his interpretations will show that this supposition is correct. His method is not always the same, and the line of demarcation exactly coincides with that which distinguishes the parables on the basis of their pedagogic purpose and their content. Parables of the kingdom, being intended to set forth complex truths, are treated analytically, their details being treated as significant, while those intended to set forth a simple truth or duty are treated synthetically, their details being altogether disregarded.

As illustrations of the method of dealing with parables of the kingdom reference can be made to the two parables of the Sower and the Tares. In the parable of the Sower he interprets the seed, the various sorts of ground, the heat, the thorns, the birds; and in that of the Tares he interprets the sower, the good seed, the tares, the field, the enemy, the harvest, the reapers. The extent of this identification of details may be exhibited thus :

### THE SOWER.

#### THE PARABLE.

The sower  
went forth to sow (seed) ;  
and as he sowed,  
some seeds fell by the wayside,  
and the birds  
came and devoured them :  
  
and others fell upon the rocky places  
where they had not much earth :  
and straightway they sprang up,  
because they had no deepness of  
earth :  
and when the sun was risen  
  
they were scorched :  
and because they had no root,  
they withered away.

#### THE INTERPRETATION.

The word of the kingdom  
anyone receiveth (in his heart)  
understandeth it not  
the evil  
cometh and snatcheth away that  
which has been sown  
he that heareth the word  
  
and straightway with joy receiveth it  
yet hath he not root in himself  
  
when tribulation or persecution  
ariseth  
  
straightway he stumbleth.

THE SOWER—*continued.*

## THE PARABLE.

And others fell upon the thorns ;  
and the thorns  
grew up, and choked them :  
and others fell upon the good ground,  
and yielded fruit,  
some a hundredfold, some sixty, some  
thirty.

## THE INTERPRETATION.

He that heareth the word  
care of the world and deceitfulness  
of riches  
choke the word, and he becometh  
unfruitful,  
he that heareth and understandeth  
the word  
who verily beareth forth,  
some a hundredfold, some sixty, some  
thirty.

## THE TARES.

A man that sowed  
good seed  
in his field ;  
but while men slept  
his enemy  
came and sowed  
tares also  
among the wheat

The Son of Man  
the sons of the kingdom  
the world

the devil

the sons of the evil [or, all things  
that cause stumbling and them  
that do iniquity]

and went away.  
But when the blade  
sprang up and brought forth fruit,  
then appeared the tares also.  
And the servants of the householder  
came and said unto him, Sir, didst  
not thou sow good seed in thy  
field ? Whence hath it tares ?  
And he said unto them, An enemy  
hath done this.  
And the servants say unto him, Wilt  
thou that we go and gather them  
up ?  
But he saith, Nay ; lest haply, while  
ye gather up the tares, ye root up  
the wheat with them.  
Let both grow together  
until the harvest ;  
and in the time of the harvest

the consummation of the age

THE TARES—*continued.*

## THE PARABLE.

I will say to  
the reapers,  
Gather up first the tares, and bind  
them into bundles  
  
to burn them :  
but gather  
  
the wheat  
into my barn.

## THE INTERPRETATION.

the Son of Man  
the angels  
shall gather out of his kingdom all  
things that cause stumbling, and  
them that do iniquity  
and shall cast them into the furnace  
of fire.  
Then shall  
the righteous shine forth as  
the sun in the kingdom of their Father.

It is evident, therefore, that in these two parables Jesus has not disregarded details, but has given certain of them definite signification. And yet, at the same time, it also appears that other details he has altogether overlooked. Is it possible to arrive at any principles which may be said to have governed him in such a selection of interpretative material ?

If a comparison of the two interpretations be made, it will appear that both have certain characteristics that make such principles evident.

(1) Such interpretation of the details as is given, though exact in thought, is not exact in expression. Thus in one case (vs. 22) the hearers are referred to as those who are sown, although the context makes it perfectly evident that here, as in other parts of the parable, the ground is the true analogue of the hearer. So, too, the tares are sown in the world, but later Jesus speaks of removing those things which they represent — “all things that cause stumbling and them that do iniquity” — out of the kingdom. It appears, therefore, that in order to avoid a pedantic exactness Jesus draws the parallel between entire *groups* of circumstances as expressing relationships rather than distinct facts. In accomplishing this, he is devoted to the essential point of analogy and is indifferent to incidental discrepancies in details. Thus in vs. 20 there is no doubt from the last clause that Jesus has not confused the seed with the earth — that is, the word of the kingdom with the hearer —



although by a formal substitution of equals the contrary would perhaps be true.

(2) In most particulars the interpretation consists simply in substituting the thing typified in the figure itself. Thus "Satan" replaces "birds," "cares of this world and the deceitfulness of riches," "thorns," while the general scheme of devouring and choking is left uninterpreted.

(3) No detail is interpreted that does not make for the enforcement of the central teaching. Or, more exactly, no detail is interpreted that is not in the narrative itself an essential element in bringing about the *dénouement*. If the interpretation could be laid over the parable, it would appear that the central point of the parable coincided with the central truth of the teaching, and that the elements essential to the unity of the parable as such coincided with the truths which were the essential elements of the central truth. Other details Jesus disregards, no matter how attractive they may be to the modern interpreter. Thus in vs. 29 the similarity existing between good men and bad men is overlooked, except as it is indirectly implied in the necessity of having the angels do the separating at the last day. Indeed, so indifferent is Jesus to such details as are not immediately subservient to his main purpose as in vs. 30 to abandon his figure altogether and substitute for it in his interpretation another—a procedure quite impossible if each detail in the parable, even such as might be suggestive of lessons not foreign to that which the parable especially sets forth, were of value.

From these three characteristics of his interpretation of his parables it is at once clear that many, if not most, of the details they contain are regarded by Jesus as of no doctrinal importance, but as simply literary drapery; and, further, that the grounds on which he interprets any detail is not its susceptibility to homiletic use, or even the possibility of bringing its interpretation into unity with the main teaching of the parable, but rather its indispensableness in the development of the story itself. In so far as they are thus indispensable are they parallel to minor truths which are indispensable for the understanding of

the composite truth which they compose. Thus in the parable of the Sower the point of the parable is variation in harvest that results, not from variety of seed, but from varieties of soil. The characteristic of the kingdom of God this illustrates is evidently similar: the growth of the kingdom is conditioned by its environment. Such a central teaching as this clearly involves those that are subordinate and concern the nature of this environment and other contributing causes of varying growth. The fact that Jesus gets out from the parable only such subordinate teachings as are foreshadowed in the elements absolutely essential to the unity of the parable as a self-consistent story is the inevitable result of his choice of the parable as a pedagogic instrument. Naturally the interpretative processes of his mind were complementary of the creative. Having distinctly in mind those relationships which he wished to set forth, he chose such illustrative matter as would clearly express them. To have constructed for that purpose a parable in which the unessential elements were hopelessly indistinguishable would have been to defeat his educational purpose. Certain amplification was necessary, it would be true, if the parable were to be complete; but its purely literary elements would not be representative of the thought he was expressing. Thus, because the parable was created by Jesus to express a definite thought, when once presented, wholly apart from its teaching in itself as a story, it had a unity that involved details in the same proportion as the truth which it represented was complex. For Jesus to interpret it was for him but to reverse his intellectual processes and, by means of selecting the essential details, to point out to his disciples the various elements of teaching which had given rise to the elements of the parable.

In other words, as an interpreter of his own parables Jesus takes the point of view of the exegete, that is, one precisely opposite to that he occupied as their originator, and regards them as independent, self-consistent stories possessed of an essential unity which results from the proper subordination of their component details. He interprets no detail that could be omitted without injuring the integrity of the parable, and of those that he disregards there is none but could be changed or even

omitted without injury to the parable's unity. Thus, in the case of the Sower, the fact that the seeds were sowed rather than dropped, scorched besides being withered, are not essential to the unity of the story and are therefore omitted. So, too, in the parable of the Tares, the facts (among others) that men slept, that the enemy came, that the tares were not fully distinguishable from the wheat while growing together, that the servants questioned the householder, that the wheat was to be placed in a barn, are not essential in their precise form to the parable, and are consequently not interpreted. But the other elements which he does interpret could not be omitted without destroying the integrity of the parable.

To sum up, when Jesus interpreted such of his parables as dealt with the more complex truths concerning the nature and progress of the kingdom of God, he interprets details, but only such as are essential to the unity of the parable as a story, and then simply because they are representative of truths which, when combined, constitute the teaching he would set forth. As in constructing a parable he chose such elements as would express the parts of a complex teaching, so he interprets only such elements as are required by the unity of the narrative as a story.

2. But no such need of using details could have been felt by Jesus in putting out the parables which illuminate some simple truth or enforce some duty. There being no subordinate truth to set forth, the parable was made to converge upon some one telling analogy. When this was accomplished, the function of the parable was fulfilled.

How true this is appears in the interpretation put by Jesus upon such parables. Instead of a careful identification of elements of narrative with elements of teaching, we find such a use of the parable as a modern teacher or preacher makes of an illustration. The one central analogy is used and nothing besides. Thus, of the parables of this sort which are directly or indirectly interpreted by Jesus, in that of the Unforgiving Servant (Matt. 18: 21-35) the interpretation lies and application of the truth is made in vs. 35: "So shall also my Heavenly Father do unto you." Similarly in the parables of the Rich Fool

(Luke 12: 13-21; *cf.* vs. 21), of the Seats at Dinner (Luke 14: 1-14; *cf.* vs. 11). The parable of the Unjust Steward (Luke 16: 1-13) is interpreted by the comment in vss. 8 and 12, and that of the Good Samaritan in the question of vs. 36 and exhortation of vs. 37. In somewhat the same way the interpretation of the stories of the Importunate Friend (Luke 11: 1-13) and the Importunate Widow (Luke 18: 1-8) appears in the *a fortiori* argument of their immediate context.

In none of them is there the slightest indication that the details were significant. In the nature of the case, if the parable as the representative of a single, undifferentiated truth was to have one solitary teaching, they could not be. To judge from his own interpretation of the typical parable of this class, the Good Samaritan, Jesus was as far as possible from making the Levite and the priest representative of anything except unneighborliness. To think of his using the inn to signify the church, and the twopence the sacraments, is as foreign to the purpose of the parable as it is ingenious.

In a word, therefore, when interpreting parables which did not set forth the nature or the progress of the kingdom of God, so far from following the method he adopted in the case of those which did so treat of these subjects, Jesus absolutely neglects the parables' details.

### III.

If, in the light of this method of Jesus himself, an attempt be made to formulate a method which shall be applicable to parables in general, it will at once be clear that the only method which is really safe in the case of those parables which Jesus himself has interpreted, is to interpret only such details, and these only in such a way as he has himself suggested. To find analogies in elements he himself has treated as unessential is to do violence to his teaching—in fact, to arrogate to one's self the position of creator rather than of interpreter. No matter how true the teachings such details may suggest, to present them as the teachings of the parable is to abandon a legitimate exegesis.

In the case of parables of which we have no such interpretation left us by Jesus the following rules may be laid down :

1. By means of the context or the content of the parable itself, determine whether it is homiletic in purpose, that is, illustrates or enforces a single truth or duty ; or whether it has to do in a more general way with the nature and progress of the kingdom of God.<sup>3</sup>

2. In case it belongs to the latter class, Parables of the Kingdom: (*a*) discover the central point or *dénouement* of the parable *as a story*, and the elements of the story that are essential to this *dénouement* ; (*b*) discover from the context and the analogy itself the truth to be taught by the dominant analogy, and so interpret the essential details that, as they themselves are subordinate to the dominant feature of the story, the truths they represent shall be subordinate to the truth expressed by the dominant analogy. Disregard all other details.

3. In case the parable belongs to the second class, Homiletic Parables, the only rule to be observed is this : discover the "point" of the parable and use it, and it alone, as a means of illustrating or enforcing the authoritative teaching of Jesus. All details are of no exegetical importance except as they make more evident the one essential analogy.

#### IV.

It follows as a sort of corollary of these rules that, so far as teaching actually intended by Jesus is concerned, there are very distinct limits within which interpretation works. Such a limitation will, it is true, curtail the fancy of the interpreter and prevent his setting forth as the word of Jesus teachings of various degrees of truthfulness. It must also be admitted that many of the highly stimulating interpretations with which the church

<sup>3</sup>It may be objected that at this point the method prejudges its results. But it should be remembered, first, that the context serves as a source of determining judgments as to the general character of the parable ; and, second, that in any process of interpretation we are of necessity forced to get at a general conception of the thought before passing to detailed exegesis. Moreover, the same objection might be urged with quite as much justice against the decision to regard an account as figurative rather than literal.

has been fed will have to be given up as anything more than homiletical variations upon a scriptural theme. Yet, these losses will be more than offset by the solidity of the results obtained. When it once appears that a thought of Jesus can be definitely obtained, it can be used for any purpose to which his teachings are legitimately put, and a parable becomes a trustworthy source from whence to derive doctrine. And finally, if one wishes to use details not used by Jesus as suggestions for his own teaching, there can be no objections to such a method ; only he should remember that he can no more claim the authority of Jesus for his teaching than he can claim the authority of Lincoln for teachings illustrated by one of Lincoln's anecdotes. He has ceased to be an interpreter and has become a preacher.

# THE ORIGINAL CHARACTER OF THE HEBREW SABBATH.\*

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## I.

THE researches of the lamented Robertson Smith, of Kuenen, Wellhausen, Frazer, Stade, and others, have prepared us for distinguishing in the case of the religious institutions of the Hebrews—as of other peoples—between older elements and such as have been added at subsequent periods. Amid the diversity of opinions still existing with regard to details, there is a general agreement among scholars that most, if not all, of the institutions embodied in the pentateuchal legislation are to be traced back to a very early age, an age not only much older than the oldest parts of the Pentateuch, but even antedating considerably the date assigned to them by the traditions of the Hebrews themselves. The complicated literary process that resulted in giving to the Pentateuch its definite shape is paralleled by an equally complicated intellectual process that changed the character of the religious institutions of the Hebrews, many of which the latter at one time shared with their fellow-Semites, and in part with others than Semites. Investigated from this point of view, the fundamental idea of the Passover festival, for example, turns out to be an old threshold rite,<sup>1</sup> the antiquity of which is beyond all calculation, and which had already been considerably modified before it was adapted to serve as a reminiscence of a significant national tradition, and combined with an old spring festival once celebrated in connection with the breaking up of the winter encampment—an annual *Völkerwanderung* like the *ver*

\*Read before the Eleventh International Congress of Orientalists in Paris on September 8, 1897.

<sup>1</sup> TRUMBULL, *The Threshold Covenant*, pp. 203-12.

*sacrum* of the Romans,<sup>2</sup> and subsequently adapted to an agricultural community. Similarly, the other festivals of the Hebrews contain elements that belong to a gray antiquity, and even the Day of Atonement, though the last of the sacred days of the Jewish calendar to receive its final shape, could not have been an innovation introduced during the exilic period.<sup>3</sup> The festival month of Tishri stands in some connection with the *Dsu-l-Hidjdja*—the month of pilgrimage—of the Arabs, and there must be an intimate bond uniting the tenth day of Tishri (which is the Day of Atonement) with the tenth day of the Arabic pilgrimage month, which is the most sacred day of this sacred month.<sup>4</sup> The five other feast days of the Jewish church—the ninth of Ab, the seventeenth of Tammuz, the third of Tishri, the tenth of Tebeth, the thirteenth of Adar—as Houtsma has recently shown,<sup>5</sup> are survivals of ancient Semitic institutions. Again, in the regulations prescribed for the sacrifices in the Pentateuch, and in the ordinances for the priests, many older features have been retained and combined with later practices.

We are justified, therefore, in looking for a Sabbath among the Hebrews prior to the period when the present pentateuchal regulations for the Sabbath were drafted, and we may also be prepared to find such an earlier Sabbath to have a different character from that which characterizes the post-exilic institution. Nay, more. In an investigation of the original character of the Sabbath of the Hebrews, the contingency of the existence of an institution from which the biblical Sabbath may be derived, but in which the *leading* idea, or ideas, of this biblical

<sup>2</sup> See IHERING'S brilliant and suggestive chapters in his *Vorgeschichte der Indo-Europäer*, pp. 309–58.

<sup>3</sup> The strange rite recorded in Leviticus, chap. 16, of the sending forth of a goat into the wilderness — clearly a trace of demon worship — is a sufficient proof for the antiquity of the festival. The dancing on the Day of Atonement, as described in the Talmud (Treatise *Taanith*, 26b), appears likewise to be a survival of some primitive rites and is entirely out of keeping with an exilic institution; and there are other proofs.

<sup>4</sup> See HOUTSMA, *Over de Israelitische Vastendagen* (Amsterdam, 1897), pp. 22–3. On the original identity of the "month" of pilgrimage (*Dsu-l-Hidjdja*) among the Arabs with the sacred month (*al-Muharram*), see also WELLHAUSEN, *Reste arabischen Heidenthums*, pp. 95–6.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*



Sabbath found no expression, is to be taken into consideration. That the Sabbath is an old institution is generally admitted.<sup>6</sup> The Hebrews themselves preserved the recollection of its having been observed in Egypt. Gunkel<sup>7</sup> designates it as *uralt*, "very old," and there are some very obvious indications of significant changes which the institution, in the course of its development, underwent. Its connection with the new moon is obvious,<sup>8</sup> and, this being so, it could not have been originally celebrated every seventh day,<sup>9</sup> but, at the most, every 7th, 14th, 21st day after the new moon, and on the day when the new moon made its appearance. Again, old as the cosmological traditions embodied in the first two chapters of Genesis are, the division of the work of creation is a comparatively late innovation,<sup>10</sup> introduced, according to some scholars, even after the compilation of the Priestly Code.<sup>11</sup> The pre-exilic Sabbath, therefore, could not have been originally celebrated as a reminiscence of the completion of the work of creation on the seventh day.

But such considerations do not take us beyond conclusions of a negative character. We can determine in this way, and only to a certain extent, what the Sabbath was not. To determine further what it was, a different method must be followed.

Knowing that the Hebrews at all times lived in the midst of nations, some cognate to them, others not, and that at no time were they free from outside influences, we are justified in seeking among the nations with whom they came into contact for beliefs and institutions similar to their own.

<sup>6</sup> So already Jahn, at the beginning of this century, and, no doubt, others before him.

<sup>7</sup> *Schöpfung und Chaos*, p. 14.

<sup>8</sup> WELLHAUSEN, *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels* (second edition), pp. 116-18.

<sup>9</sup> JENNINGS (*Jewish Antiquities* [1808], pp. 320-21) adduces some interesting arguments to show that the "paradisaical Sabbath," as he calls the earlier institution, was observed on a different day from the later "Jewish Sabbath." He thinks that the Hebrews lost the ancient Sabbath during the sojourn in Egypt. While, of course, much that Jennings says has lost its force, his acuteness is none the less remarkable in recognizing a great difference between an earlier and a later Sabbath.

<sup>10</sup> BUDDE, *Die biblische Urgeschichte*, pp. 491-3; GUNKEL, *loc. cit.*, p. 13.

<sup>11</sup> So WELLHAUSEN, *Composition des Hexateuchs*, p. 187.

## II.

Of the various attempts that have been made to seek for parallels to the Hebrew Sabbath among other nations,<sup>12</sup> and to account in this way for the biblical institutions, the only one that need in the present state of Old Testament researches be seriously considered is the supposed origin of the Sabbath from Babylonia. It is Wilhelm Lotz who has given to this thesis a scientific setting,<sup>13</sup> and who has demonstrated the futility of theories which sought to connect the Hebrew Sabbath with the *dies Saturni* of the Romans.<sup>14</sup> The point of departure for connecting the Hebrew Sabbath with a Babylonian institution has always been a significant passage in a cuneiform lexicographical tablet<sup>15</sup> which furnished the equation

$$\text{um nu} \dot{\text{b}} \text{ libbi} = \text{ša-bat-tum},$$

i. e., day of rest of the heart = Sabbath. The literal interpretation of the phrase, "day of rest of (or for) the heart,"

<sup>12</sup> See the summary in DILLMANN's *Commentary to Genesis* (fifth edition), pp. 4-10.

<sup>13</sup> *Questiones de historia Sabbati* (Leipzig, 1883).

<sup>14</sup> So, e. g., H. COHEN: "Der Sabbath in seiner culturgeschichtlichen Bedeutung" (*Zeitgeist*, Milwaukee, Wis., 1881, pp. 4 seq.), following DOZY, *Die Israeliten zu Mekka*, pp. 34-5; KUENEN, *Religion of Israel*, I, pp. 262 seq., etc. Others, like Spencer, are inclined to connect the Sabbath with Egyptian rites. (See NOWACK, *Lehrbuch der hebräischen Archäologie*, II, p. 141.)

<sup>15</sup> II Rawlinson (= R.), plate 32, l. 16 a-b. In a syllabary published by Bezold (*Proceedings Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, Vol. XI, December, 1888, marked 83, 1-18, 1330), col. i, 25, and col. iv, 8, a word ša-bat-tim occurs. In the first passage the word occurs in a group of terms, many of which bear on religious rites, as *suppā*, "prayer," *sullā*, "petition," and since, moreover, it is immediately preceded by *nuḫḫu*, "propitiate," there is a strong presumption in favor of regarding it as a variant form of *šabattum*, though the second sign is different from the corresponding one in the word that appears in II R., 32, 16. In the second passage (col. iv, 8), however, the word cannot have any direct connection with our *šabattum*. JENSEN's attempt to establish this connection (*Zeitschr. für Assyriol.*, IV, pp. 275-6) is not convincing. The ideograph of which it is an equivalent differs from the ideograph employed in the other passage (col. i), and the word occurs in a group (mostly Piēl infinitives) that have the general force of "destroy, remove, oppress," and the like (*dibā*, *duppuru*, *nisā*, *sanaḫu*, etc.). Jensen is obliged to recognize that these verbs have nothing to do with *šabattum*. His solution of the difficulty is not at all satisfactory. It is possible that in the second passage we have a form of the stem *šabaṭu* (with *Tēk*) which has the meaning "strike," or perhaps we ought to read *ša-mit* (for *miṭ*) -tum, from *šamaṭu*, to "throw down" or "cut off," like the Hebrew שָׁמַט.

naturally suggested a comparison with the biblical Sabbath, the most prominent feature of which was "rest" from the labors of the week. The further juxtaposition of this Babylonian "day of rest" with Šabattum seemed to settle the question definitely, in view of the apparent identity of this term with the Hebrew *Shabbath* or Sabbath.<sup>16</sup> Not long, however, after the appearance of Lotz' work it was ascertained by Assyriologists that the phrase *ûm nûḫ libbi* did not at all convey the notion of cessation of labors, but that *nûḫ libbi* was a standing expression—almost a technical term—the pacification of a deity's anger.<sup>17</sup> The phrase is of very frequent occurrence in the religious literature of Babylonia, more particularly in hymns addressed by penitents who, in appealing for forgiveness to some deity or deities that have manifested their ill-will, pray: <sup>18</sup> *libbaki* <sup>19</sup> *linûḫ kabittaki* <sup>20</sup> *lipšaḫ*, i. e., "may thy heart be at rest, thy liver be pacified." The parallelism (heart=liver) leaves no doubt as to the proper interpretation,<sup>20</sup> and such is the frequency of the phrase that *nûḫ libbika*,<sup>21</sup> "rest of thy heart," becomes the formula for "divine propitiation," and the pacification psalm itself is known as a *šigu* <sup>22</sup> *nûḫ libbi*. An *ûm nûḫ libbi*, accordingly, was

<sup>16</sup> The form Sabbath (with *s*) is dependent upon the transliteration of the Hebrew word in the Greek translation of the Old Testament.

<sup>17</sup> It is to be regretted that IHERING (*Vorgeschichte der Indo-Europäer*, p. 145) should not have been aware of this now universally accepted sense of the phrase. His view of the biblical Sabbath is necessarily distorted in consequence of his adherence to the older and false view. SAYCE'S view of the Hebrew Sabbath (*Hibbert Lectures*, p. 76) also rests upon a false interpretation of the phrase.

<sup>18</sup> DELITZSCH, *Assyrische Lesestücke*, p. 136, 10, a prayer to Ishtar; ZIMMERN, *Babylonische Busspsalmen*, pp. 35, 53, 62, 75, 79, 80; IV Rawlinson, 19, No. 3, l. 62. For other examples, see DELITZSCH, *Assyrisches Wörterbuch*, p. 453a. An interesting passage in which the phrase occurs is at the close of the legend of Ishtar's descent to the nether world, IV R., 31, Reverse, l. 16: "After her heart (i. e., *Allatu's*) is at rest, her liver brightened."

<sup>19</sup> Addressed to a goddess.

<sup>20</sup> Instead of *libbika linûḫ* we also find *libbu* combined with *lišapših* (e. g., ZIMMERN, *ibid.*, p. 89).

<sup>21</sup> E. g., IV Rawlinson, 18, No. 2, Obverse, ll. 9-10.

<sup>22</sup> *Šigu* is one of the names for penitential song. See ZIMMERN, *Babylonische Busspsalmen*, p. 1. Whether there is any connection between *šigu* and the Hebrew technical term *šiggayon* is doubtful, though not improbable.

a day of propitiation, of pacification, of atonement, of reconciliation with a deity.<sup>23</sup> The idea of rest involved in the phrase has reference to the gods and not to men. From this point of view hardly any greater contrast can be imagined than between the biblical Sabbath as a day of rest for man and the Babylonian *ûm nûh libbi* or *šabattum* as a day of rest for the gods—that is, when the gods rested from their anger, when their minds<sup>24</sup> were once more at ease, when their anger<sup>24</sup> was assuaged. And yet, the very fact that the two days present such a perfect contrast raises the suspicion of some ultimate, albeit remote, connection. A harmonious difference is often the result of a striking agreement; and in view of the hostile spirit developed a century or two before the Babylonian exile, on the part of the Hebrew leaders towards anything Babylonian—a hostility which grew to still larger proportions during the exile, and is best exemplified in the writings of the three greatest prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel—we should be led to expect that any institutions which the Hebrews shared with their Euphratean cousins would be so modified as to be freed from distasteful associations, and eventually to present a contrast to Babylonish customs. Moreover, by abandoning all connection between the *Shabbath* of the Hebrews and the Babylonian *ûm nûh libbi*, a new and formidable difficulty confronts us in accounting for the existence of the Babylonian term *šabattum*. To be sure, some scholars have proposed to get rid of this problem by pleading for a reading *ša-pat-tum*,<sup>25</sup> but the occurrence of a verb *ša-ba-tu* in a lexicographical tablet and entered as a synonym of *gam&ru*, “bring to an end,”<sup>26</sup> throws the balance in favor of the reading *bat*,<sup>27</sup> inasmuch as the corresponding

<sup>23</sup> See JENSEN's article on *šabattu* in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, IV, pp. 274-5.

<sup>24</sup> The “heart” is the seat of the intellect for the Semites; the “liver” (or the bowels) the seat of the emotions.

<sup>25</sup> So DELITZSCH, who enters the word in his *Assyrisches Handw.*, p. 684a, under *šapatu* (see also *ibid.*, p. 453b), but offers no further explanation, nor does he assign the reason which prompted him to abandon his former reading *bat*.

<sup>26</sup> So JENSEN (*Zeitschr. f. Assy.*, IV, p. 275). The passage occurs in V R., 28, l. 14 c-f.

<sup>27</sup> That the second sign is *bat* (or *pat*) is placed beyond all doubt by a reëxamina-

Hebrew verb from which *Shabbath* is obviously derived also signifies "to cease," "to bring to an end."

Many scholars have recently pronounced themselves in favor of retaining the reading *šabattum*.<sup>28</sup> Adopting this reading, it is clear that *some* connection between the word and the Hebrew term שַׁבָּת cannot be lightly dismissed as a mere coincidence. Gunkel (*loc. cit.*), in strongly advocating a direct connection, remarks that the fact that the Sabbath of the Hebrews is a day of rest, while among the Babylonians it was "a day of atonement," does not militate against an original identity. But to justify this remark it is necessary to find a bridge leading from the one institution to the other. Gunkel fails to do so, nor has anyone else, to my knowledge, made the attempt. Since, as admitted, there is no trace of a real day of rest for man among the Babylonians, it is quite natural that Jensen, while he accepts the reading *šabattum* and also admits a connection with the corresponding Hebrew term, should express himself cautiously as to the Babylonian origin of the Hebrew Sabbath.<sup>29</sup> There remains, however, an alternative which, so far as I am aware, has not yet been considered. Can the Hebrew Sabbath have originally been an *ûm nûh libbi*, a day of propitiation or atonement, a day of rest FOR Yahwe instead of a day of rest enjoined BY Yahwe? I venture to raise this question.

### III.

We are, fortunately, in a position to state pretty definitely what ideas the Babylonians attached to a day of propitiation and atonement. Among a people who attributed a significance to almost every act, to every incident and accident of existence, as the Babylonians did,<sup>30</sup> it is natural to find every day of the

tion of the original tablet kindly made at my request by Mr. L. W. King, of the British Museum.

<sup>28</sup> It is sufficient to name SCHRADER, *Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament*, I, p. 20; JENSEN, *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier*, p. 108; and GUNKEL, *Schöpfung und Chaos*, p. 155. We may also add to this number Zimmern, who gives a tacit consent to Gunkel's note on the subject.

<sup>29</sup> *Sunday School Times*, January 16, 1892.

<sup>30</sup> See the writer's forthcoming *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, pp. 354-5.

year endowed with some ominous character, good or bad. In religious calendars prepared by Babylonian scribes, we find the successive days of a month entered as "favorable day," or "day not favorable," or "evil day." "Favorable days" were such on which the gods were in good humor, when they might be approached with the assurance that they would listen to the petitions of their worshipers. The rulers exercised great care to select a "favorable day" for laying the foundations of their palaces or sacred edifices, or for the dedication of a building. It was equally important for the individual to choose a favorable day for starting out on a journey or for inaugurating any important undertaking. Oracles were sought of the priests to determine such matters. On "evil days," on the contrary, great precautions had to be exercised lest the ill-humor of the god or gods should lead to some direct manifestation of anger—as sickness, storm, a fall, drought, bad crops, and the like. The "evil day" was not necessarily the day when a misfortune took place, but a day that might lead to a misfortune. An *am nûh libbi*, or day of propitiation and atonement, occupies an intermediate position between a "favorable" and an "unfavorable" day. The hoped-for pacification implied that the deity was angry, or might become angry, and in so far it was an "evil day," but, on the other hand, it had also its "favorable" side, since the worshiper succeeded, or hoped to succeed, by some means or the other in dispelling the divine displeasure. In a religious calendar—well known to Assyriologists—for the intercalated month of Elul we find the 7th, 14th, 19th, 21st, and 28th days entered as "favorable day, evil day,"<sup>3</sup> while the others are simply "favorable" days. For each day certain measures are prescribed, and upon examining the regulations for the "favorable-unfavorable" days, it will be found that they consist mainly of *precautions* to be observed. The calendar in question might be called a "royal" one, for the king alone is

<sup>3</sup> IV Rawlinson (second edition), plates 32-3. SCHRADER's translation (*Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament*, I, p. 19) of *am magâri* (*sic*!) as "day of consecration" misses the point entirely, while SAYCE (*Hibbert Lectures*, pp. 71-6) has mislead many by rendering *am BUL* (=limnu) as "Sabbath." The error was pardonable in the days of Fox Talbot and George Smith, but not in 1887.

involved in the rites and precautions. As the one standing nearer to the gods than the subjects, and upon whose favor with the gods the welfare of the people is conditioned,<sup>32</sup> the king is cautioned against avoiding display on the five days of the month above mentioned. He is not to eat meat roasted on coals or anything that has touched the fire,<sup>33</sup> here introduced as a sacred element. He is not to put on fineries, nor even to make offerings. He must not mount his chariot, nor sit in state, nor enter the sacred chamber where the gods dwell. A physician is not to be called in to the sick bed.<sup>34</sup> The days in question are not favorable for invoking curses upon the enemies, but when the evening comes, sacrifices may be brought to the gods to whom the days are sacred. Then we are told "the king brings his gifts, offers his sacrifices, and his prayer will be accepted with favor by the deity."

These precautions become intelligible under the double aspect of the days in question. As "unfavorable" days, everything had to be avoided that, in order to succeed, required the aid of the gods; hence the order not to bring sacrifices, not to enter the holy of holies, not to ask for curses upon one's enemy, not to call in the physician—since the medicinal potions could not be effective without the favorable acceptance of the incantations. Equally essential was it to avoid arousing the jealousy of the gods on days when they were not favorably disposed. The king must endeavor to hide himself from the gods and, at all events, not to call their attention to his existence by appearing in public or in his official capacity. Riding in his chariot, sitting in state, robing himself, are forbidden under this aspect of the day. On the other hand, the day becomes a "favorable" one by virtue of the observance of the precautions, and hence, at its close, the king offers his gifts and sacrifices with the assurance that they will be received by the gods. These

<sup>32</sup> The order of ideas is the same as controls the position of the king in general in ancient cults. See FRAZER, *The Golden Bough*, Vol. I, pp. 109 *seq.*

<sup>33</sup> Akal tumri (col. i, 30, etc.) is explained (col. ii, 41) as mimma ša ištati bašlu, *i. e.*, anything cooked with fire.

<sup>34</sup> DAVIS (*Genesis and Semitic Tradition*, p. 26) has not grasped the meaning of this and the following line of the text.

"favorable-unfavorable" days are not limited to the month of Elul. We have a calendar for another month—Markheshwan—in which the same five days are similarly singled out and the same measures prescribed. There is every reason to believe, therefore, that all the months had their "favorable-unfavorable" days, though possibly not always the same.<sup>35</sup> The phrase *ûm nûh libbi* does not occur in these calendars, but this need not surprise us, since the phrase does not represent the name for any particular institution, but is merely a descriptive term.<sup>36</sup> Any day on which the anger of the gods was set at rest would be an *ûm nûh libbi*, and correspondingly any day<sup>37</sup> on which the attempt would be made to make the gods favorable who for some reason were angry or disposed to anger would give that day the character of a day of atonement and propitiation.<sup>38</sup>

Turning now to the Hebrew Sabbath, it is interesting to find distinct traces in the Old Testament of its having once been anything but a propitious occasion. The manna

<sup>35</sup> In the month of Shebat, *e. g.*, the twenty-seventh day is also "unfavorable" (IV Rawlinson [second edition], pl. 33, note 7).

<sup>36</sup> See below.

<sup>37</sup> Not any "season," as DAVIS (*Genesis and Semitic Tradition*, p. 25) puts it.

<sup>38</sup> The anger of the gods plays a very prominent part in the religious literature of the Babylonians. The general view held of the gods was that, while they were just and could be pacified by prayer and sacrifice, they were easily roused to anger. At critical periods—on the approach of the rainy season, at the time that the crops were expected to ripen, upon undertaking a journey, and more the like—any errors made in one's conduct toward the gods would be certain of being followed by disastrous consequences. The choice of the 7th, 14th, 21st, and 28th days of the month is connected with the general importance attached to the moon as a great heavenly body exercising an influence on the fate of mankind, and a special significance is attached to the beginning of the phases in the moon's appearance, as marking a specially critical period. But other days besides those connected with the movements of the moon had an "unfavorable" character. So, as already noted, the nineteenth day in the months of the intercalated Elul and Markheshwan, and probably for other months of the year. In a calendar arranged for the entire year (V Rawlinson, pls. 48 and 49) every day is accorded some character. Quite a number of days are entered as "unfavorable," and in this calendar, too, we find precautions frequently prescribed, such as the prohibitions against eating certain food—swine's meat, beef, dates, fish—on certain days or against carrying on mercantile pursuits on some days. These measures are again of an expiatory character like those already noted. All such days would come under the general caption of "pacification" or "atonement" days.



which falls copiously for six days of the week is withheld on the seventh day (Ex. 16:25). The measures prescribed for the day are almost exclusively of a restrictive character, the resemblance of which to the Babylonian measures is, to say the least, striking. The people are not to leave their homes on that day (*ibid.*, 29). Fires are not to be kindled in the dwellings (Ex. 35:3); not even the wood for the fire is to be gathered (Num. 15:32-36). No work of any kind is to be done by any member of the household in the fields. No baking or cooking is to be done in the house (Ex. 16:23), and it is well known how the further elaboration of those instructions led to nigh endless restrictions.<sup>39</sup> The people were not to journey on the Sabbath, not to ride, nor even to walk beyond a certain distance; no burdens were to be carried, fire was not to be touched, no meals were to be cooked, no business of any kind to be carried on. We may feel certain that most of these restrictions were in force long before the Talmudic period—many centuries, indeed, before the days of Jesus—while some belong to as old a period as any of the regulations found in the Old Testament. The resemblance of these measures—so exclusively negative—to the Babylonian orders for the five “unfavorable” days of the month has, of course, not failed to attract the attention of scholars, but, this resemblance being admitted, we are obviously justified in proposing, for the Hebrew regulations, the same interpretation that holds good for the Babylonian customs. So strange a command as the one to “remain indoors” becomes intelligible as a survival of a conception of the Sabbath as an “unfavorable” day—a day on which it was dangerous to show one’s self before Yahwe. Again, that fire was not to be handled cannot have been a consequence of a conception of the Sabbath as a day of rest from labors, but must have preceded such a conception. The fire is sacred to Yahwe. He manifests himself frequently in the flame;<sup>40</sup> hence the fire must not be touched except when Yahwe is favorably disposed.

<sup>39</sup> The Talmud enumerates thirty-nine restrictions.

<sup>40</sup> Ex. 3:2; 19:18; 24:17. Yahwe “answers” the petition through fire (1 Kings 18:24). In the New Testament (Heb. 12:29) the Lord is still called “a

A ceremony still observed by Jews at the exit of the Sabbath preserves a trace of the sacredness ascribed to fire. As night is ushered in, a light is kindled and a benediction<sup>42</sup> pronounced over fire; and it is significant that the same ceremony is expressly prescribed<sup>42</sup> for the Day of Atonement. The connection thus suggested between the Sabbath and the Day of Atonement, and which will be dwelt upon further, cannot be accidental.<sup>43</sup> Hence the close of the great Atonement Day when Yahwe had been pacified was particularly appropriate for kindling a fire, and the striking of a light at the close of the Sabbath evening as the end of an "inauspicious" day was a symbol that the hoped-for pacification of the deity had been attained.<sup>44</sup>

I venture, further, to suggest that the idea of "propitiating" an enraged deity entered largely originally into the ordinance that became the central feature of Sabbath observance, namely, the command to abstain from labor.<sup>45</sup> If the Sabbath was originally an "unfavorable" day on which one must avoid showing one's self before Yahwe, it would naturally be regarded as dangerous to provoke his anger by endeavoring to secure on that day personal benefits through the usual forms of activity. That the labor meant was primarily work in the fields follows

consuming fire;" cf. Deut. 4 : 24 ; Is. 30 : 27, etc. The fire that consumes the sacrifice comes direct from Yahwe (Lev. 9 : 24), and it is through fire that Yahwe destroys those who are guilty of sacrilege (Lev. 10 : 2).

<sup>42</sup> בִּרְאָה מְאֹדִי הָאֵשׁ, "Blessed is the creator of the light (of fire)." See *Midrash Rabba* to Genesis, § 11.

<sup>43</sup> *Midrash Rabba*, *ibid.*; also at the close of the section.

<sup>44</sup> Among all nations of antiquity the kindling of fire is attended with solemn ceremony (GOBLET D'ALVIELLA, *Histoire Religieuse du Feu*, pp. 65-70). It is sufficient to recall here the survival of rites connected with the fire among the Romans. (See SMITH's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, s. v. Vestales.) Care was always taken that the fire was kindled at an auspicious moment.

<sup>45</sup> The relationship (if any) of this ceremony to another Jewish "fire" rite — the so-called lighting of the lamps on Friday evening — is difficult to determine. The antiquity of this latter ceremony is evidenced by the circumstance that the *women* of the households are the ones who perform it. Among ancient nations, it will be recalled, the women are the carriers and preservers of the fire. (IHERING, *Vorgeschichte der Indo-Europäer*, p. 349.) The ceremony may be an outgrowth of the original preservation of the fire, modified in its adaptation to totally changed conditions.

<sup>46</sup> Labor was of no use unless it was rewarded through the favor of the deity.

from the phraseology in the decalogue.<sup>46</sup> Kindling of fire, attending to the household needs, can only be brought under the heading of work by a legal pressure exerted upon the term, and the same is the case with such acts as riding or walking. But this very introduction of a strictly legal spirit in the interpretation of the Sabbath regulations which results in the wide scope that the restrictive measures are made to embrace must be based on a conception of the day broad enough to include both ordinary activity and such restrictions as lie outside of the province of *Abhoda*.<sup>47</sup>

Besides the comparison of the biblical and post-biblical regulations for the Sabbath with Babylonian customs, there is other evidence going to show that the Sabbath had at one time a severe aspect, resembled, indeed, the great Day of Atonement, the "day of propitiation" *par excellence*, which was celebrated on the tenth day of the seventh month. From the fifty-eighth chapter of Isaiah it would seem that fasting at one time formed a feature of Sabbath observance—precisely as on the great Day of Atonement. In that chapter the prophet pleads for an ideal "fast day," and it has been customary to interpret his words as a sermon appropriate to the Day of Atonement. However, he makes no mention of this day, whereas, after denouncing the futility of supposing mere abstention from food to be pleasing in the sight of the deity, he introduces, and evidently with intent, the Sabbath (vs. 13). The post-exilic prophet protests apparently against an observance of the Sabbath which he feels forms too close a parallel to Babylonish customs to be a legitimate means of honoring Yahwe, and calls upon the people to change the day into one which should have a "joyous" character.<sup>48</sup> The

<sup>46</sup> Ex. 20:9-10; Deut. 5:13-14. See, also, Ex. 34:21. Work in which the entire household and the ox and the ass are engaged is field labor.

<sup>47</sup> The Hebrews, like the Babylonians, had their "favorable" and "unfavorable" days, as the phrase *Yom Tob* ("good-day") for holy day shows, and it is worth noting that the Sabbath is never called a *Yom Tob*. The term is applied strictly only to the three festivals, Passover, Pentecost, and Booths, but the usage is extended to the New Year's Day and to the feast of Purim.

<sup>48</sup> וְקִרְאתָ לַשַּׁבָּת דֵּגֶן, "And thou shalt call the Sabbath a delight." CHEYNE, *Isaiah* (Polychrome Bible), p. 103, separates vss. 13 and 14 as an appendix from the rest of the chapter. I cannot see the necessity for doing so.

so-called Puritanical Sabbath, solemn, austere, and devoid of all merry-making, so admirably pictured in Alice Morse Earle's book,<sup>49</sup> represents the consistent result of the old Hebrew Sabbath viewed as a day of propitiation and atonement. And if the strict observance of the Sabbath regulations by the Jews in the Middle Ages had a more joyous character, it was because the austerity of the day was relieved by ample provisions for three substantial meals, which became not only a prominent feature, but an essential requisite of the institution.<sup>50</sup> Fasting is forbidden on the Sabbath for the express reason that it interferes with the carrying out of Isaiah's order to make the Sabbath an ענג, a "delight."<sup>51</sup> If it be, furthermore, borne in mind that the Sabbath is the only occasion on which it is absolutely forbidden to fast, the probability is increased that this rather curious prohibition voices a protest against an observance of the day as a fast once in vogue, but afterward regarded as an illegitimate rite. As a matter of fact, the order to "enjoy" three meals on the Sabbath constitutes about the only lighter touch introduced into the observance of the day and presents a contrast to the other ordinances, which are almost all of a negative and restrictive character—dealing with things that one must *not* do on the Sabbath. When an exception occurs, it seems

<sup>49</sup> *The Sabbath in Puritan New England*, pp. 245-58.

<sup>50</sup> ABRAHAM, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, pp. 83, 373, and *passim*. Great stress is laid by the Jewish theologians upon these meals. It is significant that the term ענג, "delight," as used by Isaiah, is applied by them to the meals; and the conjecture, above advanced, that the old Sabbath was a fast day finds support (by implication) in the express prohibition against fasting laid down in the religious code—the so-called *Shulchan Arukh*—which served as the guide in the proper performance of the ceremonies of orthodox Judaism.

<sup>51</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 13. With rigorous logic the dyspeptic to whom three substantial meals constitute a torture, and not a "delight"—and whose greater "delight" consists in not eating—is excluded from the obligation. It is not sufficient to take the three meals; it is absolutely necessary that one must "enjoy" them, regard them as a "delight." (*Hilkhoth Shabbath*, § 288.) The ascetic who is accustomed to fast every day till noon—as very pious people did—is also exempt, because the departure from fixed habit might cause him physical discomfort, and thus interfere with his "enjoyment" of the Sabbath. In view of the custom of fasting after a bad dream, permission was given to fast in such a case also on the Sabbath, but on condition that one would *atone* for fasting on the Sabbath, by observing another fast day, a week from the day after the Sabbath in question.

to be made—as in the order to eat three meals—with the deliberate attempt to remove earlier associations connected with the day. In this way, we can understand the curious discussion found in rabbinical writings regarding the question of clothes on the Sabbath. On the Babylonian “unfavorable days,” it will be recalled, the king is prohibited from changing his clothes. It is in the light of this prohibition that the opinion of some of the rabbis becomes intelligible, who declare that one *must* change one’s clothes on the Sabbath. And one authority goes so far as to declare that the “sanctifiatur” of the day mentioned in Gen. 2:3 refers to the garments to be worn on the Sabbath. Unless some ancient popular usage existed that discountenanced display of one’s dress on the Sabbath, the rabbis would not have concerned themselves with a point that on the surface appears trivial. For some reason it was felt that the ancient usage was not in keeping with a proper observance of the day.<sup>52</sup>

But while emphasizing the resemblance of this Hebrew institution, in its earlier form, to the “inauspicious” days observed by the Babylonians, we must at the same time recognize the points at which the former deviates from the latter. The Babylonian view of the responsibility of the king for the welfare of his people finds no place in the biblical injunctions for the Sabbath, but there are traces that the Hebrews, too, held a belief of this kind at one time. The strong and unmistakable emphasis which the Pentateuch lays upon the fact that the “whole people is holy” (Ex. 19:6; Deut. 7:6; 14:2, etc.; Lev. 11:43; 19:2, etc.) sounds again like a protest against an older doctrine according to which holiness was restricted to certain favored individuals—kings or priests or heroes. Hence, while the Babylonian measures for the “unfavorable” days are limited to the king, in the Pentateuch the entire people is commanded to observe the precautions. Still more significant is the celebration of the Sabbath every seventh day, regardless of any reference to the phases of the moon. There is no trace of any such step

<sup>52</sup> So, e. g., *Huna* in *Midrash Rabba* to Genesis, § 11; others say that it is sufficient to examine them to see whether they are in good condition; others, that one must wear them long, so as to vary from the customary fashion of the week.

having been taken by the Babylonians, or, for that matter, by any people outside of the Hebrews. And yet the original dependence of the Sabbath upon the new moon—which has been so clearly demonstrated as to require no further comment—carries with it the assumption that the Hebrews must at one time have observed a Sabbath at intervals of seven days corresponding with the moon's phases. This being the case, it follows that the Hebrews were influenced by the same motives that suggested to the Babylonians to give to the 7th, 14th, 21st, 28th day after the new moon a special character. The change in the appearance of the heavenly body symbolized a critical period in the affairs of mankind. Would the new phase bring good or ill fortune? The observation—still regarded as significant by the modern farmer—that changes of weather are often coincident with changes in the moon's phases will also not have escaped such close observers as the ancient Babylonians; and, though new moon festivals are not limited to the agricultural population among the Semites,<sup>53</sup> it is among agriculturalists, such as the Hebrews and Babylonians were to a large extent, that such festivals acquire special prominence. It was important, at such critical periods as are represented by the changes in the moon's phases,<sup>54</sup> to secure the good-will of the deity. Special precautions had to be used at such times not to offend the god or gods to whom these days were set aside.<sup>55</sup> Close, therefore, though the direct connection is that existed between the Babylonian custom of regarding the four days coinciding with changes in the moon's phases as "inauspicious" days, and the original form of the Hebrew Sabbath, a complete rupture was brought about when once the step was taken of selecting every seventh day of the year as a Sabbath without reference to the position

<sup>53</sup> DOUGHTY, *Arabia Deserta*, I, p. 366; II, pp. 225, 306.

<sup>54</sup> The appearance of the new moon itself is, however, a natural occasion of joy at the return of the lost planet. Hence the first day of the month was not, in Babylonia, an "inauspicious" day.

<sup>55</sup> In the case of the two Babylonian months for which we have complete calendars, and probably, therefore, in the case of the others, the seventh day is sacred to Marduk and Sarpanitum, the fourteenth to Ninib and Nergal, the twenty-first to Sin and Shamash, the twenty-eighth to Ea.

of the day in the month — a rupture that cleared the way, also, for an independent development of the Hebrew institution. There were probably several factors at work in bringing about this departure, but an important one was the predominating emphasis laid upon what was originally only one feature in the precautionary measures prescribed for the day — the abstention from labor. Practically, this abstention is involved in the Babylonian ordinances for the king on the inauspicious days of the month. A ruler who is not to show himself in his chariot, not to hold court, not to bring sacrifices, not to change his clothes, not to eat a good dinner, and not even to curse his enemies, has really very little left to do. The restrictions cover the programme of the daily life at court. Adapting the principles involved in these measures to the conditions of the people, what other form could the ordinances take than to restrain the masses from following their customary pursuits? The simple edict, "Six days shalt thou work and on the seventh day cease" (Ex. 34:21), covered the whole range of precautionary measures — summed them up in a nutshell. Moreover, by emphasizing this feature of cessation from labor, the way was prepared for an interpretation of labor (*Abôda*), which extended its range so as to embrace restrictions like the prohibition to kindle fires, to leave one's dwelling, and more the like, for the explanation of which we must have recourse, as already intimated, to an entirely different series of ideas. If we assume that the manna was originally withheld on the seventh day, because it was an "unfavorable" day, we can also understand that it was dangerous to show one's self before the deity angered or prone to anger, and that therefore the people were ordered to stay indoors.

In this way, the parallels offered by Babylonian customs to biblical regulations are accounted for, and, at the same time, the transformation of a day of atonement and propitiation into a day of rest becomes intelligible.

#### IV.

In order to justify the position here maintained, which involves an ultimate and direct contact between the religious

views of the Babylonians and Hebrews, it will not be amiss to recall how largely the idea of anger and propitiation enters into the conception of deity held by the ancient Hebrews. Up to a late period Yahwe is pictured as a god who manifests his wrath frequently. Though represented as a god of "long endurance," he appears generally as enraged at some defection or misdeed on the part of his followers. So prominent is this trait that many scholars have felt tempted to interpret the name of Yahwe as the god of storms and lightning, who had his seat on the heights of Mt. Sinai. He loves his subjects, but the latter are commanded to "fear" him, and the word "fear" was not employed as a metaphor when first introduced. His anger was represented by a later age as righteous indignation. Frequently it was so, and ultimately the conception of the angered Yahwe led to a lofty ethical view of his rule over mankind; but even righteous wrath is anger, and an angered god had to be appeased in some way. In the sacrificial regulations of the Pentateuch the guilt offering occupies a prominent place.<sup>56</sup> The two most solemn days in the Jewish calendar are the Day of Atonement, on which propitiation of the deity is the feature accompanying the confession of sins, and the New Year's Day, which is not a day of rejoicing at all, but a very somber occasion, in the rites of which propitiation is so prominent as to make the day the precursor to the Day of Atonement, celebrated ten days later. To further emphasize the leading thought of the two days, the nine days intervening between the New Year's Day and the Day of Atonement are regarded by the Jewish church as days of "penitence." In the ritual for the seventh day of the feast of Booths, known as Hoshānā Rabbā, the "atonement" *motif* is again introduced in propitiatory prayers prescribed for the occa-

<sup>56</sup> All errors, sins, and mistakes had to be atoned for. So constant was the fear of provoking Yahwe to anger that even on the festivals which were supposed to be days of rejoicing the guilt offering was not absent. Sin, atonement, and pacification are the prominent themes in the biblical psalms of all periods, just as they are constantly dwelt upon in the religious poetry of the Babylonians. The resemblance so frequently pointed out between the penitential psalms of Babylonia and biblical productions is significant for the agreement in the view taken by both Hebrews and Babylonians, regarding the relationship of the gods to mankind. See, *e. g.*, FRANCIS BROWN, "The Religious Poetry of the Babylonians," *Presbyterian Review*, 1888, pp. 79 seq.



sion.<sup>57</sup> Similarly, amidst the rejoicing incident to other festivals, a minor key is sounded as if to warn the people not to arouse their god to anger by a display of unbounded joy. But more significant than these indications is the use of a technical term in the Old Testament for which the Babylonian furnishes a striking equivalent, and which further justifies the comparison of the early character of the Hebrew Sabbath with a Babylonian *ûm nûh libbi*.

## V.

The objection may be raised against the thesis here defended that the proof has not yet been furnished that the unfavorable days among the Babylonians were actually known as *ûm nûh libbi*, "days of propitiation," or as *šabattum*, which, it will be recalled, is recorded by the Babylonian scribes as the term equivalent to the phrase *ûm nûh libbi*. The fact, however, that the latter phrase is merely a description of *šabattum* answers the first part of the objection. Since *ûm nûh libbi* is not the name of an institution, but *merely* a term based upon the well-established usage of *nûh libbi*, "rest of the heart," for propitiation, it is sufficient to prove that the idea of propitiation is prominent in the observances of certain days, to justify us in regarding any day on which the attempt would be made to conciliate an angered deity, or one liable to become angry, as an *ûm nûh libbi*, "a day of propitiation." Of more serious moment is the circumstance that *šabattum* has not yet been met with in any religious text of the Babylonians. If, however, we turn once more to the passage in the lexicographical tablet where the term occurs, we will find that the same is the case with the terms preceding *šabattum* (in the same column), and which are either allied to it or contrasted with it. Such are

<sup>57</sup> The so-called *Selihoth*, e. g., LEESER'S *Prayer Book*, Pt. 8, pp. 74-185. My friend, Judge Sulzberger, kindly directed my attention to this point. The *Hoshanna* that forms the refrain to the chants on the first seven days of the feast of Booths must be an old pilgrim shout upon seeing the sanctuary again after an interval of longer or shorter duration. The shout recalls the *labaik* shouted by the pilgrims to Mecca, and which, like the Hebrew *Hošana*, is made the refrain of pilgrims' songs. See, e. g., BURTON, *A Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina*, Vol. II, chap. xii.

um riḥistim, "day of rainstorm;" ūm zikati, "favorable day;" ūm idirti, "day of sorrow;" ūm bubbulum,<sup>58</sup> "day of disappearance."<sup>59</sup> Of these, the latter alone occurs,<sup>60</sup> and of the words in the left-hand column only ūm nu-bat-tim.<sup>61</sup> The latter, indeed, appears to have been the common designation for a particular class of sacred days, also of an austere character, and Jensen is of the opinion that nubattu may be an ideographic, or possibly phonetic, designation for our šabattum.<sup>62</sup> This view, however, is not tenable, nor is the proof which he furnishes that nubattu signifies "rest" at all satisfactory.<sup>63</sup> The tablet in question, or at least the portion of it with which alone we are concerned, is a study of terms for unfavorable and favorable days. In view of the large number of such days that the Babylonians had, it is not surprising to find a variety of terms for such occasions, differentiated according to the particular character of the unfavorable day. Stormy days, the days when the moon was not visible, days of mourning for a deceased relative, days of divine wrath—all those were in one sense or the other "unfavorable" days. The words in the corresponding lines of the first and second column are entered as synonyms, and it matters little whether, as in most cases, the second column furnishes the name of the day and the first column the description, or *vice versa*, as in other cases. Since the meaning of ūm nūḥ libbi is clear, it follows that šabattum is a term actually used by the Babylonians, and in the exact sense that holds good

<sup>58</sup> JEREMIAS, *Babyl.-Assyr. Vorstell. v. Leben n. d. Tode*, p. 53, note 4.

<sup>59</sup> *I. e.*, of the moon or of an individual; hence a "day of mourning."

<sup>60</sup> *E. g.*, IV Rawlinson, pl. 23, No. 1, col. i, 4. See also JENSEN, *Kosmologie*, p. 106.

<sup>61</sup> The 3d, 7th, etc., days of the intercalated Elul (IV R., pl. 32) are designated as nubattu.

<sup>62</sup> *Kosmologie*, p. 108.

<sup>63</sup> Haupt probably no longer adheres to the explanation suggested in the *Beiträge z. Assyriologie*, I, p. 144, note. There must be some association or opposition between nubattum and AB-AB, since both in the case of the intercalated Elul and of Markheshwan (IV R., plates 32 and 33) the day following a nubattum, *i. e.*, the 4th, 8th, and 17th of the month, is called ūm AB-AB. Unfortunately, the meaning of AB-AB here is not known. Sayce's opinion (*Hibbert Lectures*, p. 71, note 2) needs no refutation. That the ūm AB-AB is a favorable day follows from a passage in Sargon Cylinder, l. 59, for it is on an AB-AB that the king lays the foundation of Dūr-Šarukīn.

for the phrase by which it is described. It is not necessary for maintaining the view here held of the original character of the Hebrew Sabbath that šabattum should actually have been applied by the Babylonians to the specific "unfavorable" days represented by the 7th, 14th, 21st, and 28th days of the month; it is sufficient if we can show that the Hebrew possesses a term like šabattum, and used in the sense of "propitiation." This proof can, I venture to think, be furnished.

## VI.

The view as to the connection between the Hebrew Sabbath and *some* Babylonian institution has been placed in a wrong light by the general assumption, on the part of those favoring such a connection, that the Hebrew word שַׁבָּת corresponds to the Babylonian šabattum. The assumption is not accurate, for while the two terms are related, the one is not the equivalent of the other.<sup>64</sup> The word corresponds closely to the Hebrew שַׁבְּתוֹן (*shabbāthōn*). It is with this word that I propose to compare our šabattum,<sup>65</sup> the *n* in the Hebrew noun being represented by *m* in the Assyrian, thus ša-ba-tun = ša-ba(t)-tum. Apart from the philological justification of this comparison, the usage of שַׁבְּתוֹן in the Old Testament shows that it is a general term like šabattum, and not the name for a

<sup>64</sup> The Hebrew word lacks the ending *um*, nor is the double *t* of šabattum paralleled in Hebrew. The ending *um* might be regarded as the emphatic addition so frequently added to Babylonian nouns, but the writing with the double *t* would not be accounted for on this supposition. We should expect the word to be written ša-ba-tum, as we have ir-ḡi-tum (Hebrew אֶרְדִּי), šar-ra-tum (Hebrew שָׂרָרָה), and the like. In šabattum, therefore, the *m* appears to be used as an affirmative *m* attached to the word. See DELITZSCH, *Assyr. Grammatik*, § 65, No. 36. It is possible to distinguish in Assyrian much more carefully than has been done between the *m* attached as a *mimination* and an *m* attached as an affirmative preceded by a *u*.

<sup>65</sup> The writing with one *b* bears out the view advanced by J. BARTH, *Nominalbildung*, p. 324, and also by LAGARDE, *Uebersicht über die im Aramaischen, etc., Bildung der Nomina*, p. 202, that the reduplication of the second radical in Hebrew nouns with the affirmative -*an* as זָכַרְוֹן, מִקְרָוֹן, שְׁפָרְוֹן, and the like (see the list in LAGARDE, *loc. cit.*, pp. 197–203), is a phonetic device to protect the short vowel *i*, and does not justify us in regarding such nouns as formations from intensive (or *Piʿl*) stems.

specific institution like *Šabbāth*.<sup>66</sup> A careful study of the passages where the word occurs will show, I think, that *šabbāthōn* does not signify "rest," or "observance of rest," or "solemn rest." It occurs altogether ten times, and all these passages are in the Pentateuch, in the so-called "Code of Holiness" and the "Priestly Code." In the Priestly Code (Lev. 23:24), the New Year's Day is called a *שַׁבְּתוֹן*; Lev. 23:39, the first and eighth days of the harvest festival (*Sukkoth*) are so designated in the same chapter (vs. 32). In the Priestly Code (Lev. 16:31), the Day of Atonement is spoken of as a *שַׁבְּתוֹן*, while the sabbatical year (Lev. 25:4) is called a *שַׁנַּת שַׁבְּתוֹן*,<sup>67</sup> and it occurs four times in connection with the Sabbath (Ex. 16:23; 35:2; 31:15; and Lev. 23:3). The words with the affirmative *ān*, and more particularly those of the form *kat(t)alān*, appear to belong to the older stratum of the language.<sup>68</sup> With one or two exceptions, the words of this form are of rare occurrence, and we are justified, therefore, in assuming that *שַׁבְּתוֹן* is older than, or at

<sup>66</sup> To simply render it as an abstract noun—a derivative of *שָׁבַת* (e. g., KEIL, *Biblischer Kommentar*, to Ex. 16:23, "Ruhe;" STRACK, *Kurzfassender Kommentar*, to same passage, "Ruhefeier;" so also DILLMANN, *Com. to Exodus*, p. 174; REUSS, *La Bible*, I, 2, p. 47, "jour de repos")—is unsatisfactory. Nor can we account for its usage by making it an emphatic term, as others propose, e. g., the Authorized Version "rest;" Revised Version, "solemn rest." Of the ancient versions, the Septuagint renders *ἀνάπαυσις*; the Targum (*Šbatha* or *Nyāḥa*) regards *šabbāthōn* as the *status emphaticus* of *Šabbath*, while the Vulgate (*requies*) agrees with the Septuagint.

<sup>67</sup> And also *שַׁנַּת שַׁבְּתוֹן* (*ibid.*, 5).

<sup>68</sup> The numerous proper names in Hebrew (over sixty) ending in *ān* or *ōn* point in this direction, and an examination of the common nouns of this form shows that they either belong to poetic diction, which furnishes a presumption in favor of their being archaic, or occur as technical terms that have survived the period when nouns of this form ceased to be used. It is impossible here to enter upon a detailed statement regarding these nouns, which merit a special investigation. Suffice it to call attention here to the following facts: *לְעִירָן* (Ps. 7:1; the Plural: Hab. 3:1) is a technical term in literature or music. *נְקִירָן* (Hos. 8:5; Amos 4:6; Ps. 26:6; 73:13); *עֲזָבוֹן* (Ezek. 27:27); and *מִקְרָן* (Lev. 5:21, 23; Gen. 41:36), are technical, legal, and commercial terms. Again, *יִרְקָן*, *שִׁנְפוֹן*, *כְּלִירָן*, *עִירָן*, *שִׁנְעָן*, and *תִּמְרוֹן* occur only in the chapter of curses (Deut. 28) or in passages dependent upon their occurrence in this chapter. The chapter, though containing various additions that belong to the period of the exile or later, is pre-exilic in its origin, and contains numerous standing phrases that make the impression of having become proverbial. The word *תִּמְרוֹן*, used only in connection with the tradition of the exodus from Egypt (Ex. 12:11;

least as old as, שַׁבָּת. In any case, it can be shown that its use is not dependent upon שַׁבָּת. The phrase, שַׁבָּת שַׁבְּתוֹן, is found in connection with the ordinary Sabbath,<sup>69</sup> as well as in connection with the Day of Atonement (Lev. 16:31) and for the sabbatical year (Lev. 25:4). The two terms, when thus used, are syntactically in apposition, שַׁבָּת being the name of the institution, and שַׁבְּתוֹן a term descriptive of the institution. In other words, the Sabbath is called a *Šabbāthōn* precisely as the New Year's Day, the Day of Atonement, and the first and eighth days of the harvest festivals are so called. That this is the correct interpretation of the phrase is evidenced by the interchange in the position of the two words.<sup>70</sup> To account, therefore, for this term שַׁבְּתוֹן being applied to four other days of the year besides the Sabbath, one must discover some feature which the four days have in common with the Sabbath. This common feature cannot be cessation from labor, for rest is also ordained for the first and seventh days of Passover (Lev. 23:7-8) and for the Pentecost festival (*ibid.*, 21), none of which are designated as שַׁבְּתוֹן. Sanctification—a second feature of the Sabbath—is also common to *all* the holy days.

## VII.

A reference has already been made to the austere and gloomy character of the New Year's Day and the Day of Atonement. The New Year's Day, in addition to being a שַׁבְּתוֹן, is called a *zikkārōn*, "a memorial day," a *terā'ā*, "a day of agitation." It is the day, according to the Jewish tradition (as expressed in the ritual for the occasion), when the Lord sits in judgment and

Deut. 16:3; Is. 52:12) is certainly an old word, and so is קַצְבוֹן, found only in the phrase קַצְבוֹנָהּ וְחַרְוֹנָהּ (Gen. 3:16 and in Gen. 5:29, which is a direct reference to the former passage). שַׁבְּרוֹן occurs in a poetical fragment in Jeremiah (17:18), and in a phrase שַׁבְּרוֹן מַחֲנִים, Ezek. 21:11 (in parallelism with the *παῖς λεγόμενος*, מַרְיָוֹת), which, like the standing phrase, קָתְוֹן קָה (Ezek. 16:63; 29:21), impresses one as old. The only word of this class that may be reckoned among the words of the language in common use is פָּצְרוֹן. אֶצְרֵן (Jer. 17:1), literally "fingernail," and used as the name of the stylus, is certainly a very old word.

<sup>69</sup> In the four passages above quoted.

<sup>70</sup> In one place (Ex. 35:2) we find שַׁבְּתוֹן שַׁבָּת; in another (Ex. 16:23) שַׁבְּתוֹן שַׁבָּת.

decrees the fate of mankind for the coming year. This conception is very old, and is to be compared with the Babylonian New Year's festival, known as Zagmuk, when Marduk and his associates assemble in Du-Azagga, "the chamber of fates,"<sup>72</sup> to determine the lot of their subjects. On New Year's Day we are told the fate of mankind is decreed, and the decree is sealed on the Day of Atonement.<sup>73</sup>

The New Year's Day accordingly is preëminently an occasion on which it is necessary to secure the good-will of the deity. One's happiness for the year depends upon making the day an *ûm nûh libbi*—a day of propitiation. The Day of Atonement bears the same character as the New Year's Day, only that the hope of propitiation dominates the rites completely.

Coming to the harvest festival, I venture to think that here also the propitiation *motif* suggests the application of שְׁבוּחַי to the first and eighth days. The festival coincided with the period when the winter rains, so essential to agricultural prosperity in Palestine and Babylonia, were about to begin. The eighth day is especially set aside in the ritual for interceding with Yahwe to bring down the rain plentifully and in due season.<sup>73</sup> In order that the appeal should be effective, Yahwe must be favorably inclined. The day thus becomes one on which it was again essential not to arouse the deity's displeasure. This propitiatory aspect of the day is also indicated in some way by the term עֲצֵרָה applied no less than four times to it (Lev. 23:36; Num. 29:35; Neh. 8:18; 2 Chron. 7:9). The meaning "assembly," by which the term is usually translated, can only be secondary. The only sense in which the stem underlying עֲצֵרָה is used is that of "shutting off, restraining." The יום

<sup>72</sup> POGNON, *Inscriptions Babyl. du Wadi Brissa*, Pls. VIII and IX. See JENSEN, *Kosmologie der Babylonier*, pp. 84-6 and 238.

<sup>73</sup> TOSEFTA, *Rôsh-Hashshânâ*, 15. The common wish among the Jews for one another on New Year's Day is, "May you be 'inscribed' [*i. e.*, in the divine scroll] for a good life," and on the Day of Atonement, "May you be 'sealed' for a good life."

<sup>73</sup> It is to be noted that the day is regarded as a distinct and separate occasion. שְׁמִינִי רֵגֶל בְּקָרִי עֶצְמוֹ. (Treatise *Sukkah*, 47b.)

עֲצֵרָה was, therefore, "a day of restraint."<sup>74</sup> Outside of the Pentateuch there are at least two passages which strengthen the supposition that the עֲצֵרָה was originally a term descriptive of restraints of some kind, prescribed for certain occasions. The prophet Joel (1:14) uses the words as a synonym of צוֹם, "fast," and when Isaiah declares (1:13), לֹא אֵכֵל אֶת־וַעֲצֵרָה, "I cannot tolerate iniquity and *aṣārā*," he cannot mean "holy assembly" (as commonly translated), since he has just said previously "new moon, Sabbath, holy assembly are an abomination to me," whereas, by a rendering like "I cannot tolerate iniquity and fasting" (or some other kind of "restraint"), we obtain a satisfactory contrast. One can easily see how, with such a meaning originally attached to the term, the word should come to be used for "holy assembly," since on days of "restraint" it was customary to seek the sanctuaries. In 2 Kings 10:20 the word is used in this wider sense. On the other hand, in Jer. 9:1, the phrase עֲצֵרָה בְּגֵדִים does not mean an "assembly" of faithless ones, but a "band"—literally "a closed corporation"—a meaning that is easily derived from the original force of the verb עָצַר. Be this as it may, the passage in Nehemiah (8:18) where חַג and

<sup>74</sup> The Jewish commentator Kamhi already recognized this meaning of the term and expressed the opinion that the day was so called because the people were "shut up" in the place of holy assembly on that day. Michaelis and Ikenius (see GeseNIUS, *Thesaurus*, p. 1059) accepted Kamhi's suggestion as to the sense of the term, only that they applied the restraint to the ordinance to cease from labor. This view is not acceptable, since the Pentateuch employs a totally different phrase to express this ordinance. Moreover, since the prohibition against work is common to all festivals, other holy days should also have been designated as עֲצֵרָה. Now, it is true in one passage (Deut. 16:8) the seventh day of Passover is called an עֲצֵרָה, but the Samaritan translation replaces the word by חַג. The Septuagint has two words, ἐξέδοσαν ἑορτή, i. e., עֲצֵרָה חַג. If, therefore, the Hebrew text is correct, it seems that the term had already acquired a more general signification. This may also be concluded from the fact that, in the Talmud, the Pentecost festival receives the name of Azereth. But this extension of the term does not militate against the view taken of the application of the word to the eighth day of festival, for the sufficient reason that this eighth day has a character of its own. It is not, like the seventh day of Passover, merely the close of the festival week. The ritual for the day is of a distinctive character—different from that arranged for the seventh day of the harvest festival, which is also a sacred occasion (see below). Outside of the application to the holy days the noun only occurs in the Old Testament in Jer. 9:1, עֲצֵרָה בְּגֵדִים, i. e., a band (literally "a closed corporation") of treacherous men.

עֲצֵרָה both are used, but the former applied to the seven days of the harvest festival, while the eighth day alone is called עֲצֵרָה, is conclusive for some special significance attached to the latter term, and when Nehemiah says that they observed a *Hag* of seven days and on the eighth day there was an עֲצֵרָה according to established rite (כַּמִּשְׁפָּט), it is clear that עֲצֵרָה is something totally distinct from the *Hag* and originally meant something more than a mere "assembly" of the people. The meaning "restraint" involved in the word justifies us in assuming that certain precautionary measures—such as fasting, keeping within doors or within the sanctuary, avoiding the displeasure of Yahwe—were prescribed for the day which gave it the character of an *ûm nûḥ libbbi* or *Šabbāthôn*.

Apart from the special character of this eighth day of the harvest festival, the name by which the festival is known, *Sukkôth*, or "booths," points to its having been more than an agricultural festival. The gathering together and dwelling in booths have a curious parallel in the custom of the Arabs to spend three days in the sacred month of *pilgrimage* camping out in booths in the valley of Mina outside of Mecca.<sup>75</sup> The Hebrews at one time, like the Arabs, paid a visit to a sanctuary (wherever it might be) only *once* a year, and not three times as the later law enjoined (Ex. 23 : 14; Deut. 16 : 16). The pilgrimage in the fall is, therefore, an earlier institution than the two other *Hags* which occur in the spring and summer, and appears to have existed, like the Arabic pilgrimage to Mecca, and to the surrounding ancient sanctuaries of Mecca,<sup>76</sup> independently of any agricultural festival, antedating indeed the agricultural stage in the history of the Hebrews.<sup>77</sup>

Naturally the first day of the pilgrimage, when after an absence of one year the worshiper again stepped into the pres-

<sup>75</sup> It is significant that in Ezek. 45 : 25; Neh. 8 : 14, as well as in the Talmud, the *Sukkôth* festival is called "THE *Hag*"—the pilgrimage festival *par excellence*.

<sup>76</sup> WELLHAUSEN, *Reste arabischen Heidenthums*, pp. 75–80; SNOUCK HURGRONJE, *Het Mekkaansche Feest*, chap. 1. Among the Arabs the *Hadj* developed in connection with the annual commercial fairs.

<sup>77</sup> Lev. 23 : 40 furnishes the rites for the harvest festival—a time of rejoicing; Lev. 23 : 41 embodies a survival of the old "pilgrimage" idea.



ence of Yahwe, was a solemn and momentous occasion. He had to make sure that the deity would welcome his presence, and he would be correspondingly careful not to do anything that might arouse his god's displeasure. The first day of the great *Hag* thus assumed the character of "a day of propitiation" in the broad sense, as implying, not necessarily a state of anger on the part of the deity, but only a state of uncertainty on the part of the worshiper as to the disposition of the deity towards him. Finally, the designation שְׁנַת שְׁבוּעוֹת for the sabbatical year may be readily explained on the basis of the interpretation here proposed for *Šabbāthōn*. The ancient Hebrews held in common with their fellow-Semites that the land belonged to the deity.<sup>78</sup> Hence the tithes offered as a kind of partial interest for the loan of the capital, and hence also the interruption of the usufruct at stated intervals as a means of conciliating the deity and of securing the continuance of his good-will.<sup>79</sup> The observance of this institution every seventh year is, of course, dependent upon the celebration of a Sabbath every seventh year, but this feature does not settle the age of the institution itself, and there is every reason to believe that it was in existence at a very early stage in the agricultural period of the Hebrew communities.

The extension of the sabbatical year to a year of general release from debts<sup>80</sup> belongs to a later stage, when commerce had begun to play an important rôle by the side of agriculture. The term שְׁנַת שְׁבוּעוֹת is used only in connection with the interruption of agricultural activity, and the propitiatory phase of the custom is well illustrated by the ordinance in Deut. 31:10—

<sup>78</sup> ROBERTSON SMITH, *Religion of the Semites*, pp. 92 seq. Such a belief becomes intelligible as an outcome of the primitive notion which regarded the gods as sprung from the earth. To derive a benefit from the produce of the earth was in a measure robbing Yahwe of what belonged to him. One could not go on doing this without making sure that Yahwe regarded the course with favor.

<sup>79</sup> It was not prudent to appear greedy, and it was well from time to time to take measures that might oppose the easily enkindled anger, or, better still, prevent that anger from being enkindled. One is not to appear "empty-handed" before Yahwe (Deut. 16:16, etc.).

<sup>80</sup> Known as *Š'mitta* in the Deuteronomic Code, 15:1, 2, 9, and 31:10. See also Ex. 23:11.

12, upon which great stress is laid, to assemble the people and read the law to them when the year of *Š'mitta* begins, and it is significant that this beginning coincides with the *Hag* of Sukkôth<sup>82</sup>—that is, the pilgrimage *par excellence*. No doubt, the compiler of the Deuteronomic Code, when introducing the phrase שְׁבֻחַת (šebûḥat), had in mind the resting from labor as the central feature of the Sabbath. All that is maintained here is that the religious beliefs giving rise to such an institution as the "sabbatical year" are more primitive than the conceptions controlling the fully developed Sabbath of the Priestly Code, and that שְׁבֻחַת may have been applied to a yearly or shorter period of interruption of agricultural activity, in the same sense in which it was applied to the New Year's Day, to the Day of Atonement, and to the first and eighth days of the annual pilgrimage season.

I maintain, then, that the atonement and pacification idea gives rise to and originally controls the use of שְׁבֻחַת in the Old Testament, and that we are justified in regarding this term as the equivalent of the Babylonian *šabattum*, or, in other words, שְׁבֻחַת is the old Hebrew term for an *ûm nûḥ libbi*—a day of propitiation. If then the Sabbath itself is called a שְׁבֻחַת—as is the case in four passages—it is because the Sabbath had originally the character of a day of atonement. From this point of view we can understand why the Day of Atonement itself is in one passage (Lev. 16:31) also called a שְׁבֻחַת as well as a שְׁבֻחַת. The use of the term is based upon the original character of the Sabbath as a day of atonement, and for the same reason the sabbatical year (Lev. 25:4) is called a שְׁבֻחַת. An institution arising from a desire to insure one's self of the good-will of the deity in pursuing one's vocation suggested a comparison with an inauspicious day, solemnized by precautionary measures to curb or to prevent the rise of the divine wrath. The application of the term Sabbath itself to the Day of Atonement and to the sabbatical year constitutes, therefore, another link in the chain of our argument.

<sup>82</sup> Deut. 31:10. One gains the impression that the compiler of this ordinance knows only of *one* pilgrimage during the year.

## VIII.

How this original character of the Sabbath underwent such a profound change has already been briefly indicated. Several points, however, remain to be noticed. It is important to note that the Hebrew theologians themselves were not a unit as to the origin of the Sabbath. As is well known, the deuteronomic decalogue does not recognize the six days of creation which the book of the Covenant (Ex. 20:9) assigns as the reason for resting on every seventh day. The deuteronomic Sabbath is to be "guarded" (שָׁמֹר) as a reminiscence of the exodus from Egypt. The connection between the exodus and the Sabbath has been a vexing problem to exegetes. A satisfactory association of ideas is obtained if we start from the original character of the Sabbath here maintained. The day on which they, according to the Hebrew traditions, left their Egyptian homes was in a preëminent sense an "unfavorable" day. It was a day on which Yahwe had manifested his anger in an unmistakable manner. The messenger of death had been sent out, and the miraculous salvation of the Hebrews was a consequence of the propitiatory character residing in the placing of blood—the sacred symbol of life—on the threshold. Yahwe "crossed over"<sup>82</sup> the thresholds of those houses singled out by the blood. He was pacified by the sight of the blood, which constituted at once an offering and a sign of allegiance. The "unfavorable" day was thus changed by Jehovah's crossing over the threshold into a "favorable" one for the Hebrews. The association with the Sabbath viewed as a day of uncertain aspect—the danger from which was averted by the observance of precautionary measures—thus becomes obvious.

The use of the word שָׁמֹר, "be on the lookout for," as introductory to the section regarding the Sabbath is also significant. It is a verb expressing a warning, as is זָכֹר, "remember," which is used in the decalogue of the "book of the Covenant." The conclusion has always been drawn from these words (and properly so) that the existence of the Sabbath is assumed as a standing institution by the decalogue, but it is difficult to believe that

<sup>82</sup> See TRUMBULL, *Threshold Covenant*, p. 206.

people should have been "warned" and cautioned not to forget the Sabbath, unless the day was one that was fraught with a certain kind of danger. Moreover, the question may be asked, why should the Sabbath alone of religious institutions be embodied in the decalogue? It is generally admitted that, as a day of absolute rest, and as a reminiscence of the creation of the world, the Sabbath did not come into prominence until the period of the Babylonian exile,<sup>83</sup> and yet, although there are many other sacred days in the year, the Sabbath alone is mentioned. Even in the oldest form of the decalogue<sup>84</sup> a warning regarding the Sabbath was included. As a day of propitiation, however, the Sabbath is appropriately placed in the first division of the decalogue. The command not to worship other gods by the side of Yahwe is inculcated, as we are expressly told, so as not to arouse the anger of Yahwe. There follows the command not to invoke Yahwe's name for magic incantations, and again it is stated that Yahwe will punish—that is, will manifest his anger towards—him who uses the sacred name in this way. The group is closed by a reminder to observe the proper (and assumed to be well-known) precautions on a day when Yahwe may easily be roused to anger and when it is especially important to propitiate him. The precautions are so well known that in the original form of the decalogue no mention is made of them. The warning suffices, and it is only in the amplified form produced under the influence of the later and distinctively Jewish conception of the Sabbath that the order to abstain from all labor and to keep others from working is tacked on, together with reasons for this order.

<sup>83</sup> MONTEFIORE, *Hibbert Lectures* on "The Religion of the Ancient Hebrews," pp. 229-30. Not much is to be gleaned from the scanty notices about the Sabbath found in the prophets. The two centuries preceding the Babylonian exile appear to have been a period of transition. The old Sabbath as a day of propitiation was dying out. From Amos (8: 5) one might conclude that the Sabbath and new moon had become market days. The notice in Hosea (2: 13) furnishes no clew. Jeremiah (17: 21-24) foreshadows the distinctively Jewish Sabbath. The later Isaiah (56: 2-6; 58: 13-14; 66: 23) points in the same direction, while in Ezekiel (46: 1-12; 22: 26) the transition has taken place.

<sup>84</sup> See BRIGGS, "Genesis of the Ten Words," *Sunday School Times*, June 4, 1887; and BRIGGS, *Higher Criticism*, pp. 181 seq.

If the arguments advanced have any force, it will be apparent that, of the two reasons assigned for the observance of the Sabbath, the one that connects the institution with the exodus from Egypt is not only much the older, but fits in with the original character of the Sabbath as a day of propitiation. The other reason for the observance of the Sabbath as a reminiscence of the creation of the world belongs to the later phase of the institution, while the fact that the Hebrew theology has preserved two "reasons" furnishes the strongest possible proof for the thesis that the conception of the Sabbath must have undergone a profound change.

The Jewish contribution to the old *Šabbāthōn* is, in the first place, the emphasis laid upon what was merely an incidental feature of the latter. By this emphasis the day lost its former aspect as one filled with various measures of a propitiatory force and became one sanctified, in a special sense, to Yahwe. Secondly, the departure from the old conception was aided by the important step taken at some time to celebrate a *Šabbāthōn* every seventh day without reference to the relationship of the day to the moon's phases. The old associations connected with "favorable" and "unfavorable" days necessarily lost much, if not all, of their force when this step was once taken. The Sabbath could no longer be regarded as an unfavorable or an uncertain day when no longer any reason was apparent for so regarding it. The changed character of the institution required a new reason, and this reason was found in the doctrine that Yahwe himself had set the example by observing the chief feature of the developed institution, in that he rested from his labors on the seventh day. Theological reasons for religious observances always follow the observances themselves. The doctrine is later than the rite, and often the same rite gives rise to different doctrines. While, therefore, the Jewish theologians are guided by a correct instinct, as will presently be shown, in connecting the Sabbath with the creation of the world, the division of the work of creation into six days, which is admittedly a late feature and represents the Hebrew elaboration of the old traditions which the Hebrews

shared with the Babylonians,<sup>85</sup> is, I believe, strongly influenced, if not, indeed, actually called forth, by the change in the celebration of a Sabbath from intervals of seven days, corresponding to the moon's phases, to regular intervals of seven days throughout the year. But this theological association of the Sabbath with the creation story was not arbitrarily made. In maintaining this association, the theologians themselves were influenced by an important feature in the original and popular view of the story related in the opening chapters of Genesis. When we are told in the second verse of the second chapter of Genesis that Yahwe "rested" on the seventh day from all that he had done, one cannot help being struck by the anthropomorphic conception implied in this "resting." The conception is so contrary to the whole attitude of the Jewish theologians of post-exilic days that it is impossible to suppose that it should have originated with them. Wellhausen<sup>86</sup> and Gunkel<sup>87</sup> have pointed out a number of expressions in the Genesis narrative of creation that sound like faint echoes of primitive conceptions that gradually lost their original meaning; and the conclusion has properly been drawn by Gunkel that these expressions prove the antiquity of the narrative, so far as its main features are concerned. The expression "Yahwe (or Elohim) rested" impresses one as a trace of some ancient mythological notion—quite independent of any division of the work of creation into six days, and which has been preserved in the present form of the story and given an interpretation different from its original intent. Gunkel expressly accepts<sup>88</sup> the phrase in question as an ancient one and not due to the compiler of the Priestly Code. He fails, however, to give an explanation for it. The Babylonian version of the creation of the world, with which the Hebrew version is so intimately connected, furnishes, I think, the solution of the problem. The basis of the creation narrative in Genesis, as among

<sup>85</sup> See the proof of this in GUNKEL's admirable work, *Schöpfung und Chaos*, pp. 114-17.

<sup>86</sup> *Prolegomena*, second edition, pp. 320-23.

<sup>87</sup> *Schöpfung und Chaos*, pp. 7 seq.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14.

the Babylonians, is the nature myth<sup>89</sup> symbolizing the conquest of the winter storms and rains, by the sun.

The chief episode in the Babylonian version of the creation, which thus furnishes an evolutionary theory of creation from chaos to order, not a theory of beginnings from "nothing," is the fight of Marduk with *Tiāmat* and her eleven associates—the representatives of the lawless reign of storms. In Genesis, Yahwe of course assumes the rôle of Marduk, and Gunkel<sup>90</sup> has pointed out the numerous references outside of Genesis to Yahwe's conflict with the winds and storms pictured under such forms of dragons and monsters as the famous Rahab and Leviathan. Yahwe is enraged<sup>91</sup> at these monsters, just as Marduk, upon proceeding to the contest with *Tiāmat*, is represented as developing a fury which causes consternation.<sup>92</sup> The associates of *Tiāmat* cannot stand Marduk's angry gaze. They are bereft of their senses. "Enraged"<sup>93</sup> against *Tiāmat*, he hurls forth against her words of reproach and denunciation. After Marduk has subdued *Tiāmat* and chained her associates, the Babylonian version continues, l. 135: *inūhma bēlum*, *i. e.*, the Lord rested from his anger—was appeased. It will be noted that the verb used, *nāḥu*, is the same that appears in the phrase *nūḥ libbi*, and Jensen<sup>94</sup> and Zimmern<sup>95</sup> are undoubtedly correct in interpreting the verb as "resting" from anger, though it is

<sup>89</sup> The phenomenon annually witnessed in Babylonia, prior to the perfection of the canal system, of inundations, and the disappearance under water of entire districts, suggested to the Babylonians the picture of primeval chaos, and by placing the annual phenomenon at the beginning of time the change from chaos to order was explained as due to the triumph of the god of the early spring sun over the monsters that symbolized the storms. The appearance of the land, of verdure and vegetation, and the regular movements of the heavenly bodies, all were the direct consequences of this triumph. The conqueror of chaos in the later form of the Babylonian story is Marduk, a solar deity and the head of the late Babylonian pantheon. See my *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, pp. 429-30.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 29-111.

<sup>91</sup> *E. g.*, Job 9:13.

<sup>92</sup> See the passage from the fourth tablet in DELITZSCH, *Das babylonische Welterschöpfungsepos*, p. 105, ll. 55-70.

<sup>93</sup> See DELITZSCH, *ibid.*, p. 106, l. 76; see also p. 146.

<sup>94</sup> *Kosmologie*, p. 289.

<sup>95</sup> In Gunkel's work, p. 413. For other passages in which the verb *nāḥu* by itself signifies "to appease," see IV Rawlinson, 8, col. iv, ll. 13-16. The fact does not

possible, as Delitzsch suggests, that physical rest is also implied in the phrase by the side of pacification.

In the light of this significant passage from the Babylonian narrative, it will certainly not be regarded as too bold to interpret Yahwe's "resting" as expressing originally his pacification after his conquest of the forces hostile to the order of the world. The double sense inherent in the Hebrew verb *šābāt*, as in the Babylonian *nāḥu*, was a primary factor in preserving the phrase after the original form of the Marduk-Tiāmat episode had undergone a modification at the hands of Hebrew writers, while a second factor, and one even more potent, was the possibility that suggested itself of interpreting Yahwe's "rest," now taken in the physical sense, wholly as the basis for the central ordinance of the later and distinctively Jewish Sabbath. This would not be the only instance in the history of religions in which the misinterpretation or changed interpretation of a term, belonging to an early period of religious thought, has led to the establishment of an important religious doctrine.<sup>96</sup> It was but a small step, when once Yahwe's "resting" was interpreted in a physical sense, to place this "resting" at the close of the whole work of creation instead of the position which his "resting" in the sense of pacification originally occupied, namely, immediately after the fight with chaos. The natural—almost inevitable—association of this "resting" with man's resting every seventh day may legitimately be regarded as the motive that prompted the division of the work of creation into a period of seven days. How arbitrary and artificial this division is may be seen from the phrase (Gen. 2:2), "and

appear to have been noticed that in Ethiopic, likewise, we have the stem in question for "pacification." See the book of Enoch, 13:6, where the juxtaposition of *nāḥat* with *ṣaryat*, "forgiveness," shows that the former is used in the sense of "pacification." Such a meaning is more satisfactory than Dillmann's suggestion (*Das Buch Enoch*, p. 7, note), "Langmuth," or Schodde's "patience" (*The Book of Enoch*, p. 15).

<sup>96</sup> It is noteworthy, in connection with *nāḥu*, that in Ex. 20:11 the same verb, in fact (*way-ya-naḥ*), is used as in the Babylonian tale. Jennings already, in his acute chapter on "The Sabbath" (*Jewish Antiquities*, Edinburgh, 1808, p. 329), calls attention to the fact that the word in the decalogue must be connected with the phrase *re'āḥ nīḥōaḥ* (Gen. 8:21). The "savor of rest" is the savor that is to procure the cessation of Yahwe's anger—a savor of pacification.



Elohim finished on the seventh day his work that he had made."<sup>97</sup> The desire to connect the Sabbath was evidently uppermost in the minds of the compilers, and minor inconsistencies are overlooked in order to establish this connection. Psychologically, it is curious to note that in thus accounting for the rise of the belief that the Sabbath is a reminder of the six days of creation, the pacification idea again enters into play. Yahwe's appeasement becomes Yahwe's "resting," just as the Sabbath develops from an unfavorable day, on which everything is done to appease Yahwe, and becomes a day on which man, in imitation of Yahwe's example, is commanded to "rest."

Incidentally, the interpretation here proposed for the original meaning of the phrase that Yahwe "rested" helps to establish the sense of propitiation and pacification for שָׁבַח. The substantive being derived from the verb, and not *vice versa* (in which case the Piél or Hiphil would be used, and not the Kal<sup>98</sup>), there is, of course, every reason to seek for the sense of "pacification" in the use of שָׁבַח. An examination of the passages in the Old Testament where the verb is used will show that it could be appropriately applied to indicate a "cessation" of anger. We must, of course, leave out of consideration the employment of the verb in passages dependent upon the existence of the full-fledged Sabbath. This is the case throughout the Pentateuch (except Ex. 12:15), but turning to other parts of the Old Testament, there are several passages where the Kal or Hiphil form of the verb implies the interruption of some state of violence.

A notable instance is Isa. 30:7, where the prophet calls Egypt הַמְּשִׁיבָה. I adopt Gunkel's reading,<sup>99</sup> who connects הָם and שָׁבַח into one word and translates: *das geschweigte Rahab*, i. e., "the quieted or appeased Rahab."<sup>100</sup> The refer-

<sup>97</sup> The Septuagint, with a correct feeling of the inaccuracy of this statement, changes the word seven into six. That this change is a correction and does not rest upon a variant reading, is admitted by scholars. See DILLMANN'S *Commentary on Genesis*, *ad loc.* An interesting remark on this correction is to be found in the *Midrash Rabba* to Genesis, § 10.

<sup>98</sup> STADE, *Hebräische Grammatik*, § 154 d, 2, and § 160 b, 2.

<sup>99</sup> *Schöpfung und Chaos*, p. 39; see also p. 66.

<sup>100</sup> I adopt the reading all the more unhesitatingly because the description of

ence is (as in Gen. 2:2) to Yahwe's conquest of the violent monsters. Rahab is one of those monsters, and, according to one version of the myth,<sup>101</sup> Marduk-Yahwe does not kill Rahab, but compels her to cease her raging. In Isa. 13:11<sup>102</sup> the assurance is given by the Lord: וְהִשְׁפַּתִּי נָאוֹן יָדַי אֹיִב. The "haughtiness of the insolent" is an active force, and something more is meant than is conveyed by the ordinary translation: "I will cause the haughtiness of the insolent to cease." It is a "cessation" brought about by a "quieting down" of the loud-mouthed evil-doers (רָשָׁעִים), against whom the prophet rails. Again, in Ps. 8:3 pacification is involved in the phrase, לְהַשְׁבִּית אֹיִב וּמִתְנַקֵּם, where the power of Yahwe is illustrated by his endowing "children and sucklings" with strength "to quiet down (and thus subdue) the enemy and vengeance seeker." A *kina* or dirge introduced by Isaiah in the fourteenth chapter begins (vs. 5): אִיָּה שָׁבַת נִגַּשׁ שָׁבַתָּה מִדְּהָבָה. The prophet is describing the downfall of Israel's oppressors. The *ndgēs* or tyrant does not rest of his own accord. He has been overthrown, and with him violence has given way to mildness. The verb שָׁבַת accordingly conveys in this passage also the quieting down of passion. "Ah! the tyrant then rages no more;" violence is subdued. There is a possibility of retaining the word בַּשְׁבַּת in 2 Sam. 23:7: וּבָאֵשׁ שָׂרוּף יִשְׂרָפוּ בַּשְׁבַּת, if we accept an interpretation like cessation. Speaking of the wicked ones (בְּלִיעַל), the poet says that when once "they are consumed by the fire, they will cease to rage," and he expresses this idea by saying that he will be בַּשְׁבַּת, *i. e.*, in a state of "suppression." To simply erase the word<sup>103</sup> because of the בַּשְׁבַת in vs. 8 is not satisfactory, since these words represent a corruption for יִשְׁבֹּשֶׁת, *i. e.*, the proper name of Ishbosheth. It is more likely that our word בַּשְׁבַת has superinduced the corruption in vs. 8. As a last example, we may instance the manner in which the substantive שָׁבַת is used. Proverbs 20:3,

Rahab as "appeased" accords perfectly with the morphological tales about Rahab, so well set forth by Gunkel.

<sup>101</sup> Gunkel, *ibid.*, p. 39.

<sup>102</sup> See also Ezek. 7:24.

<sup>103</sup> So WELLHAUSEN, *Texte der Bücher Samuelis*, p. 214, and Budde in HAUPT'S Polychrome Bible, p. 98.

כָּבוֹד לְאִישׁ שֶׁבַת מִרִיב, it is an honor to man to "cease" from strife, points in the same direction. The ceasing from strife is honorable, because it involves and is brought about by a control over querulous desires—by a "suppression" of the disposition to manifest hostility towards anyone.<sup>104</sup>

Indeed, starting from this specific meaning of "quieting," "bringing to rest," we obtain the two common applications of the verb: (1) to interrupt,<sup>105</sup> bring to an end,<sup>106</sup> remove,<sup>107</sup> destroy;<sup>108</sup> (2) to rest. The secondary character of the latter sense of the verb is apparent also from the corresponding Assyrian verb which is used to convey the idea of "cessation," as of a storm, and, on the other hand, means to "bring to an end," whereas the sense of "to rest" is not attached to the verb, or, at all events, is not met with. In Arabic, "removing" appears to be the common usage of the verb,<sup>109</sup> outside of the direct influence exerted by the Hebrew Sabbath ideas upon the Arabs. In Syriac, the verb signifies "to quiet down" and to cease.<sup>110</sup> In Ethiopic, the verb is not found except as a denominative

<sup>104</sup> We may also note the opinion of one authority, and recorded in the Midrash Rabba, § 10 (closing lines), who interprets the phrase נִישְׁבַת אֱלֹהִים (Gen. 2:3), that Elohim "gave rest (נָחָה) to his world"—subdued its agitation. If we were only sure of the meaning of the first word in the phrase מִסֵּד הַשָּׁבֶת (2 Kings 16:18), some additional light might be shed upon the old rites connected with the Sabbath. There is an Assyrian word *massaku* (a synonym of *papahu*, "sacred chamber;" see DELITZSCH, *Assyr. Handwörterb.*, p. 420b), with which the Hebrew word may be identical. But what was this "Sabbath chamber"? Was it perhaps the room to which the king retired on the "inauspicious" day? STADE, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, p. 598, note 2, confesses his inability to make anything out of it. The recourse to emendations (e. g., GEIGER, *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, XVI, p. 731) is but another way of making the same confession.

<sup>105</sup> E. g., Neh. 6:3 (Kal); 4:5<sup>1</sup> (Hiph'l), interrupting work; Gen. 8:22, interruption of phenomena of the universe.

<sup>106</sup> Isa. 16:10 (Hiph'l), stopping joy; 21:2, stopping sorrow; Job 32:1, bringing speech to an end; Jer. 31:36 of Israel's "ceasing" to be a nation.

<sup>107</sup> Ex. 12:15 (Hiph'l), removing leaven.

<sup>108</sup> Ezek. 6:6 (Niphal), destroying idols, etc.

<sup>109</sup> Hence "to cut off," "to shave the head," "to come to a standstill," and from this "to be amazed."

<sup>110</sup> The curious form *Shabbā* by the side of *Shabbethā* for Sabbath in Syriac still awaits explanation. It certainly does not point to *f* as, originally, the sign of the feminine.

from *sanbat*—the curious form<sup>112</sup> that the Hebrew *Shabbath* acquires in passing over into Ethiopic. There is, perhaps, a faint trace of the older ideas connected with the term in the meaning of festival, or a “solemn occasion” in general, that the word also has,<sup>113</sup> while no less interesting is the use of the word as a contrast to “youth” (Henoch 10:17), since the sense of “old age” depends upon the force of “cessation of activity” inherent in the stem. The “quieting down” period of life is thus called the “Sabbath” of life. While I do not lay much stress upon these somewhat remote usages of the word, it is worth while to call attention to them in connection with an investigation of the Semitic stem in question. On the other hand, the meaning established for the Hebrew verb שבת, taken in connection with the arguments advanced throughout this paper, removes all doubts as to the direct connection between the stem שבת and the noun שַׁבָּת. I accept Barth’s explanation of the form,<sup>114</sup> which makes the noun a transitive derived from the *Kal* of the verb like שִׁבְחוֹן and with originally short vowel. The final *t* is not the sign of the feminine, as Hirschfeld supposes,<sup>115</sup> who, in reviving a very old view, makes our word a contraction of שבעת, the numeral seven; nor is the term a contracted form of שַׁבְּתָה, *šabbatht*, as König (*Lehrgebäude der hebräischen Sprache*, II, pp. 180 *seq.*) maintains, following Kamhi and others. The form *kāttāl*, as Barth<sup>115</sup> points out, belongs to the oldest period of Semitic speech. The reduplication of the *t* in the form with the suffix (שַׁבְּתוֹ, Num. 28:10; שַׁבְּתָהּ, Hos. 2:13) reminds one of the reduplication of the *t* in *šabattum*, and is to be explained as due to the influence of the affix, perhaps with the analogy of feminine nouns ending in *t*, entering as an additional factor. *Šabbath* is the distinctively Hebrew name

<sup>112</sup> The insertion of the *n* is euphonic. LAGARDE’S deductions (*Nominalbildung*, p. 203 and elsewhere) drawn from the Ethiopic form are not justified.

<sup>113</sup> So DILLMANN, *Lexicon Linguae Aethiopicae*, 370.

<sup>114</sup> *Nominalbildung*, p. 24.

<sup>115</sup> “Remarks on the Etymology of *Šabbath*” (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1896, pp. 354–5). Hirschfeld totally misunderstands the Babylonian material, and quotes this material inaccurately.

<sup>116</sup> *Nominalbildung*, p. 23.

given to a particular *sabbāthōn*—pacification day in general—as a means of distinguishing the developed institution from the one to which it may be traced back.<sup>116</sup>

We may sum up this investigation in a series of propositions, as follows:

1. The idea of propitiation of the deity enters largely into the thought and religious rites of both Hebrews and Babylonians.

2. The Hebrews, like the Babylonians, distinguished certain days as occasions on which measures had to be taken to ensure the good-will of the gods, to prevent their anger from being aroused, or to assuage that anger if aroused. These days were chosen from various motives. One factor in the choice was the association of ideas involved between changes in the appearance of the moon or changes of season, and changes in the disposition of the gods towards their subjects.

<sup>116</sup> It is interesting to note the general similarity of the Egyptian precautions for unfavorable days to the Babylonian and Hebrew customs. Like the Babylonians, the Egyptians had their calendars in which the favorable and unfavorable days are entered; and, what is more to the point, a single day could have both a favorable and unfavorable character. Dividing the day into three sections, the calendars furnish the indications for each of these sections. Thus (MASPERO, *Romans et Poésies au Papyrus Harris*, No. 500, pp. 38-9) the 6th Paophi is noted as "good, good, good," that is, each part of the day is good; the 5th Paophi is "bad, bad, bad," that is, the whole day is bad; but the 4th Paophi is noted as "bad, good, good," that is, it begins as an unfavorable day and ends as a favorable one, precisely as the Babylonian *am nāḥ libbi*. Again we have the 23d Paophi (*ibid.*, p. 41. See also, for further illustrations, CHABAS, *Le Calendrier des jours Fastes et Nefastes de l'année Égyptienne*, and WIEDEMANN, *Religion of the Egyptians*, pp. 263-4) described as "good, good, bad," two-thirds good, but ending as an unfavorable day. For these unfavorable days and days of double aspect we find, as among the Babylonians, precautions prescribed. On the 4th of Paophi one is not to leave one's house—an ordinance that is paralleled by the order found in Exodus for the Sabbath. Similarly, on the 5th Paophi one is not to leave the house, nor to approach one's wife. On the 7th Paophi one is to abstain from all work, clearly for the reason that labor on that day will not meet with the favor of the gods. But the Egyptian theologians furnish a reason of their own for this precautionary rite that forms a perfect parallel to the doctrine of post-exilic Judaism, and it is almost startling to read the entry for the 27th Paophi: "Unfavorable, unfavorable, unfavorable! Do not leave the house on this day. Do no manual labor. Ra (the god) rests." (MASPERO, *ibid.*, p. 41. The verb used embodies the idea of contentment. It approaches, therefore, the idea of pacification that is prominent in the Babylonian and Hebrew stem *sabat*.) The precaution against touching fire is also met with. On the 11th of Tybi (*ibid.*, p. 34) "one is not to approach fire," and the reason assigned is that Ra has predestined the fire on that day for the destruction of his enemies. In other words, the sacred element must only be handled when one can be sure of the favorable disposition of the gods.

3. Among both Hebrews and Babylonians these days had either a decidedly inauspicious character, *i. e.*, were unfavorable days, or had an uncertain character, *i. e.*, were days that might become unfavorable, but that could by observing the proper rites be converted into favorable days.

4. Among the terms used to describe such days, the Babylonians had a word *ša bat tum*, for which in Hebrew we have an equivalent, *Šabbāthôn*, both the Babylonian and Hebrew word conveying the idea of "propitiation," "cessation" of the divine anger, pacification, and cognate ideas.

5. The Sabbath of the Hebrews was originally such a *Šabbāthôn*—a day of propitiation and pacification, marked by rites of an atonement character.

6. At this stage in the development of the institution, it was celebrated at intervals of seven days, corresponding with changes in the moon's phases, and was identical in character with the four days in each month (7th, 14th, 21st, and 28th) that the Babylonians regarded as days which had to be converted into days of pacification.

7. The similarity of the precautionary measures prescribed for these days (and others) by the Babylonians to the biblical rites for the Hebrew Sabbath is to be accounted for by an agreement in the interpretation put upon such days by the two peoples—an agreement due to early contact.

8. Besides the 7th, 14th, 21st, and 28th days of each month, the ancient Hebrews had other days which they regarded as and called *šabbāthôn*, just as the Babylonians had various other days—so, *e. g.*, regularly the nineteenth day of each month in the year—which were either unfavorable or had a twofold aspect as unfavorable days that could be converted into favorable ones. Among the days regarded as *šabbāthôn* by the Hebrews were the New Year's Day, the Day of Atonement, the first and eighth days of the annual pilgrimage to the chief sanctuary, falling in a month held sacred by other Semitics (*e. g.*, Arabs) as well as by the Hebrews, and reverting to a period that lies beyond the reach of historical investigation.

9. The emphasis laid at a later period upon cessation from labor, which was originally merely one feature of many in a *šabbāthôn*, permitted and suggested an interpretation of the precautionary rites prescribed for those occasions that obscured their original import.

10. The introduction, in consequence of profound changes in religious conceptions among the Hebrews, of the custom of celebrating the Sabbath every seventh day, irrespective of the relationship of the day to the moon's phases, led to a complete separation from the ancient view of the Sabbath, while the introduction, at a still later period, of the doctrine that the divine work of creation was completed in six days removed the Hebrew Sabbath still further from the point at which the development of the corresponding Babylonian institution ceased.

11. The original character of the Sabbath as a day of propitiation accounts for its being brought into connection with the exodus from Egypt,

while the association with the traditions regarding creation is due to the later and advanced conceptions that grew up around the institution. The connection with the exodus reflects the continued influence of the ancient popular views of the Sabbath; the association with the creation of the world is the product of Jewish theology, in its natural endeavor to give to the day an origin in keeping with more advanced religious thought.

12. Jewish theology, in making the central feature of the distinctively Jewish Sabbath the imitation of an example set by Yahwe at the beginning of time, found a support for this doctrine in the survival of an ancient phrase in the popular phrase of the narrative, now embodied in the opening chapters of Genesis. That phrase originally referred to the cessation of Yahwe's anger after subduing forces hostile to his rule, but the phrase, embodying the same verb *šābat* that underlies *šabbāthōn*, admitted of an interpretation which made Yahwe "rest" after his exertions. In this sense, the ancient, time-honored phrase—deeply impressed upon the popular mind—was retained and served as the point of departure for the development of one of the most important doctrines set up by the compilers of the Priestly Code—a doctrine that gave to the Sabbath its hold upon the people and made the institution the great bulwark of Judaism down to the present day.

13. Lastly, to put the contrast concisely between the Sabbath in its original form and the fully developed post-exilic institution, we might say that the old Sabbath was merely a *šabbāthōn*, one *šabbāthōn* among many others, identical in character and spirit with a Babylonian *ūm nūh libbi* or *šabattum*; the developed institution was unique in its character, with rest from all kinds of work as its central idea, a day sacred to Yahweh who had created the world in six days and who had himself set the example for all times by resting on the seventh day. These two features—(a) a day of absolute rest and (b) the doctrine upon which this ordinance is based—represent the distinctively Jewish contribution to the Babylonian-Hebraic *šabattum*. Between the old *šabbāthōn* and the new *Šabbāth*, however, there lies the growth of the Hebrew people from a semi-primitive condition of religious thought to the advanced belief which controls and dominates the entire pentateuchal legislation in its final—its present—shape.

## DOCUMENTS.

### A HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED PROLOGUE TO THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES (PROBABLY BY THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA).

THE oldest manuscripts of the Bible contain, as is well known, only the text of the Holy Scriptures. Even the brief titles and subscriptions in the Codex Sinaiticus and the Vaticanus are in part added by a later hand. Soon, however, it began to be customary to add all sorts of explanatory material. The canons and sections of Eusebius, the brief prologues of Jerome, are familiar examples. The largest collection of such material passes under the name of Euthalius. But despite all the labor that has recently been devoted to this collection, despite even the acute investigations of Professor Robinson, of Cambridge,<sup>1</sup> the Euthalius question must still be regarded as an extremely confused and confusing problem. This arises chiefly from the fact that the first editor, Laurentius Alexander Zacagni,<sup>2</sup> prefect of the Vatican library under Pope Innocent XII, proceeded upon the principle that the greatest possible completeness was the chief thing to be sought, and accordingly based his work upon a manuscript which contained a very rich collection of introduction material, the greater part of which, however, made no claim whatever to the name of Euthalius. Gallandi<sup>3</sup> and Migne<sup>4</sup> simply reprinted his edition without critical revision. Only lately has the attempt been made to separate, by criticism, the genuine Euthalian elements of the collection from the others. In all probability we shall have to assume several authors

<sup>1</sup>J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON, "Euthaliana," in *Texts and Studies*, Vol. III, No. 3, Cambridge, 1895.

<sup>2</sup>L. A. ZACAGNI, *Collectanea Monumentorum veterum ecclesie græcæ ac latinæ*. Tomus I (et unicus), Rom., 1698, contains: "Acta Archelai, S. Ephremi Syri sermones duo, S. Gregorii Nysseni scripta varia, Euthalius." I own the copy of Tregelles.

<sup>3</sup>A. GALLANDI, *Bibliotheca veterum patrum antiquorumque scriptorum*, Tom. X (Ven., 1774), pp. 197-320, xi-xiv.

<sup>4</sup>MIGNE, *Patrologiæ cursus completus, series græca*, Tom. 85 (Paris, 1860), pp. 619-790.



for the various parts of the work. On the one side this is in entire agreement with the fact, observable in the history of literature in general, that the lesser names disappear, their work being attributed to a more famous writer. Conspicuous examples are furnished by the names of Cyprian and Augustine in Latin literature, under which even writings of Novatian, Pelagius, and others are hidden. On the other side this appears in the notorious fondness of the scribes of biblical manuscripts in later centuries for bringing together the greatest possible variety of material in order to give higher value to their manuscripts.

The admirable descriptions of the New Testament manuscripts which we owe to Professor Caspar René Gregory, of Leipzig,<sup>5</sup> are especially exhaustive with reference to this matter, and give an authentic picture of the way in which, in the course of time, materials have been heaped together in the manuscripts of the Bible. We do not now refer to the fact that biblical manuscripts have also been used for copying other and profane literature. We are concerned only with the introductory matter which stands in relation to the New Testament itself. One who would become acquainted with this material—and it is quite worth while to study the history of biblical interpretation which is embodied in it—can obtain a good impression of it from the older editions of the New Testament, especially from those of Mill and Matthæi, not to mention also the commentaries of Theophylact and Oecumenius, and the well-known catenæ. It would no doubt be a task worth undertaking, though not practicable for an individual or at private expense, to gather together and to sift critically all such introductory material as exists in the manuscripts and printed books, and thus to produce a *corpus introductorium Novi Testamenti*. Undoubtedly many treasures still await discovery.

The following pages will furnish an example of this hidden material.

The public library at Naples possesses a manuscript which contains the latter half of the New Testament, to whose significance for the Euthalian question Dr. Albert Ehrhard, professor of church history in the Roman Catholic faculty at the University of Würzburg (*Herbipolis*),

<sup>5</sup> *Novum Testamentum Græce ad antiquissimos codices denuo recensuit . . . C. TISCHENDORF*: editio octava critica maior. Vol. III: *Prolegomena* scripsit CASPAR RENATUS GREGORY; additis curis † EZRÆ ABBOT. Lipsiæ (Hinrichs), 1884-1894; especially fasc. II (1890): "de codicibus minusculis et de lectionariis."

was the first to call attention. Gregory's description of the manuscript is as follows :

83. (P 93 Ap 99) Neapoli bibl. nationalis II. Aa. 7.  
saec XII (al. X vel XI), 26.5 × 18.6, membr, foll. 123, coll. 2,  
ll. 37, *σλιχων* numeri in mg notantur; prol, capp-t, tabulae multae:  
*Act Cath Paul* (Heb Tim) *Apoc* (mut post Apoc 3 ?); 1 Ioh 5,7 in mg  
habet. Textum olim cum codice Pamphili Caesareae conlatum esse  
proficitur. Evagrius scripsit. Birch. et Scholz. *Bib.-kr. Reise*, p. 136 seq.  
locc sell cont. Nescio quis in usum Burgonii cont. Vidi 24 Apr 1886.

The statement about the scribe rests upon an oversight easily explicable. As frequently occurs, the scribe of our manuscript has simply copied the subscription of his exemplar. The "Evagrius" is undoubtedly the same as the one mentioned in the subscription of Codex H of the Pauline letters, first pointed out by Ehrhard. To the same cause is due also the statement concerning a collation of the text with the Codex Pamphili in the library at Cæsarea. We may set aside the question of the relation of this Evagrius to Euthalius, whether, as Ehrhard thinks, he is the proper author whose name was later corrupted into Euthalius;<sup>6</sup> or, as I have suggested,<sup>7</sup> a later writer who audaciously put his name in the subscription in place of the author's name, a thing which occurs quite often; or, finally, as Robinson has recently suggested, an independent redactor of "Euthalius."<sup>8</sup> For our present purpose it is likewise immaterial whether Codex Neap. is copied directly or indirectly from Codex H, or again is derived from a sister manuscript of Codex H. In any case the scribe of our manuscript had several exemplars before him, and from one of these that had no relation to Codex H and Euthalius he took the Prologue printed in the following pages.

According to the minute description which the royal librarian, Salvatore Cyrillus, gave in his catalogue of the Greek manuscripts of the Bourbon library (now the national library) in Naples,<sup>9</sup> the manuscript

<sup>6</sup> *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, herausg. von Dr. O. HARTWIG; Vol. VIII., September, 1891, pp. 385-411; compare also SAM. BERGER, *Histoire de la Vulgate* 1893, p. 307.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. X, February, 1893, pp. 49-70. Compare O. ZÖCKLER, "Euagrius Ponticus," in *Biblische und kirchenhistorische Studien*, IV, 1893, pp. 51 ff. GREGORY, *Theolog. Literaturzeitung*, 1895, no. 11, cols. 281 ff.

<sup>8</sup> ROBINSON, "Euthaliana," in *Texts and Studies*, I. c.

<sup>9</sup> *Codices Graeci MSS. Regiae Bibliotheca Borbonica descripti atque illustrati a SALVATORE CYRILLO*. Neapol., 1726, I, pp. 13-24.

contains, on folio 1, the well-known Euthalian Prologue to the Acts of the Apostles (Zacagni, p. 403) without heading; then folio 3, a second preface to this book, likewise without superscription, of which Cyrill gives a small part.

Through the courtesy of two friends I am able to give this highly interesting Prologue in full. Dr. Erich Förster, pastor at Frankfort-on-the-Main, the well-known editor of the *Chronik der christlichen Welt*, and afterward Mr. James Hardy Ropes, instructor in Harvard University, had the great kindness to furnish me the entire text, partly in transcription and partly in collation. The manuscript is in places very much defaced and only with difficulty legible, which is no doubt the reason why only a part has been printed by Cyrill, and that in a very faulty way. Single words are even yet not read with perfect certainty. As I have not seen the codex myself, I cannot undertake the full responsibility, particularly where the two collations at my disposal do not agree. It is nevertheless better to print the text even with some mistakes than to leave scholars much longer in ignorance of it. I am indebted to several acquaintances, above all to Professor Blass, of Halle, and Dr. Koetschau, professor at the Gymnasium in Jena, well known by his studies in Origen, for various suggestions in the restoration of the text by conjecture.

The punctuation, accentuation, and orthography of the manuscript are those which were customary in that time; for these I have of course substituted those now prevalent. The scribe had a preference for the circumflex; he confused *o* and *ω* almost invariably, frequently *ε* and *αι*, and often wrote *αι* for *ι*. It is further worthy of mention that through oversight the manuscript did not come into the hands of the *rubricator*. The superscriptions of the Prologues are accordingly lacking, though space was left for them. For the same reason the large initial letters are lacking. The following is the text, with translation:

NOTE.—The portions already printed by Cyrill are inclosed between {}

[ ] indicates that the inclosed word, though in the codex, is to be omitted.

< > indicates that the inclosed word, though not in the manuscript, is supplied by me.

† indicates that the correct reading is uncertain and directs attention to the critical apparatus.

I. { Πάλαι καὶ πρόπαλαι θεοῦ χάριτι τὴν εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ μακαριωτάτου Λουκᾶ ἐρμηνείαν συμπεπληρώκαμεν, ἥσπερ } οὖν καὶ τὴν βίβλον, καθὰ προσέταξας διὰ τοῦ γράμματος, οὐθὲν ἐνδοιάσαντες ἀπεστάλκαμεν, ᾧ θαυμασιώτατε καὶ πάντων ἐμοὶ προσφιλέστατε ἐπισκόπων Εὐσέβιε, τῷ μακαρίῳ Εὐσεβίῳ 5 κατὰ τόνδε στρεφόμενῳ τὸν βίον ἐπὶ τῆς συγγραφῆς ἐκείνης ἐκτίσαντες τὸ χρέος, ὃς οὐ προσηγορίαν σοι μόνον ἔσχε τὴν αὐτὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀρετῆς ἐπιμέλειαν· καὶ μὴν καὶ διάδοχόν σε τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς προεδρίας ἐδέξατο. γέγονε δὲ ὑμῖν ἴση καὶ ἡ περὶ τὰς θείας γραφὰς σπουδὴ, ὥστε καὶ [ἡ] περὶ τοὺς τοῦ μακαρίου 10 Λουκᾶ πόρους, οὓς ἐπὶ τῆς πρὸς Θεόφιλον ἐπεδείξατο συγγραφῆς, τό τε εὐαγγέλιον καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀποστόλων πράξεις ἐπὶ προσώπου ἐκείνου συνθεῖς, παραπλησίαν ὑμῖν τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν γενέσθαι· ἐκείνός τε γὰρ τὴν εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἐρμηνείαν ἤτησε παρ' ἡμῶν ὡς ἐξῆς γε <καὶ> περὶ τῶν ἀποστολικῶν πράξεων δεησόμενος 15 ἡμῶν· αὐτός τε τῆς εὐαγγελικῆς ἐρμηνείας περὶ [τῆς] πλείστου θέμενος τὴν κτῆσιν ὡς ἂν λείπουνσαν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τῶν ἀποστολικῶν πράξεων τὴν ἐξηγήσιν ἤτησας παρ' ἐμοῦ γενέσθαι.

II. { τὴν μὲν οὖν συγγραφὴν ταύτην ὅτι γε ὁ μακάριος πεποιήται Λουκᾶς, οὐ χαλεπὸν συνιδεῖν τῷ γε μὴ παρέργως ταῖς 20 θείαις ἐντυγχάνοντι βίβλοις. καλῶς δ' ἂν ἔχοι καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν τὸν τοῦ βιβλίου ἐκ<τε>θῆναι σκοπόν. τὰ μὲν γὰρ εὐαγγέλια ἀκριβῆ τῆς κατὰ Χριστὸν οἰκονομίας τε καὶ πολιτείας παρέχεται τὴν γνῶσιν ἡμῖν· τίνα μὲν τὸν τρόπον ἐτέχθη, τίνα δὲ<τὰ> περὶ τὴν γέννησιν αὐτοῦ γεγονότα, ὅπως τε ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ νόμου πολιτείας 25 ἄχρι τῆς τριακονταετοῦς ἡλικίας μετὰ πολλῆς διαγεγονῶς τῆς ἀκριβείας προσελήλυθε τῷ βαπτίσματι κατὰ πρωτοτύπων τῆς

I Π a rubricatore om. | 4 ἐνδοιάσαντες cod., cf. Ps. 140 (141): 4 S<sup>t</sup>, Blass corrigendum in ἐνδοιάσαντες censuit. | 5 προσφιλέστατε: cod. πρῶτ., cave legendum putes προφ.—cod. εὐσέβειε, item εὐσεβείῳ | 6-7 ἐκτίσαντες cod. vid. | 9 προεδρί cod.—ἐδέξατο cod. ut vid.—ἡμῖν cod.—ἴση cod. | 10 σπουδῇ cod.—ἡ delendum. | 13 ἡμῖν cod. | 15 ἐξ ἧς cod.—καὶ addidi ex conj., vel pro γε substituendum videtur. | 16 τῆς delendum. | 17 κτίσιν cod. ut vid.—ἐπ' αὐτοῖς cod., Blass fortasse ἐπ' αὐτῇ legendum putat. | 19 ταύτην cod. | 20 χαλαῖ cod.—συνειδεῖν cod.—τῷ γὰρ cod. | 22 ἐκθῆναι cod., requiritur passivum. | 24 τὰ addidi ex conj. | 25 γεγονότα cod. | 26 διαγεγονῶς = διαγεγονῶς cod.

καινης ἀπαρχόμενος διαθήκης, ἥς ἔργον μὲν ἡ ἀνάστασις, τὸ χρι-  
στιανικὸν δὲ βάπτισμα τύπος, ἅτε θανάτου καὶ ἀναστάσεως ἔχον  
30 σύμβολα κατὰ τὴν τοῦ μακαρίου Παύλου φωνὴν [σοὶ] λέγουσαν·

<Ὅσοι> ἐβαπτίσθημεν εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, εἰς τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ ἐβαπτίσθη-  
μεν· συνετάφημεν οὖν αὐτῷ διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος εἰς τὸν θάνατον, ἵνα ὥσπερ ἠγέρθη  
Χριστὸς ἐκ νεκρῶν διὰ τῆς δόξης τοῦ πατρὸς, οὕτως καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν καινότητι ζωῆς περι-  
πατήσωμεν· εἰ γὰρ σύμφυτοι γεγόναμεν τῷ ὁμοιώματι τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
35 τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἐσόμεθα.<sup>1</sup>

οὐ γὰρ ἄδηλον ὅτι ἐν τῷ βαπτίσματι, ὅπερ ὁ δεσπότης ἐβαπ-  
τίσθη Χριστὸς, τὸ ἡμέτερον ἀπετελεῖτο βάπτισμα, ὅπερ οὖν καὶ  
βαπτίζειν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις τοὺς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην προσέταξεν  
ἀνθρώπους, ἀφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ἔξω τῆς κατὰ νόμον γεγυνώς  
40 πολιτείας τὸν εὐαγγελικὸν ἐπεδεικνυτο βίον, μαθητὰς τε ἐκλεξά-  
μενος οὓς πρέπειν ᾤετο τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ ταύτῃ καὶ νόμους ἐκθέμε-  
νος τοὺς τῷ τοιούτῳ μάλιστα ἀρμόττοντας βίῳ· οὕτως τε αὐτοὺς  
διὰ θαυμάτων καὶ λόγων πράξεών τε ποικίλων δεκτικούς ἀπο-  
τελέσας τῆς τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος χάριτος, ὑφ' ἧς δὴ μάλιστα  
45 πᾶσάν τε σὺν ἀκριβεῖα τὴν γνῶσιν ἐδέξαντο καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῆς  
οἰκουμένης ἤρκεσαν διδασκαλίαν, ὥς αὐτὸς ὁ κύριος ἐν μὲν τοῖς  
εὐαγγελίοις·

Ἔτι (φησί) πολλὰ ἔχω εἰπεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐ δύνασθε βαστάζειν ἅρτι· ὅταν ἔλθῃ  
ἐκεῖνος, τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας, ὁδηγήσει ὑμᾶς εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν,<sup>2</sup>

50 ἐν δὲ ταῖς πράξεσι τῶν ἀποστόλων·

Ἀλλὰ λήψετε δύναμιν ἐπελθόντος τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐφ' ὑμᾶς καὶ ἔσεσθέ μοι  
μάρτυρες ἔν τε Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ Ἰουδαίᾳ καὶ Σαμαρείᾳ καὶ ἕως ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς.<sup>3</sup>

ἅπασι δὲ τούτοις ὥσπερ τινὰ κορωνίδα τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἐπιτίθει-  
κεν μήνυμα οὖσαν τῆς κοινῆς ἀναστάσεως τῶν ἀνθρώπων, μάλιστα

30 σοὶ λέγουσαν· ἐβαπτίσθημεν cod., videtur ex archetypo fluxisse male correcto; pro λέγουσαν<sup>2</sup> in mg. ὅσοι: ὅλγουσαν in mg. ὅσοι; vel ὁ evanuit, itaque librarius σοὶ potius anteposendum esse putavit. | 35 ἐσόμεθα cod. | 36 <ο>ὅ, ο a rubricatore omissum (seu evanuit?). | 37 οὖν, Cyrill δεῶ legisse sibi videbatur! | 40 μαθητὰς τ' ἐκλ. perperam Cyrill. | 41 διδασκαλεῖα cod. | 42 μάλιστα cod. | 43-44 ἀποτελέσθαι cod., correxi secundum l. 37. | 46 διδασκαλεῖαν cod. | 48 εἰπεῖν lectio singularis pro ὑμῖν λέγειν vel λέγειν ὑμῖν. | 51 λειψασθαι cod. (Cyrill perperam λήψεσθαι) dubium est utrum legendum sit λήψετε an λήψεσθε c. codd. B A C D E.—ἔσεσθαι cod. | 52 Ἱερουσαλήμ cod.—fort. legendum Σαμαρίᾳ, cf. Εὐδέβειος, διδασκαλεῖα, etc. | 53 ἐπιτέθηκεν cod.

δὲ τῆς καινῆς κτίσεως, καθ' ἣν ἅπανα ἡ κτίσις σὺν τοῖς ἀνθρώ- 55  
ποις ἀνακτιζέσθαι ἤμελλεν·

Εἰ τις ἐν Χριστῷ, καινὴ κτίσις. τὰ ἀρχαῖα παρῆλθεν· ἰδοὺ γέγονε τὰ πάντα καινά.<sup>4</sup>  
ἀλλὰ ταύτην μὲν ἐκ τῶν εὐαγγελίων μεμαθήκαμεν ἀκριβῶς, ὅτε  
ἀναστὰς ἀπὸ τῶν νεκρῶν ὁ δεσπότης Χριστὸς προσέταξε τοῖς ἑαυ-  
τοῦ μαθηταῖς παραδοῦναι μὲν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις τὴν ἐπ' αὐτὸν 60  
πίστιν·

Μαθητεύσατε αὐτοὺς βαπτίζοντες εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ  
ἀγίου πνεύματος.<sup>5</sup>

διδάξαι δὲ ὅπως ἂν ἅπαντα σὺν ἐπιμελείᾳ φυλάττοιεν ἃ προσέτα-  
ξεν. ἐλείπετο δὲ μαθεῖν ἡμᾶς λοιπὸν, τίνα τὸν τρόπον ἀγαγεῖν 65  
εἰς πέρας ταῦτα τοῖς μαθηταῖς ἐγένετο δυνατόν, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄγαν  
καινὸν ἦν καὶ παντελῶς ἄπιστον τὸ ἀλιέας ἀνθρώπους, ἐν ἀγρῷ  
τεχθέντας, τῆς Σύρων γλώττης ἐπιστήμονας μόνης, παντελῶς  
ιδιώτας, δώδεκα ὄντας τὸν ἀριθμόν, οὕτως ἀπιθάνου λόγου τὴν  
οἰκουμένην πληρῶσαι, ὅτι ἄνθρωπος ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ σταυρωθεὶς ἀπὸ 70  
νεκρῶν ἀνέστη πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἐγγυώμενος τὴν ἀνάστασιν.

III. 1. τούτου γε ἕνεκεν ὁ μακάριος Λουκᾶς τήνδε τὴν βίβλον  
ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου γραφῇ συνέθηκεν ἡμῖν διδάσκων μὲν ὅπως  
εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἀνελήλυθεν ὁ δεσπότης Χριστός,<sup>6</sup> ὅπως τε κατε-  
λήλυθεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀποστόλους τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον,<sup>7</sup> τίνα δὲ τὸν 75  
τρόπον τῇ τούτου χάριτι δυνατόν ἐγένετο τὴν οἰκουμένην ἅπασαν  
τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ διδασκαλίας πλήρη γενέσθαι ᾗτινί τε τάξει μετὰ  
πολλῆς τῆς σοφίας εἰργασταὶ ταῦτα ὁ θεός,<sup>8</sup> πρότερον μὲν Ἰου-  
δαίους τῇ εὐσεβείᾳ προσαγαγόν, ὥς ἂν μὴ ἐναντία τις οὔσα καὶ  
πολεμία τῇ διατάξει τοῦ νόμου ᾗτοι τῷ ἐκθέντι τὸν νόμον θεῷ 80  
ἢ κατὰ Χριστὸν ἐπιδημία τε φαίνοντο καὶ πίστις,} μετ' ἐκείνο  
δὲ ἀπορρήτοις οἰκονομίαις ἐπὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀνθρώπους τῆς εὐσε-

56 ἤμελλεν Cyrill contra codicis lectionem. | 57 ἢ τις cod. ut vid., εἰ τις correxi secundum textum sacrum. | 64 διδάξαι δὲ e conj. cf. μὲν, l. 60, cod. διδάξατε vel potius διδάξατε, sicque Cyrill, ac si oratio recta pergeret.—προσέταξεν recte cod., Cyrill perperam προσέταξα corrigendum esse censuit. | 67 ἀλιέας cod. | 69 ἀπειθάνου cod. | 71 ἐγγυώμενος cod. | 75 τὸ πνεῦμα ἅγιον perperam Cyrill.—τίνα δὴ perperam Cyrill. | 77 διδασκαλίας cod.—ἢ τίνη τε τάξει cod. ut vid. ἢ τίνη τῇ τάξει Cyrill, fortasse legendum ἢ τίνι τῇ τάξει, sed potius ut supra ᾗτινί τε τάξει. | 78 πρότερον cod. | 79 προσαγών Cyrill, cod. προσαγαγών. | 81 ἐκεῖνω cod.

<sup>4</sup> 2 Cor. 5: 17.

<sup>5</sup> Matt. 28: 19; cf. Matt. 28: 20.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Acts 1: 9.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Acts 2: 2 ff.; 2: 33.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Rom. 1: 16; Acts 13: 46.

βείας τὴν παιδευσιν ἐκβαλὼν πολλοῖς τισι καὶ ποικίλοις ἄγαν  
 τοῖς τρόποις. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τῷ διασπαρῆναι πολλοὺς τῶν  
 85 εὐσεβῶν ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Στέφανον γεγνονότων·<sup>9</sup> ἀφ' οὗ δὴ  
 Φίλιππος μὲν Σαμαρείταις τε παραδέδωκε τὴν εὐσέβειαν<sup>10</sup> καὶ  
 τὸν ἐξ Αἰθιοπίας εὐνοῦχον ἐδίδαξε ταύτην.<sup>11</sup> Κύπριοι δέ τινες καὶ  
 Κυρηναῖοι μέχρι τῆς Ἀντιοχείας γεγόνασιν οὐκ Ἰουδαίους μόνον  
 90 ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἑλληνας τὰ κατὰ Χριστὸν ἐκδιδάσκοντες.<sup>12</sup> ἃ δὴ μαθόν-  
 τες οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐξεπλάγησάν τε ἐπὶ τῷ γεγονότι καὶ  
 τὸν Βαρνάβαν ἀπέστειλαν,<sup>13</sup> ὃς ἐβεβαίωσε μὲν τοῖς οἰκείοις λόγοις  
 τὰ πρόσθεν, παραλαβὼν δὲ τὸν Παῦλον<sup>14</sup> σύνεργον τοῦ λόγου  
 πλείονι διδασκαλίᾳ σὺν ἐκείνῳ παρεσκεύασε ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας  
 95 πρῶτον Χριστιανούς χρηματίζειν τοὺς μαθητὰς εἰς ἔνδειξιν τοῦ  
 τότε νόμου καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἁπείμπομένους πᾶσι τῷ Χριστῷ  
 ἡ προσανέχειν <βούλ>εσθαι μόνον. καὶ ἔσω δὲ τούτων τοὺς  
 περὶ Κορνήλιον<sup>15</sup> ἐξ ἐθνῶν διὰ τοῦ μακαρίου Πέτρου τῷ τῆς εὐσε-  
 βείας λόγῳ προσήγαγεν ἡ θεία τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος χάρις δι'  
 100 ἐναργῶν ἀποδείξεων καὶ φοβερῶν ἄγαν δῆλον ἅπασιν ἐργασαμένη  
 τοῦτο δὴ περὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν τῷ θεῷ δεδόχθαι,<sup>16</sup> ὥς μηδὲ τοῖς ἐρίζειν  
 ἀπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων πρὸς ταῦτα ἐθέλουσιν ἀντιλογίας κατα-  
 λειφθῆναι τόπον.<sup>17</sup>

2. πολλοῖς μὲν οὖν, ὡς ἔφην, τρόποις ἐχρήσατο ὁ θεὸς πρὸς  
 τοῦτο, οὓς οὐχ ἅπαντας μὲν ἐν τοῖς νῦν καταλέγειν καιρὸς, ἐν δὲ  
 105 τοῖς κατὰ μέρος εἰσόμεθα μᾶλλον. ἐσχάτῳ δὲ καὶ μεγίστῳ τῷ  
 ἀπ' αὐτοῦ γε τοῦ νόμου τὸν θερμότατον μὲν αὐτοῦ συνήγορον,<sup>18</sup>  
 πολεμιώτατον δὲ τῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ διδασκαλίᾳ, τὸν μακάριον λέγω  
 Παῦλον, μετὰ πάσης ἐκσπάσαι τε τῆς βίας καὶ πρὸς τὴν οἰκείαν

83 ἐκβαλλὼν cod. (cf. μάλλιστα, l. 42) corrigendum secundum προσαγαγών. | 84 το cod., requiritur datus; cf. τρόποις. | 86 fortasse legendum Σαμαρείταις.— παραδῴκε cod. | 87 post ταύτην spatium, Κύπριοι a linea. | 88 κυριναῖοι cod.— γεγόνασιν cod. | 90 ιουδαίαν (?) cod.— γεγονότι cod. | 93 πλῖονι cod.— παρεσκεύασε fortasse addendum ὥστε.— Ἀντιοχείας (?), cf. l. 52. | 94 χριστιανούς cod.— χρηματῆσαι cod. | 95 τοῖς λοιποῖς ἀντειπομένους πᾶσι cod.: αντ non certe legi posse affirmat Ropes, conicio ἀπειπομένους legendum. | 96 πρὸς αν εχέλλεσθαι cod., αν dubium; fortasse προσανέχειν <βούλ>εσθαι, vel -εσθαι lectio varia pro -ειν, cf. l. 119. | 98 προηγῶν cod. vid. | 99 ἐναργῶς cod.(?) | 100 τοῦτω cod.— δεδέχθαι cod. vid., corr. Blass, cf. l. 9.— μὴδὲ cod.— ἐρίζη cod. | 104 καιροῖς cod.(?) | 105 ισομεθα cod.— το cod., τῷ requiritur, cf. l. 84. | 107 διδασκαλεῖα cod.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Acts 8:1, 4.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Acts 8:5 ff.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Acts 8:26 ff.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Acts 11:19 ff.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Acts 11:22.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Acts 11:25.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Acts 10:1 ff.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Acts 10:44 ff.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Acts 11:2 ff.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Gal. 1:13 f.; Phil. 3:6.

ἐπίγνωσιν ἀγαγεῖν, ὡς θερμότατον μὲν κήρυκα τοῦ Χριστοῦ κατὰ  
 πάσης γενέσθαι τῆς οἰκουμένης, ὑπερβαλεῖν δὲ ἅπαντας τῇ περὶ 110  
 τούτου σπουδῇ, μετὰ πολλῆς τε τῆς προθυμίας ἐλέσθαι πᾶν ὅτι-  
 οῦν ποιῆσαι καὶ παθεῖν, ὡς ἅπαντας διδάξειν ἀνθρώπους ἀπάντων  
 δὴ ἀφεμένους τῶν λοιπῶν Χριστὸν ἡγήσασθαι σωτήρ᾽ αὐτοὺς τε καὶ  
 πάντων αὐτοῖς αἴτιον τῶν ἀγαθῶν. τοιούτου γὰρ ἔδει<sup>19</sup> διδασκά-  
 λου τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, ὃς ἐξ ἄσεβοῦς καὶ παρανόμου γνώμης χάριτι 115  
 προδῆλως σωθεὶς προθύμως ἤμελλε τοῖς ἔθνεσι χάριτι σωζομέ-  
 νοις<sup>20</sup> παραδιδόναι τὴν εὐσέβειαν.

3. πολλῶν μὲν οὖν καὶ μάλα γε ἀναγκαίων ὁ μακάριος  
 Λουκᾶς καθέκαστα διήγησιν καὶ ὠφέλιμον τοῖς εὐσεβεῖα προσαν-  
 ἔχειν ἐσπουδακῶσι διδασκαλίαν πεποιήται. ἐφ' ἅπασιν δὲ ἐκεῖνο 120  
 μάλιστα διὰ τῆς παρουσίας ἡμᾶς ἐδίδαξε γραφῆς, ὅπως ταῖς  
 ἀπορρήτοις οἰκονομίαις τε καὶ διατάξεσι τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος  
 συνέστη τὸ δὴ χρῆναι παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις τὴν κατὰ Χριστὸν  
 πολιτεῖαν τε καὶ ἀγωγὴν δι<χ>α τῆς νομικῆς παρατηρή-  
 σεως ἀπάσης κρατεῖν. τούτου δὴ τοῦ λόγου κατὰ τὴν γεγο- 125  
 νυῖαν αὐτῷ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος χάριν ὁ μακάριος προσέστη  
 Παῦλος· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ διὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων Ἰουδαίους προσαχ-  
 θῆναι τῇ εὐσεβεῖα γέγονεν εἰς ἐνδειξιν τῆς πρὸς τὸν νόμον  
 οἰκειότητος τῶν κατὰ Χριστόν, ὡς ἔφην, μένειν τε ἐκεῖνους ἐπὶ 130  
 τῆς νομικῆς ἀγωγῆς ἣν ἀνάγκη, ὡς ἂν μὴ μεταβαλλόμενοι τοῦ  
 πρόσθεν λόγου τοὺς ἐξ Ἰουδαίων προσεληλυθότας ἀποστήσειαν  
 τῆς εὐσεβείας, ἀναγκαίως τὸν μακάριον ἐπὶ τοῦτο Παῦλον ἢ θεία  
 προεχειρίσατο χάρις, κεχωρισμένως δίχα τῆς νομικῆς παρατηρή-  
 σεως κηρύττοντα τοῖς ἔθνεσι τὴν εὐσέβειαν.<sup>21</sup> ᾧ δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀπο- 135  
 στόλους σὺν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἅπασιν μετὰ τῆς προσηκούσης  
 τάξεως συμφηφούς γενέσθαι παρεσκεύασε τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον.<sup>22</sup>  
 καὶ γὰρ ἐποίει πρὸς ταύτην μάλιστα τὴν διδασκαλίαν αὐτὸν  
 ἀξιόπιστον τὸ διώκτην ὄντα πρότερον καὶ φονῶντα κατὰ τῶν

109 θερμότατον cod. | 112 διδάξην <sup>ἀνοῦς</sup> cod.—ἀπάντων e conj., cod. ἀπὸ τῶν.  
 114 τοιούτον cod. vid. | 119 καθεκά cod.—ὠφέλιμον cod. | 120 ἐσπουδακῶσι cod.—  
 διδασκαλείαν cod.—ἐφ' ἅπασιν cod. in abbrev.—ἐκεῖνω cod. | 123 παρὰ πᾶσιν cod.  
 in abbrev. | 124 δια cod., δίχα conj., cf. ll. 133, 154. | 125 τούτου conj., cod.  
 ουτον. | 131 προεληλυθότας cod. vid. | 133 προεχειρίσατο cod.—κεχωρισμένοι cod.  
 134 ᾧ δὲ conj.; αὐτῷ cod. ut vid. | 137 διδασκαλείαν cod. | 138 πρότερον cod.



Χριστοῦ μαθητῶν ἐπὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν μεταστῆναι, οὐκ ἂν γε  
 140 αὐτοῦ <τοῦ> τοσαῦτα ὑπὲρ τοῦ νόμου πρότερον κατὰ τῆς  
 εὐσεβείας τετολημηκότος νῦν ταῦτα ἀντ' ἐκείνων ἐλομένου διδάξαι  
 <τε καὶ> χωρίσαι παντελῶς τῆς τοῦ νόμου πολιτείας τὴν  
 Χριστοῦ μαθητείαν, εἰ μὴ ὑπ' αὐτῆς βιασθεῖς τῆς ἀληθείας  
 ἀπέστη μὲν τῶν προτέρων, ἐπὶ ταύτην δὲ μετέστη. διὰ τοῦτο  
 145 καὶ ὁ Λουκᾶς πρότερον μὲν αὐτοῦ τὴν κατὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας ὑπὲρ  
 τοῦ νόμου γνώμην ἐκτίθεται· μετ' ἐκείνο δὲ τὴν κλήσιν τὰ τε  
 ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐσεβείας παρ' αὐτοῦ γεγονότα λέγει καθεξῆς, τίνα τε  
 τὸν τρόπον τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἄχρι τῆς Ῥώμης γεγονὼς παρέδωκε τὴν  
 εὐσέβειαν.

150 IV. οὐ μικρὸν μέντοι τοῦ βιβλίου μέρος εἰς τὴν περὶ τού-  
 των ἀναλώσας διήγησιν, οὕτω δὲ τὴν ὅλην συμπεράνας γραφὴν,  
 ὥς ἂν ἔχοιμεν ἐξ αὐτῆς εἰδέναι, ὅπως μὲν ἀπὸ Ἰουδαίων ὁ τῆς  
 εὐσεβείας ἤρξατο λόγος, ὅπως δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ ἔθνη μετελήλυθεν ἐξ  
 ἐκείνων δόξα τῆς τοῦ νόμου τηρήσεως ὑποδεξάμενα τὴν εὐσέ-  
 155 βειαν, κατὰ δὴ τοῦτον τὸν σκοπὸν τὴν παροῦσαν ἡμῖν ἐκτίθεται  
 βίβλον, ἣν περ οὖν ἐρμηνεύσαι προθέμενοι νῦν πειρασόμεθα, ὥς  
 ἂν ἡ θεία χάρις διδῶ, οὐ τῆς σαφηνείας μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς συν-  
 τομίας τὴν ἐνδεχομένην ποιήσασθαι φροντίδα, τούτου γε ἔνεκεν  
 πάντα μὲν διεξιόντες, ὥς ἂν μὴ τὸ τῆς ἐρμηνευομένης βίβλου  
 160 διατέμοιμεν σῶμα, οὐχ ἀπάσας δὲ ἐκτιθέντες τὰς λέξεις, εἴτα τὴν  
 καθ' ἕκαστον ἐπάγοντες ἐρμηνείαν, ὥστε μὴ πρὸς μῆκος ἐκτείνειν  
 τὴν συγγραφὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλαχοῦ μὲν τῶν ἀποστολικῶν  
 μνησθέντες διαλέξεων, ὡς εἴτε πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους εἴτε πού καὶ  
 πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους πεποίηται, } πολλαχοῦ δὲ καὶ τῶν διηγή-  
 165 σεων, [καὶ] τὸν τῶν λέξεων νοῦν ἐκτιθέντες μόνον, ὥς ἅμα τῇ  
 σαφηνείᾳ καὶ τὸ σύντομον προσεῖναι δύναιτο τῇ γραφῇ.

ὁ μὲντοι γε μακάριος Λουκᾶς ἀρχὴν τῆς βίβλου τῶν ἀπο-  
 στολικῶν πράξεων πεποίηται ταύτην. }

(<sup>τβ</sup>πρῶ). — φωνων τα cod., leg. φονῶντα a φονάω "be of a murderous disposition."  
 140 τοῦ om. cod., add. Blass.—πρωτερον cod. | 141 ἐλωμ<sup>υ</sup> cod. = ἐλωμένον. | 142 τε  
 καὶ mitti potest; Blass χωρίσαι τε. | 144 πρῶ<sup>τβ</sup> cod. | 145 πρωτερον cod. | 146 ἐκεινω  
 cod. | 147 γεγονωτα cod. | 156 βιβλιον cod. (?) item 159 βιβλίου. | 157 σαφινιας  
 cod. | 160 διατέμοιμεν vid.; Ropes legit δια τέ μοι μελλ. | 161 ἐκτῆναι cod. | 163 διατάξεων  
 cod., non quadrat ad πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους.—εἴτεπου cod. | 164 πεποίητε cod. | 165 καὶ  
 del. censuit Blass. | 166 προσῆναι cod.

I. Long ago, indeed very long ago, by the grace of God we finished the commentary upon the gospel of the most blessed Luke, and accordingly without delay sent to thee the book as thou didst request by letter, O most admirable Eusebius, of all bishops most dear to me, by that writing discharging my obligation to the blessed Eusebius who was at that time living, and who not only bore the same name as thou but had also the same zeal for virtue; and indeed he was also succeeded by thee in his ecclesiastical dignity. And you both have had like zeal for the sacred Scriptures, so that you manifested like desire for the labors of the blessed Luke which he expended in the writing addressed to Theophilus, dedicating to him both the gospel and the Acts of the Apostles. For he requested from us the commentary upon the gospel, intending, no doubt, later to ask also from us one upon the Acts of the Apostles; but thou prizing very highly the possession of the interpretation of the gospel, didst desire that the exposition of the Acts of the Apostles, still lacking, be undertaken by me.

II. Now that the blessed Luke composed this writing, it is not difficult for him who does not merely superficially glance over the sacred books to see; but it would be well that the scope of the book be set forth by us also; for the gospels afford us accurate knowledge of the economy (of salvation) and the (ideal of) conduct which are according to Christ; in what manner he was begotten, what were the circumstances which attended his birth, how submitting with great fidelity to the conduct prescribed by the law until he was thirty years of age, he came to his baptism, initiating the new covenant in prototype, the reality of which is the resurrection but the type of which is Christian baptism, as this symbolizes both death and resurrection according to the saying of the blessed Paul which saith, "As many of us as were baptized into Christ Jesus were baptized into his death; we were buried therefore with him through baptism into death, in order that as Christ was raised from the dead through the glory of the Father, so we also might walk in newness of life. For if we have become united with him by the likeness of his death we shall be also by that of his resurrection." For it is manifest that in the baptism with which the Lord Christ was baptized our baptism was accomplished; with which therefore he commanded the apostles also to baptize men throughout the world, since indeed he himself having withdrawn from the conduct that is according to the law set forth the gospel way of life, having chosen disciples whom he thought adapted to his teaching, and having set forth the laws which were especially adapted to such way of life, and thus having by wonders and various words and deeds rendered them fully receptive of the grace of the Holy Spirit, by which grace now especially they received all knowledge with accuracy and were made competent for the instruction of the whole world, as the Lord himself saith in the gospels, "Yet many things I have to say but ye cannot bear (them) now; when he, the Spirit of truth shall come he will lead you into all truth," and in the Acts of the Apostles, "But ye shall receive power when the Holy Spirit is come upon

you, and ye shall be my witnesses both in Jerusalem and Judea and Samaria and unto the ends of the earth." And to all these things as a crowning conclusion he added the resurrection, which is a token of the general resurrection of men, but above all of the new creation in which all creation is to be recreated with men—"If any man is in Christ he is a new creature. The old things have passed away, behold all things have become new." But this (*i. e.*, the resurrection, or perhaps the new creation) we learn perfectly from the gospels when the Lord Christ rising from the dead commanded his own disciples to transmit to all men the faith in him—"Make them disciples, baptizing into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit"—and to teach them that they should observe with carefulness all things which he has commanded. But it remained for us to learn in what manner it was possible for the disciples to bring these things to accomplishment, since it was a wholly new thing and altogether incredible that fishermen, born in the country, acquainted only with the language of the Syrians, altogether uneducated, twelve in number, should fill the world with a story so incredible that a man crucified in Judea rose from the dead, giving to all men assurance of the resurrection.

III. (1) On this account the blessed Luke, in addition to the writing of the gospel, composed this book for us, teaching how the Lord Christ has ascended into the heavens and how the Holy Spirit has come down upon his apostles, and in what way by his grace it became possible that the whole world should be filled with the teaching of Christ, and in what order God has wrought these things with much wisdom, having formerly brought Jews to piety (*i. e.*, Christianity) in order that it might be evident that the way of life and the faith which are according to Christ are not opposed or hostile to the ordinance of the law or rather to the God who put forth the law; and having after this with mysterious dispensations sent forth upon the rest of men the instruction in piety in many and very various ways; and first by the scattering of many of the pious in consequence of the things that happened in respect to Stephen; as a result of which then Philip brought piety (Christianity) to the Samaritans and taught it also to the eunuch from Ethiopia; and certain Cyprians and Cyrenians came as far as to Antioch teaching the things of Christ not to Jews only but also to Greeks; and when they that were in Judea learned these things they were astonished at that which had taken place, and sent Barnabas, who by his own words confirmed what had previously been taught them, and taking along Paul as a fellow-helper of the word, by his assistance brought it about by further teaching that at Antioch the disciples were first called Christians, for the manifestation of the law then in force, and that they renouncing all others chose to cleave to Christ only. And in the midst of these things the divine grace of the Holy Spirit brought Cornelius and those with him from the Gentiles, through the blessed Peter, to the doctrine of piety (Christianity), by clear and very fearful manifestations, making it plain to all that this even had been decreed by God concerning the

Gentiles in order that no place for gainsaying might be left for those who from among the Jewish Christians wished to strive against these things.

(2) Many ways, therefore, as I said, God used to this end, not all of which there is now time to enumerate, but we shall learn about them when we come to details: as last and greatest, however, this, that with all force he drew from the law itself its most zealous advocate and the one most hostile to the teaching of Christ—I mean the blessed Paul—and led him to the knowledge of himself so that he became the most zealous herald of Christ throughout the whole world, and exceeded all in his zeal for him, and with great eagerness chose to do and suffer anything whatever so that he might teach all men that, relinquishing all others, they should regard Christ both as Savior and as the author for them of all things which are good; for the Gentiles had need of such a teacher, who being plainly rescued by grace from an opinion godless and contrary to law, was then ready to transmit piety (Christianity) to the Gentiles that were to be saved by grace.

(3) Therefore the blessed Luke has composed a detailed narrative of many things very necessary to know and a teaching useful to those who are zealous to devote themselves to piety; but above all things through his present writing he taught us this especially, how by the mysterious dispensations and ordinances of the Holy Spirit it came to be necessary that among all men the Christian conduct and way of life should prevail apart from all legal observance. Now this doctrine the blessed Paul represented according to the grace of the Holy Spirit which was given to him; for since through the apostles Jews were brought to piety (Christianity) for the demonstration of the relation of Christians to the law, as I said, and it was necessary for them to continue in the legal way of life lest abandoning the former teaching they should lead those who were proselytes from among the Jews away from piety (Christianity), the divine grace was constrained to appoint the blessed Paul to this work, that wholly apart from legal observance he should preach piety (Christianity) to the Gentiles; and the Holy Spirit caused that the apostles also, together with all those (Christians) who were in Judea should with befitting readiness (or perhaps: obligation—the contribution for the poor of Jerusalem) agree with him. For precisely this made him in his task of teaching most worthy of credence, that having been formerly a persecutor and having spoken against the disciples of Christ, he had turned to piety (Christianity), who indeed having ventured so much formerly on behalf of the law against piety (Christianity), would not have chosen now to teach these things instead of those, viz., to separate Christian discipleship wholly from the legal conduct, if he had not been compelled by the truth itself and so abandoned the former things and went over to this doctrine. Therefore also Luke set forth first his (former) opinion which was against Christianity and in favor of the law, and after this he relates in order his calling and the things which were done by him on behalf of piety (Christianity), and how, having gone even to Rome, he delivered piety (Christianity) to the Gentiles.

IV. But having used no small part of the book for the narrative concerning these things and having thus composed the whole writing in order that we might be able to learn from it how the preaching of piety (Christianity) began among the Jews, and how from them it passed over to the Gentiles, they having without the observance of the law received piety (Christianity)—with this purpose, then, he put forth the book before us; which purposing to interpret we shall now try as the grace of God shall grant us, to give the necessary attention not only to clearness but also to brevity. On this account we shall on the one side investigate everything, in order not to mutilate the body of the book which is to be explained, and on the other hand shall not copy out all the sentences adding thereto the detailed interpretation, lest we unduly extend the writing; but recalling in many places also the explanations of the apostolic men which they have made, whether to their opponents or else also to their own people, and in many places also the narratives (we will be satisfied) to give only the meaning of the sentences, so that together with clearness there may also be brevity in the writing.

Now the blessed Luke makes the beginning of the book of the Acts of the Apostles as follows:

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This introduction to the Acts of the Apostles, as can be readily seen, consists of four main parts:

1. The introduction and dedication.
2. The recapitulation of the gospels.
3. The statement of contents of the Acts of the Apostles.
  - (a) The mission of the first disciples.
  - (b) Paul.
  - (c) The gospel among the Jews and the Gentiles.
4. The principles of the ensuing interpretation.

This last part, especially the closing sentence, shows clearly that we have here not an independent prologue, but merely the introduction to a commentary, which unfortunately does not seem to be preserved in the manuscript. The plan of this commentary seems to have been this: a continuous explanation of a certain portion of the text was given; the text itself was not always quoted explicitly and in full and then commented upon, but was often merely incorporated in the form of a paraphrase into the exposition. This seems to be the meaning of the somewhat difficult closing paragraph, the only one that (as Professor Blass remarks) is not well and clearly written. The real explanation of the difficulty, however, may be that we are not sufficiently acquainted with the terminology of the school and period to which he belonged. Our author explicitly states that he follows

the hermeneutical method which, in distinction from that of the glossarists and catenists, laid most emphasis upon the understanding and exposition of the connection of thought; perspicuity and brevity are the objects that he rightly sought for. Quite in harmony with the method of ancient exegesis, he also, as it seems, sharply distinguishes the speeches from the narrative portions;<sup>10</sup> one need but recall the statement of contents of the gospel of Mark by Papias, "Christ's sayings and deeds."<sup>11</sup> Our author is by no means a novice in the art of exegesis, for he informs us that he has already written a commentary on the gospel of Luke on the same principles, and we can discern from his whole method of handling his subject the trained master of interpretation, who wrote with rare mastery of his language.

From the point of view of linguistics we may mention especially the wealth of particles,<sup>12</sup> so characteristic of classic Greek literature, and so unusual in the later period; and the structure of sentences, often quite complex, but always thoroughly finished. There is scarcely a μέν in this prologue without a corresponding δέ, though the latter is sometimes separated from the former by many lines. Triple periods, in which, however, two parts usually appear in close connection, are a

<sup>10</sup> τῶν ἀποστολικῶν διαλέξεων (instead of which the codex, to be sure, uses the more common διατάξεων, which, however, in connection with πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους is meaningless)—τῶν διηγήσεων, ll. 163 f.

<sup>11</sup> EUSEBIUS, *h. e.* III, 39, 15: τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἢ λεχθέντα ἢ πραχθέντα.

<sup>12</sup> The following table illustrates this clearly and may at the same time serve as a proof for the subsequent statements:

τε καὶ with noun, ll. 12, 23, 81, 122, 124.—τε καὶ with predicate, ll. 45, 86, 90, 108.—τε . . . τε, ll. 14/16, 146/147.—τε . . . καὶ . . . τε, ll. 40-44 with participle.— . . . καὶ . . . τε, ll. 42/43 with noun.

μέν . . . δέ, ll. 28/29, 58/65, 78/82 (πρότερον μέν . . . μετ' ἐκεῖνο δέ), 84/96 (καὶ πρῶτον μέν . . . καὶ ἔσω δὲ τούτων), 86/87, 91/92, 104, 106/107, 144, 145/146, 152/153, 162/164.—[μέν . . . τε, ?] ll. 60/64.—μέν . . . δέ . . . τε, ll. 24 f., 109-111.—μέν . . . τε . . . δέ, ll. 73-75.

εἴτε . . . εἴτε που καὶ, l. 163.—[ἢ (= or rather), l. 77], ἦτοι, l. 80.

καὶ μὴν καὶ, l. 8.—μέντοι, l. 150; μέντοι γε, l. 167.—γε, ll. 15, 19, 20, 72, 106, 139, 158.—καὶ μάλα γε, l. 118.

ὅῃ, ll. 39, 44, 85, 100, 113, 123, 125, 155.—ὅπερ οὖν, l. 37; cf. ll. 2/3, 156.—μέν οὖν, ll. 19 (δ', 21), 103 (δὲ, 105), 118 (δὲ, 120).—μέν γάρ, l. 22.

ἄν with optative, l. 21.—ὥς ἄν with participle, l. 17; cf. οὐκ ἄν, l. 139; with (final) optative, ll. 79, 130, 152; (condit.) ll. 156/157.—ὅπως ἄν, l. 64; ὅπως (= how), ll. 73, 74, 121.

ἄγαν, ll. 66, 83, 99; παντελῶς, ll. 67, 68.

τὸ with infinitive, ll. 67, 123, 138; τῷ with infinitive, ll. 84, 105/106.

τίνα τὸν τρόπον, ll. 24, 65, 75/76, 147/148; cf. ll. 83/84, 103.—[τίνη τῇ τάξει, l. 77.]

peculiarity of our author's style. The wealth of linguistic resource<sup>13</sup> is all the more remarkable because the whole piece is scarcely longer than Paul's first letter to the Thessalonians, which, according to the ancients, was about 200 στίχοι.<sup>14</sup> Only in a few exceptional passages is this periodic structure, with its numerous participial constructions and intercalated phrases, replaced by a more concise style, and in just these passages, *e. g.*, the description of the apostolic preaching (at the end of chap. 2), does the author's consummate rhetorical power appear.

The exegetical skill of our author, shown most brilliantly in the whole conception of the problem of the Acts of the Apostles, appears likewise in some measure in the terminology of which we give examples.<sup>15</sup>

All this points to one of the great Greek commentators, and it is difficult to suppose that such a man should be unknown to us. The neglect of the rubricator, who failed to write the superscription with his minium, or, perhaps owing to the neglect of a predecessor, knew not what he should add here, has deprived us of the name of our commentator. It is highly improbable that this was done intention-

<sup>13</sup> Here belong also the numerous synonyms, *e. g.*, καινός (= unheard of) — ἀπιστος, l. 67 — ἀπίθανος, l. 69; ἐνάντιος — πολέμιος, ll. 79/80; πολλοί τινες καὶ ποικίλοι, l. 83. — Furthermore, the interchange of genitive and adjective, and prepositional attributes, *as, e. g.*, ἡ τοῦ νόμου πολιτεία, ll. 25, 142; ἡ νομικὴ ἀγωγή, l. 130; ἡ κατὰ νόμον πολιτεία, ll. 39/40.

<sup>14</sup> στίχοι ργγ (= 193) is the number usually given; *cf.* ZAHN, *Geschichte des new-testamentl. Kanons*, II, pp. 394 ff.

<sup>15</sup> The sacred scriptures commented upon are called: αἱ θέλαι γραφαί, l. 10; αἱ θέλαι βιβλίοι, l. 21; — τὰ εὐαγγέλια, ll. 22, 46/47, 58; τὸ εὐαγγέλιον (= gospel of Luke), ll. 12, 14; ἡ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου γραφή, l. 73; — αἱ πράξεις τῶν ἀποστόλων, l. 50; αἱ τ. ἀπ. πράξεις, l. 12; αἱ ἀποστολικαὶ πράξεις, ll. 15, 17/18; ἡ βίβλος τῶν ἀποστολικῶν πράξεων, ll. 167/168; — ἡ παρούσα γραφή, l. 121; ἡ παρούσα βίβλος, ll. 155/156; ἡ ἐρμηνευομένη βίβλος, l. 159; ἡ δὴ γραφή, l. 151; τὸ βιβλίον, ll. 22, 150; ἡ πρὸς Θεόφιλον συγγραφή (= *Evang. + Act.*), l. 11; ἡ συγγραφή αὕτη, l. 19. — συγγραφὴν ποιῆσθαι, ll. 19/20; ἐπὶ τῆς συγγραφῆς πόρους ἐπιδείκνυσθαι, l. 11. — ἐκτίθεσθαι βιβλίον (to edit), ll. 155/156; ἐκτίθεσθαί τι (= present, exhibit), l. 146; συντιθέναι βιβλίον ἐπὶ τινι, ll. 72/73 (*i. e.*, to write a book in addition to another). — συντιθέναι writings ἐπὶ προσώπου τινός, ll. 12/13, a unique expression = to somebody: dedicated to him; *cf.* Latin: *ad personam alicuius, e. g.*, Gennadius, chap. 47.

The author is called: ὁ μακάριος Λουκᾶς, ll. 10/11, 72, 118/119, 167; ὁ μακαριώτατος Λουκᾶς, l. 2; *cf.* ὁ μακάριος Πέτρος, l. 97; ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος, ll. 30, 107/108, 126/127, 132; ὁ μακάριος Εὐσέβιος (a deceased bishop), l. 5; ὦ θαυμασιώτατε καὶ πάντων ἐμοὶ προσφιλέστατε ἐπισκόπων Εὐσέβιε, ll. 4/5 (addressing a living man).

Our author calls his own work: ἡ βίβλος (*i. e.*, a copy of the gospel-commentary),

ally, as, for example, because the name was obnoxious as that of a heretic; for beside the superscription there are lacking also the large initial letters, which surely were dogmatically unobjectionable, and likewise the superscription to the preceding prologue. We are thus compelled to recover the name—at least hypothetically—by the help of conjecture. In doing this three points have to be considered:

I. The author's own historical statements in the dedication.

II. The statements preserved to us concerning Greek commentaries on these writings.

III. The character of the exegesis and of the whole theological conception of the author, recognizable even in this preface.

# I.

The commentary on the Acts of the Apostles is dedicated to a bishop Eusebius, whom our author describes as one very dear to him, and devoted to the study of the Sacred Scriptures. It is a more important fact for us that he calls him the successor to another bishop Eusebius, whom—as our author says—he resembled not only in name, but also in the striving after Christian virtues and the zeal for the Sacred Scriptures. This predecessor induced him to write his commentary on the gospel of Luke, while the successor requested him to continue it in the case of the Acts of the Apostles. Unfortunately the author does not say in what episcopal see we have to look for the two men. We should suppose it an easy matter to find two men named Eusebius who had occupied the same episcopal cathedra in immediate succession, but our knowledge of the history of the Greek church during the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries is so meager that we cannot on this basis determine anything with any degree of certainty. Aside

l. 3; ἡ γραφή, l. 166 (but γράμμα, l. 3 = letter); συγγραφή, l. 6 (commentary on the gospel); πρὸς μῆκος ἐκτείνειν τὴν συγγραφὴν, ll. 161/162; ἡ εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἐρμηνεία, ll. 2, 14; ἡ εὐαγγελικὴ ἐρμηνεία, l. 16; ἡ ἐξήγησις τῶν ἀποστολικῶν πράξεων, ll. 17/18; ἐρμηνεύειν βιβλον, l. 156; ἐρμηνεῖαν συμπληροῦν, l. 2.

τὰ νῦν (= prologue), l. 104; opposed to τὰ κατὰ μέρος, i. e., the running commentary (*Eisangelaxeze*), ll. 104/105; ἡ καθ' ἑκαστον ἐρμηνεία, l. 161.

τὰς λέξεις ἐκτιθέναι (= interpret), l. 160; τὸν τῶν λέξεων νοῦν ἐκτιθέναι, l. 165. τὸ σῶμα τῆς βίβλου διατέμνειν (= to destroy the connection), ll. 159/160.

σαφηνεία, ll. 157, 166; συντομία, ll. 157/158; τὸ σύντομον, l. 166. — σκοπὸς τοῦ βιβλίου (= argumentum, i. e., contents, with the doctrines contained therein), ll. 22, 155; σκοπὸν ἐκτιθέναι, l. 22. — κορωνίς (= main point): ὥσπερ τινὰ κορωνίδα ἐπιτιθέναι, l. 53.

τύπος, l. 29, opp. ἔργον, l. 28 (reality); κατὰ πρωτοτύπων, l. 27; σύμβολον, l. 30; μήνυμα, l. 54.



from the great patriarchal sees there are but few instances in which we know the exact *διαδοχή* of a bishopric. The names of most bishops are known to us only in connection with some church council, and this knowledge does not extend beyond a certain year.

We know somewhat more only of the following seven Eusebii :

1. Eusebius of Rome, A. D. 309-310 (1).<sup>16</sup>
2. Eusebius of Cæsarea, *ca.* 313-339 (23 ; G. 452 *c*).
3. Eusebius of Nicomedia, 325-342 (60 ; G. 442 *c*).
4. Eusebius of Emesa, Phœnicia Secunda, 341-359 (35 ; G. 435 *a*).
5. Eusebius I of Samosata, 361-379 (77 ; G. 436 *c*).
6. Eusebius of Dorylæum, *ca.* 448-451 (34 ; G. 446 *c*).
7. Eusebius II of Samosata, 480-490 (78 ; G. 436 *c*).

As attending synods are mentioned also :

A. D. 325, *The Council of Nicæa.*

8. Eusebius of Miletus (57 ; G. 448 *a* ; M. II, 695 *d*).
9. Eusebius of Antioch, by the Mæander in the province of Caria (11 ; G. 447 *c*, M. II, 695 *d*).
10. Eusebius *παροικίας Ἰσαυροπόλεως* (Pitra, *anal. sacr.*, IV, 461 *n.* 191).

A. D. 341, *The Council of Antioch.*

11. Eusebius of Gadara (41 ; G. 453 *a* ; M. II, 1307 *a*).

(As well as Nos. 3 and 4 of this list.)

A. D. 343, *Synod of Sardica.*

12. Eusebius, bishop in Palestine (67 ; Athan. I, 169 *d* ; M. III, 69 *a*).

A. D. 343, *Conciliabulum of Philippopolis.*

13. Eusebius of Dorla (= Dorylæum ?, Eufenius ab Dorlani : M. III, 138 *d*).

<sup>16</sup> The numerals 1, 23, etc., refer to the list in SMITH AND WACE, *Dictionary of Christian Biography* (Vol. II, pp. 303-75, London, 1880), where ninety-four bishops by the name of Eusebius are given. This number, it is true, could easily be reduced for our purpose, inasmuch as all the western bishops and those previous to A. D. 300 and later than A. D. 600 do not come into consideration. There are also in these lists, aside from minor incorrect statements, some mistakes, as, for instance, 1) the mention of a Eusebius, *sedis incerti* (2) at the synod of Sardica, 347 (to be corrected to 343 A. D.). Athan. I 133 = M P G 25, 337 means, no doubt, Eusebius of Nicomedia. 2) The Eusebius of Gabala (40 ; G. 424 *a*) mentioned by SMITH AND WACE as attending the council of Constantinople, 381, is fictitious ; M III, 568 *d*, mentions Domnus Gabalensis as immediate successor to Eusebius Chalcidensis. G. indicates the columns in GAMS, *Series Episcoporum* ; M. = MANSI, *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova collectio* ; this last-mentioned work is the main source for our knowledge of the names of these bishops.

14. Eusebius of Magnesia, on the Mæander in the province of Asia, (53; G. 444 *a*; M. III, 139 *b*).

15. Eusebius of Pergamos (72; G. 444 *b*; M. III, 139 *a, c*).

A. D. 359, *The Synod of Seleucia*.

16. Eusebius of Sebaste (Samaria) (79; G. 453 *b*; M. III, 324 *a*).

17. Eusebius of Seleucia Pieria (80; G. 433 *c*; M. III, 321 *b*).

18. Eusebius, *sedis incerti*, deposed (3; Socr. *h. e.* II, 40; Athan. I, 726 *c*).

A. D. 381, *The Council of Constantinople*.

19. Eusebius of Epiphania in Syria Secunda (36; G. 436 *b*; M. III, 568 *d*).

20. Eusebius of Olba in Isauria (63; G. 438 *b*; M. III, 570 *a*).

21. Eusebius of Chalcis in Cœle-Syria, ordained by Eusebius of Samosata, A. D. 378 (26; G. 433 *c*; M. III, 568 *d*).

A. D. 431, *The Council of Ephesus*.

22. Eusebius of Aspona (18; G. 441 *b*; M. IV, 1128 *a*, 1217 *b*).

23. Eusebius of Clazomenæ (28; G. 444 *c*; M. IV, 1216 *e*; also A. D. 449: VI, 873 *c*; also A. D. 451: M. VI, 573 *b*, 945 *d*, 1085 *c*).

24. Eusebius of Heraclea Pontica (43; G. 442 *c*; M. IV, 1128 *a*, 1213 *c*; also A. D. 449: VI, 874 *a*).

25. Eusebius of Magnesia pr. Sipylum (54; G. 444 *c*; M. IV, 1216 *e*; also A. D. 449: VI, 873 *c*).

26. Eusebius of Nilopolis (61; G. 461 *c*; M. IV, 1128 *c*, 1220 *d*; also A. D. 449: VI, 874 *c* [Iuliopolis]).

27. Eusebius of Pelusium (71; G. 460 *c*; M. IV, 1128 *a*, 1220 *b*; also A. D. 449: VI, 874 *a*).

A. D. 449, *Latrocinium of Ephesus*.

In addition to Nos. 6, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, also:

28. Eusebius of Doberus (Topiritanus) in Macedonia (33; G. 429 *b*; M. VI, 847 *a*, 930 *b*; also A. D. 451: M. VI, 577 *d*, 952 *a*, VII, 161 *b*).

29. Eusebius of Ancyra (8; G. 441 *b*; M. VI, 836 *c*; also A. D. 451: M. VI, 565 *c*, 861 *c*).

A. D. 451, *The Council of Chalcedon*.

In addition to Nos. 23, 28, 29, also:

30. Eusebius of Apollonia in New Epirus (12; G. 404 *a*; M. VI, 577 *c*, 949 *e*, VII, 161 *a*).

31. Eusebius of Jabruda in Phœnicia Secunda (45; G. 435 *a*; M. VII, 169 *a*).

32. Eusebius of Maronopolis in Mesopotamia (55; G. ?; M. VII, 165 *d*).

33. Eusebius of Seleuco-Belus in Syria Secunda (81; G. 436 *b*; M. VI, 569 *b*, 944 *b*).

34. Eusebius of Cottina in Pamphylia (M. VII, 406 *b*).

A. D. 458. Signers of the Synodical Epistles to Emperor Leo, referring to the murder of Proterius at Alexandria.

35. Eusebius of Abida in Phœnicia Secunda (6; G. 435 *a*; M. VII, 559 *a*).

36. Eusebius of Arethusa in Syria Secunda (14; G. 436 *b*; M. VII, 551 *c*).

In addition to these we find mention of:

37. A. D. 257-270, Eusebius of Laodicea in Syria Prima (48; G. 434 *c*).

38. A. D. 362-370, Eusebius of Cæsarea in Cappadocia (24; G. 440 *a*).

39. A. D. *ca.* 400, Eusebius, bishop in Palestine (68; see *Epist. Synod. Theophili Alexandrini*. Hieron., *ep.* 92).

40. A. D. 400, Eusebius of Valentinianopolis, in Proconsular Asia (90; G. 444 *a*; see Palladius, *Dial.*, pp. 126-40).

41. A. D. 406, Eusebius, bishop in Macedonia (51; Chrysost., *ep.* 163, Innocentius I, *ep.* 17).

42. A. D. 420, Eusebius, bishop in Armenia (15; *cf.* Theodoret's *epistula*, 78).

A few others, that, however, scarcely come into account, are:

43. A. D. 518, Eusebius of Larissa in Syria Secunda (49; G. 436 *b*; M. VIII, 1098 *a*).

44. A. D. 536, Eusebius of Cyzicus (32; G. 445 *a*; M. VIII, 1143 *a*).

45. A. D. 536, Eusebius of Palæopolis in Asia (66; G. ?; M. VIII, 1146 *e*).

46. A. D. 553, Eusebius of Tyre (89; G. 434 *a*; M. IX, 173 *d*).

From this list of forty-six names we can only throw out four, inasmuch as we know that their predecessors as well as their successors have different names. These are: Eusebius of Rome (1); of Cæsarea (2);<sup>77</sup> of Cæsarea in Cappadocia (38); and of Emesa (4). Among the rest we find the name Eusebius repeated for the same see in only one instance; two Eusebii held the bishopric of Samosata (5 and 7), but they were separated by a hundred years. Besides this Eusebius I of Samosata (5) ordained illegally the bishop Eusebius of Chalcis (21, see Theodoret, *hist. eccles.*, V, 4, ed. Vales., p. 198). Yet it is scarcely permissible to interpret in such general manner the expression found in our prologue: *διάδοχον τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς προεδρίας σε ἐδέξατο (ἐδόξατο ?)*.

These scanty materials in determining our author's friend, to whom

<sup>77</sup> Even in this case it is not certain whether Agapius was the immediate predecessor, or Agricolaus, who would then stand between the two.

he dedicated his commentary, must needs lead to a *non liquet*, and consequently we gain from this source no conclusive information concerning the author himself.

## II.

If now we turn our attention to the question what commentaries on the Acts of the Apostles we know to have existed in the Greek church, we find that for the solution of this question also nothing has as yet been done. For little is gained from the few titles of leading works that are usually quoted in modern commentaries.<sup>18</sup> The best help is afforded by the *catenæ*, but here we must be on our guard lest we number among commentators of the writing in question all names mentioned there; *e. g.*, there is no doubt that the three fragments of Theodore of Heraclea, mentioned in Cramer's *Catena in Acta Apostolorum* (Oxon., 1844, p. 145, 3, 9, 12), refer to his well-known commentary on Isaiah. If now we combine the quotations in *catenæ* and all accounts of commentaries handed down to us, we gain approximately the following list:

A. D. (*ca.*) 250. Origen. Only homilies to the Acts are certified; Jerome, *De vir. illustr.*, 17; *cf.* Harnack-Preuschen, *Geschichte der alt-christlichen Litteratur bis Eusebius*, I, 373. (The commentary mentioned there, after Verderius, is no doubt the result of a blunder.)

A. D. (*ca.*) 300. Pamphilus of Cæsarea. The well-known *ἐκθεσις κεφαλῶν τῶν πράξεων*, which passes in some manuscripts (Coisl. 25 [Ac. 15], Barb. VI, 21 [Ac. 81]) under the name of Pamphilus, is more correctly ascribed to Euthalius.

[(?) Eusebius of Emesa; mentioned by Fabricius.]<sup>19</sup>

A. D. (*ca.*) 350. Didymus "the Blind," ed. by J. Chr. Wolf in *Anecdota græca*, T. IV, Hamburg, 1724, from a *catena*.

A. D. (*ca.*) 370. Ephrem Syrus, preserved only in an Armenian *catena*; Venice, 1839. 8vo.

A. D. (*ca.*) 380. Diodorus of Tarsus, according to Suidas.

A. D. (*ca.*) 400. Theodore of Mopsuestia. (See below.)

<sup>18</sup> The best list of commentaries on the Acts of the Apostles, known to me, is given by the very learned Hamburg professor, IO. ALB. FABRICIUS, in his work, so important for the history of missions, *Salutaris Lux Evangelii*, Hamburg, 1731, pp. 71 ff. I am indebted to Professor Drews, of Jena, for calling my attention to this book.

<sup>19</sup> There is probably meant here Eusebius of Cæsarea, who, however, is the author of a commentary on the gospel of Luke only, but not on Acts.

A. D. 400-401. Chrysostom: 55 homilies; *opera* ed. Montfaucon, IX, 1731.

A. D. (*ca.*) 400. Severianus of Gabala († after 408), perhaps author of homilies; *cf.* Gennadius, chap. 21.

(?) A. D. (*ca.*) 430. Hesychius Presbyter († 433); fragment of *catena*. Migne, *Patrol. græca*, 93.

[A. D. (*ca.*) 440. Cyrill of Alexandria. The fragments of *catena* are probably not derived from a commentary on the Acts.]

[A. D. (*ca.*) 440. Theodoret of Cyrus. The same may be said with still greater certainty here.]

A. D. (*ca.*) 440. Theodotus of Ancyra, a partisan of Cyrill; fragments of *catena*.

A. D. (*ca.*) 450. Ammonius of Alexandria, fragments of *catena*.

After A. D. 500. Andreas of Cæsarea in Cappadocia; *scholia*, also to Acts, in cod. Athous 129. S. Pauli 2 (Ac. 374, Gregory, p. 650); *cf.* Ehrhard in Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur* (Iwan Müller's *Handbuch der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Vol. IX), 2d edition, p. 130. *Andreas* is also the name of the compiler of the *catena* in cod. Coisl. 25 (= Ac. 15, Gregory, p. 618), Sæc. X, and Oxon. Nov. coll. 58 (= Ac. 36, Gregory, p. 621), Sæc. XII, which Cramer published in *Catena*, T. III, Oxon., 1844.

A. D. (*ca.*) 900. Leo Magister: Scholia to Matt., Luke, John, Acts, and Cath. Epp.; *cf.* Ehrhard, *l. c.*, 131, No. 4.

(Date unknown) Œcumenius: fragments in the following work:

Tenth century (?). *Œcumenius-Catena*, edidit Morellus, Par. 1631; Migne, *Patrol. græca*, 118, 119.

A. D. (*ca.*) 1078. Theophylact, archbishop of Achrida in Bulgaria. Ed. Foscari, Venice, 1754-63, wholly dependent upon the preceding.

(?) Nicetas of Naupaktos. Manuscripts mentioned by Ehrhard, *l. c.*, 137.

(?) Anonymi hom. 54 breves in cod. Vindob. 45, 4to, fol. 1-101<sup>a</sup>; Lambeccius, III, 63.

This list, of course, does not pretend to be complete, for it is very probable that a reference may have escaped me. And, above all, it is very doubtful whether we have any knowledge of all the commentators on the Acts of the Apostles; and whether, perhaps, many anonymous scholia are not the work of still unknown exegetes. In view of this we must speak with a great reservation in attempting to say who among the persons mentioned above was the author of our prologue.

At the very outset we must exclude the Byzantine authors of com-

mentaries after 500 A. D., for they represent, in the great majority of instances, recensions wholly dependent on the earlier exegetical material, of value only in so far as they have preserved fragments of their predecessors of the classic period of Greek theology, otherwise lost. Compare the excellent description which Ehrhard has given of this exegesis in Krumbacher's *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*, 2. Aufl., 1896, pp. 122 ff.

But also among the commentators preceding the fifth century we have to reject a considerable number. In the case of many, among these Cyrill and Theodoret, it cannot be shown at all that they ever composed a commentary on the Acts of the Apostles; others again, *e. g.*, Origen and Chrysostom, have left us only continuous homilies on this book, the nature of which excludes our prologue as an introduction; and again, commentators of the Alexandrian school, Didymus, Cyrill, Theodotus of Ancyra, and others, are decisively excluded by the character of the theological conceptions which pervade our prologue, which, it may be said here by way of anticipation, is strictly of the Antiochian school. This and the masterly character of the commentary lead us to think above all of Diodorus of Tarsus, or his yet more famous pupil, Theodore of Mopsuestia.

To the former Suidas, *Lexicon*, *sub voce* Διόδωρος (ed. Bernhardt, I, 1, 1379), following a catalogue compiled by Theodore Lector, ascribes, among other works, and especially after a *chronicon*, correcting the Eusebian chronology (χρονικὸν διορθούμενον τὸ σφάλμα Εὐσεβίου τοῦ Παμφίλου περὶ τῶν χρόνων), two volumes: εἰς τὰ δ' εὐαγγέλια and εἰς τὰς πράξεις τῶν ἀποστόλων.

Among the fragments of *catenæ* collected in Migne, *Patrologia græca*, T. 33, there is none at all belonging to writings on the New Testament, and although there are, as far as comparison is possible, several linguistic points of contact with our prologue, we nowhere find that originality of expression and conception which characterizes our document.

On the other hand, any one of the more numerous preserved fragments of the exegetical works of Theodore, *e. g.*, his prologue to the commentary on the minor prophets,<sup>20</sup> shows a surprisingly close linguistic relationship to our fragment.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>20</sup> MAI, *Nova Patrum Bibl.*, VII, 1854; ed. VON WEGNER (1834), pp. 3 ff. My citations are from this edition.

<sup>21</sup> To mention only a few points, I call attention to πάλαι καὶ πρόπαλαι, p. 4, 128; καὶ μὴν καὶ, ὅπερ οὖν; very often μέν—δέ; the combination *θεραπεύας τε καὶ*

To this may be added the decisive weight of an external testimony. The existence of a commentary of Theodore on the Acts of the Apostles is variously attested; in particular during the fifth œcumenical (or general) council, the second Constantinopolitanum, there were read, at the fourth session, held May 12 (or 13), A. D. 553,<sup>22</sup> a number of extracts from Theodore's writings, and among these, beside passages of the commentaries on the gospels of Luke and John, also a passage from the first book of his commentary to the Acts of the Apostles:

"XVI Eiusdem Theodori ex commento quod est in Actus Apostolorum libro primo, in quo dicit quod baptizari in nomine Jesu Christi simile est scripto illi quod baptizati sunt in Moyse, et vocari Christianos simile est illi quod vocantur Platonici et Epicurei et Manichæi et Marcionistæ ab inventoribus dogmatum" (Giov. Dom. Mansi: *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, Florence and Venice, 1759-98, Vol. IX, p. 209 c.)—indeed a very incorrect regest of the ensuing passage, which nevertheless reminds us vividly of that portion of our prologue which treats of the name of the Christians. Still more striking is the at times almost literal agreement of the text of the quotation with thought and language of our prologue: "Ille autem dixit, oportere pœnitentiam agentes eos pro crucis iniquitate et agnoscentes saluatorem et dominum et omnium auctorem bonorum Jesum Christum, quomodo propter ista peruenit et assumptus est de diuina natura, in ipsum quidem fidem suscipere et eius discipulos fieri ante omnia ad baptismum accedentes quod et ipse tradidit nobis præformationem quidem habens sperationis futurorum, in nomine autem celebrandum patris et filii et sancti spiritus. Hoc enim quod est: *ut baptizetur unusquisque in nomine Jesu Christi*, non hoc dicit, ut uocationem quæ in nomine patris et filii et sancti spiritus est relinquentes Jesum Christum in baptismo uocent, sed quale est hoc quod in Moyse baptizati sunt in nube et in mari, ut diceret quia sub nube et mari Ægyptiorum separati sunt liberati eorum seruitute ut Moysis leges attenderent, tale est: *et baptizetur unusquisque in nomine Jesu Christi* ut cum ad ipsum accessissent tamquam saluatorem et omnium bonorum auctorem et doctorem ueritatis ab ipso utpote auctore bonorum et doctore ueritatis uocarentur, sicut omnibus hominibus quamcumque sectam sequentibus consuetudo est ab ipso dogmatis inuentore uocari,

γινώσκουσ; always ὁ θεσπότης Χριστός. Especially characteristic is the transition from the introduction to the exegetical part, following it: ἀρχεται δὲ οὕτως.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. HEFELE, *Conciliengeschichte*, II, 1856, p. 846.

ut Platonici et Epicurei, Manichæi et Marcionistæ et si quidam tales dicuntur. Eodem enim modo et nos nominari Christianos iudicauerunt apostoli tamquam per hoc certum facientes quod istius doctrinam oportet attendere; sic quod et ab ipso datum est susciperent baptismum in ipso quidem primo constitutum qui et primus baptizatus est, ab ipso autem et ceteris traditum ut secundum præformationem futurorum celebretur.”<sup>23</sup>

The same passage is found as capitulum XVII, followed by a detailed refutation in the *constitutio* of Pope Vigilius, which he issued from Constantinople the fourteenth of May of the same year, and for which he used a selection from the works of Theodore almost identical with the one read at the council of Constantinople (Mansi, *l. c.*, p. 74 b; and Hefele, II, 856 f.). Also Pope Pelagius II (A. D. 578–90), in his third letter to Elias of Aquileja-Grado and the other bishops of Istria, makes reference to this same passage (Mansi, *l. c.*, 443 a; Hefele, II, 893).

It is to the Syrian fathers, however, that we owe a more accurate knowledge of the writings of Theodore “the exegete,” a title with which they rightly honored him. Already Ibas, the well-known Edessene, we are told, had his writings translated into Syriac, for which he was reproached by his adversaries. It is, therefore, not surprising that as late as the fourteenth century a learned Nestorian, Ebed-Jesu, the metropolitan of Zoba and Armenia († 1318), was able to incorporate a list of thirty-six writings of Theodore into his rhymed catalogue of 200 Syrian authors, in which it constituted chap. 19. This catalogue has been published by Assemani in his *Bibliotheca orientalis*, Tom. III, 1, 3–362, together with a Latin translation and excellent notes. We give herewith the whole chapter treating of Theodore’s writings, only using instead of the rhymed language the more convenient tabular order, as found in the occidental lists of writings. In addition to the inaccurate title, Ebed-Jesu always mentions the number of volumes (τόμοι),<sup>24</sup> and very wisely also the names of persons to whom they were dedicated, which, for the purpose of identification, may be of greatest service. Ebed-Jesu (Assemani, pp. 30–35) writes as follows:

<sup>23</sup> This is also given in FRITZSCHE, *Theodori Episcopi Mopsuesteni in Novum Testamentum Commentariorum quæ reperiri potuerunt*, Turici, 1847, pp. 43 f.

<sup>24</sup> τόμοι are more extensive than the books (βιβλοι); cf. BIRT, *Das antike Buchwesen*, p. 28. Thus the first τόμος of Theodore’s Commentary to Genesis consisted of seven books; Photius, *bibliotheca cod.* 38; the two τόμοι adv. Eunomium of 25 λόγοι; *ibid.*, cod. 4.



Theodorus Commentator composuit XLI tomos qui sunt Prophetæ centum et quinquaginta (*i. e.*, according to Assemani: tantæ molis sunt ut centies et quinquagies libros Prophetarum maiorum minorumque superent) quorum unusquisque capitibus triginta comprehenditur:

1. Commentarius in librum Geneseos	tom III ad Alphæum.	
2. Commentarius in Davidem ( <i>i. e.</i> , Psalms)	tom V ad Cerdonem et fratrem.	
3. Commentarius in XII Prophetas	tom II ad Tyrium.	
4. Commentarius in Samuelem	tom I ad Mamarianum.	
5. Commentarius in Job	tom II ad Cyrillum Alexandrinum.	
6. Commentarius in Ecclesiastem	tom I ad Porphyrium.	
7. Commentarius in Jesaiam	tom I	
8. Commentarius in Ezechielem	tom I	
9. Commentarius in Jeremiam	tom I	
10. Commentarius in Daniele	tom I	
11. Commentarius in Matthæum	tom II ad Iulium.	
12. Commentarius in Lucam	tom II ad Eusebium.	
13. Commentarius in Johannem		
14. Commentarius in Actus Apostolorum	tom I ad Basilium.	
15. Commentarius in Epistolam ad Romanos	ad Eusebium.	
16. Commentarius in II Epistolas ad Corinthios	tom II ad Theodorum.	
17. Commentarius in Ep. ad Gal., Eph., Phil., Col.	ad Eustratium (?)	} tom V
18. Commentarius in II Ep. ad Thessalonicenses	ad Iacobum.	
19. Commentarius in II Ep. ad Timotheum	ad Petrum.	
20. Commentarius in Ep. ad Titum et ad Philemonem	ad Cyrinum.	
21. Commentarius in Ep. ad Hebræos	ad Cyrinum.	
22. Liber de sacramentis, s. de fide		
23. Liber de sacerdotio	tom I	
24. Liber de spiritu sancto	tom II	
25. Liber de incarnatione <sup>25</sup>	tom I	
26. Libri adversus Eunomium <sup>26</sup>	tom II	
27. Libri adversus asserentem peccatum in natura insitum esse <sup>27</sup>	tom II	

<sup>25</sup> GENNADIUS, *De viris illustr.*, chap. 12, ed. Richardson, p. 65: "de incarnatione domini libros quindécim, ad quindécim milia versuum continentes."

<sup>26</sup> PHOTIUS, *bibl.*, cod. 4: ἀνεγνώσθη Θεοδώρου Ἀντιοχείως ὑπὲρ Βασιλείου κατὰ Εὐνομίου ἐν λόγοις καὶ (κ' καὶ ἡ' λόγοι, cod. 177).

<sup>27</sup> PHOTIUS, *bibl.*, cod. 177: ἀνεγνώσθη βιβλίον οὗ ἡ ἐπιγραφή Θεοδώρου Ἀντιοχείως πρὸς τοὺς λέγοντας φύσει καὶ οὐ γνώμῃ πταίνει τοὺς ἀνθρώπους . . . ἐν λόγοις ε'.

28. Libri adversus magiam <sup>26</sup>	tom II
29. Liber ad monachos	tom I
30. Liber de obscura locutione	tom I
31. Liber de perfectione operum	tom I
32. Adversus Allegoricos	tom V
33. Pro Basilio <sup>29</sup>	tom I
34. De assumente et assumpto	tom I
35. Margaritæ (i. e., epistolæ)	tom I
36. Sermo de legislatione	tom I

Owing to the fact that only a very few fragments of the works of Theodore have been transmitted it is now impossible accurately to test the statements of Ebed-Jesu; for instance, the text of the commentary on minor prophets, the only one preserved entirely in the original Greek, does not show the name of Tyrius as the person to whom it was dedicated. It appears, moreover, from other indications that the main preface to the whole work, which undoubtedly contained the dedication, has been lost. In this "prologue" may have stood the passage read at the fifth œcumenical council: "ex principio commentii quod in duodecim prophetas scripsit abnegans prophetias de Christo esse prædictas" (Mansi, *l. c.*, p. 211 d). This passage is not found in our present text.<sup>30</sup>

In like manner the Latin prefaces to the minor letters of Paul do not contain the names mentioned by Ebed-Jesu. Here also we must suppose that the translator, or redactor, omitted some material. The name "Cerdo,"<sup>31</sup> which Ebed-Jesu mentions in connection with the commentary to the Psalms, is undeniably found in Theodore's preface to his work *De Historia et Allegoria*. This preface has been preserved for us by Facundus, bishop of Hermiane (Gallandi, *Bibl. Max.*, XI, p. 698; *Patrol. Lat.*, 67, 762 a). On the whole we may in general trust the statements of Ebed-Jesu, of course without denying that at times he may have been mistaken.

We are concerned only with what he says about the gospels and the Acts of the Apostles. Here is the verbatim translation of Assemani:

<sup>26</sup> PHOTIUS, *bibl.*, cod. 81: Θεοδώρου περὶ τῆς ἐν Περσίδι μαγικῆς καὶ τῆς ἐκείνης εὐσεβείας διαφορᾶς, ἐν λόγοις τριῶν.

<sup>29</sup> According to Photius it appears to be identical with (26) adversus Eunomium.

<sup>30</sup> A. MAI, *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio*, I (1825), p. xxvii, and A. VON WEGNERN, *Theodori Antioch. quæ supersunt omnia*, I (1834), p. xvi, would rather place this passage in the lost introduction to the commentary on the Psalms. But why, then, charge the author of this selection from Theodore's works with such inaccuracy?

<sup>31</sup> This name is not given in SMITH AND WACE'S *Dictionary*.

Matthæum uno tomo  
explicavit ad Julium;  
Lucam et Johannem  
Duobus tomis ad Eusebium

Actus Apostolorum ad Basilium  
uno commentatus est tomo.  
Epistolam quoque ad Romanos  
ad Eusebium exposuit.

Our prologue shows that its author dedicated two commentaries to two Eusebii, the one on the gospel of Luke to the older, that on the Acts of the Apostles to his successor. In Ebed-Jesu's list we have three commentaries of Theodore dedicated to a Eusebius, namely, those on the gospel of Luke, the gospel of John, and the epistle to the Romans. It appears to be almost like a provoking accident that the commentary on the Acts of the Apostles, standing between the last two, was not dedicated to a Eusebius, but to a Basilius. Is this really the case? or may we not have here merely a mistake of Ebed-Jesu or of one of his predecessors?<sup>32</sup>

It appears to me certain that we have here a case of transposition of the Acts and the gospel of John, occasioned by the author's desire to preserve as far as possible the traditional order of the canon. The two *τόμοι* contain the gospel of Luke and the Acts of the Apostles; alongside of these the commentary on the gospel of John<sup>33</sup> occupied a much more independent place. And thus I suspect that this was dedicated to a Basilius, while the two were dedicated to an older and a younger Eusebius. We have to make, therefore, only a very slight correction in Ebed-Jesu's list of the writings of Theodore, in order to obtain a testimony that our prologue is the introduction to the commentary of Theodore of Mopsuestia on the Acts of the Apostles dedicated to Eusebius, better than we could have dared to wish for.

### III.

Theodore's authorship of the prologue is confirmed finally by an analysis of the theological conceptions expressed in it.

<sup>32</sup> We do not know the history of Syriac literature well enough to enable us to say whether Ebed-Jesu compiled his catalogue on the basis of personal inspection of Theodore's works, or whether he has simply collected it out of earlier sources. The well-known relation of Jerome to the *Church History* of Eusebius inclines us to accept the second as more probable. Assemani consulted, in addition, a similar Arabic catalogue of authors compiled by the Egyptian presbyter Abulbarcat, the son of Cabar, which, in his judgment, contained an imitation of that of Ebed-Jesu. This Abulbarcat mentions of Theodore especially: "Expositionem quarundam epistolarum Pauli et Actuum Apostolicorum" (Assemani, *l. c.*, pp. 3 and 30).

<sup>33</sup> Chabot announced in 1895 an edition of the Syriac translation of this commentary. I know not whether it has been published. At least I have not yet seen it.

The special points of controversy concerning Christology, so frequently discussed in the fifth century, are, to be sure, not mentioned in it. This very fact, however, may point to Theodore as the author of the discussion, inasmuch as this controversy was imposed upon him from the outside, rather than grew out of his own religious position. Proof of this is amply furnished in the fragment of the second book of Theodore's work *On the Incarnation*, published by Fritzsche in the *Züricher Universitäts-Programm* of 1847, pp. 5 ff.: "Sed mei fratres, qui eiusdem mihi matris filii sunt, dicunt mihi, etc., . . . sed uehementer doleo quia mei fratres hæc mihi dicunt, ut loquar in ecclesia, quæ non est possibile dicere bene sapientes." Theodore proceeds throughout on the basis of the veritable humanity of Christ: "homo Jesus, similiter omnibus hominibus, nullam habens differentiam ad homines eiusdem generis præter ea quæ gratia ei dedit." (*Ibid.*, p. 6, ll. 3-6.) In the same manner our prologue speaks only of the human actions of Jesus, whom the author always designates ὁ δεσπότης Χριστός (ll. 36, 59, 74), just as Theodore did (in *Oseam*, præf. 2; Wegnern, p. 5, *et freq.*). Only in one quotation does he use the time-honored traditional ὁ κύριος ἐν τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις φησί (ll. 46 f.). He speaks of the fact that Christ was generated (ἐτέχθη, l. 24, just as τεχθέντας, l. 68, of the apostles); and of the peculiar circumstances connected with his birth (τὰ περὶ τὴν γέννησιν αὐτοῦ γεγονότα, ll. 24 f.; and compare the expression τὰ περὶ τὸν Στέφανον γεγονότα, l. 85). Especially important and characteristic is, furthermore, the view that Christ during his first thirty years submitted completely to the law (ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ νόμου πολιτείας ἄχρι τῆς τριακονταετοῦς ἡλικίας μετὰ πολλῆς διαγεγονῶς τῆς ἀκριβείας, ll. 25-7). Only when he had completed this period did he exhibit in himself the new ideal of life (τὸν εὐαγγελικὸν ἐπεδείκνυτο βίον) and by the choosing of his disciples, and the setting up of laws corresponding to this ideal, provide for its spread (ll. 40 f.). His words and miracles simply serve the purpose of rendering the disciples susceptible for receiving the Holy Spirit (ll. 43-4). Throughout, emphasis is laid upon the activity of the Holy Spirit (ἡ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος χάρις, ll. 44, 76; ἡ θεία τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος χάρις, l. 98; ἡ θεία χάρις, 132 f.; 157); this is also a characteristic peculiarity of the theology of Theodore. The death of Christ is to the author of no special significance whatever. He even employs a form of statement almost unparalleled in a fourth-century Greek theologian: ὅτι ἄνθρωπος ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ σταυρωθεὶς ἀπὸ νεκρῶν ἀνέστη (l. 70). This resurrection is the main point (l. 53), inasmuch as it is both the assurance of the universal resurrection (ll. 28, 53 f., 71), and the antecedent of the ascension, and the

corresponding descent of the Holy Spirit (ll. 74 f.), a conception well grounded on Acts 2:33. Compare on ll. 44 ff. the fragment *ex libro de incarnatione* published by Sachau: *Theodori Mopsuestiae Fragm. syr.*, 1879, p. 63: "post resurrectionem autem, cum discipuli a spiritu perducerentur, tum reuelatione quoque cognitionem perfectam accipiebant."

When our author says of Christ that he is to be regarded as savior and author of all blessings for his followers (σωτήρ τε καὶ αἴτιον αὐτοῖς πάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ll. 113 / 14), he has especially in mind two blessings: the new ideal of life and the resurrection, or, as he expresses himself in another place in imitation of Pauline phraseology, the new creation (l. 55), in which also the whole creation is to participate together with mankind (cf. Rom. 8:19 ff.). He sees this effectively foreshadowed in the resurrection of Christ, in the description of which he uses the deep thought of Paul concerning the connection of Christian baptism with Christ's death and resurrection. And when he calls the ἀνάστασις the ἔργον of the new covenant, and baptism its type, whose prototype, again, is Christ's own baptism, it is evident that by this word ἔργον he means "realization" or "reality." Of far greater concern to our author, however, than the blessings of Christianity still lying in the future is that other practical side of it: the new Christian ideal of life, the evangelic life, as he calls it (ὁ εὐαγγελικὸς βίος, l. 40; ὁ τοιοῦτος βίος, l. 42; ἡ κατὰ Χριστὸν ἐπιδημία καὶ πίστις, l. 81; ἡ κατὰ Χριστὸν πολιτεία τε καὶ ἀγωγή, ll. 123 f.). On the one side Christ has exemplified this in his own life (ἐπεδείκνυτο, l. 40; this is also said in the second part of the phrase ἡ κατὰ Χριστὸν οἰκονομία τε καὶ πολιτεία, in which οἰκονομία refers to the other element of salvation divinely constituted in the person of Christ); and on the other side he has taught it (ἡ τοῦ Χριστοῦ διδασκαλία, ll. 77, 107, to which corresponds τὰ κατὰ Χριστὸν ἐκδιδάσκειν, l. 89). For although this ideal of life is free from the spirit of Old Testament legalism (δίχα τῆς νομικῆς παρατηρήσεως, ll. 124, 133 f.; or δίχα τῆς τοῦ νόμου τηρήσεως, l. 154), it is itself nevertheless also based upon "laws" (l. 41; cf. ὁ τότε νόμος, ll. 94-5). Paramount with the belief in Christ, expressed in the trinitarian formula of baptism, is the keeping of his commands (ll. 60-65; a free rendering of Matt. 28:19, 20).

Our author's style reminds us strongly of the pastoral epistles, and with this resemblance is probably to be associated the important part given to the conception of the εὐσέβεια, which in many instances can only be accurately rendered by the word "Christianity." This is also seen in the equivalence of such formulas as: τῇ εὐσεβείᾳ προσανέχων,

ll. 119 f., and τῷ Χριστῷ προσανέchein, ll. 95 f.; εὐσεβεῖς, l. 85, and οἱ κατὰ Χριστὸν, l. 129; or ἡ Χριστοῦ μαθητεία, l. 143. Our author says τὴν εὐσεβείαν διδάσκειν, ll. 86-7; κηρύττειν, l. 134; παραδιδόναι, ll. 86, 117, 148; as well as ὑποδέχασθαι, l. 154; τῇ εὐσεβείᾳ or τῇ τῆς εὐσεβείας λόγῳ προσάγειν, ll. 79, 127 f.; 98 (cf. l. 153), and ἀποστήσαι τινα τῆς εὐσεβείας, ll. 131 f. The εὐσεβεία is to him a schooling (παίδευνσις) for mankind (ll. 82-3).

Following the train of thought of the Acts of the Apostles our author distinguishes sharply between this εὐσεβεία, Christianity, and the Old Testament law (ὑπὲρ τοῦ νόμου—κατὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας, l. 140); he calls the pre-Christian position of Paul ἀσεβῆς καὶ παράνομος γνώμη, l. 115. Yet he is very careful to avoid a misconception which would favor the Marcionite heresy, on the one hand tracing the law back to God as its author (τῷ τὸν νόμον ἐκθέντι θεῷ, l. 80) and on the other hand strongly emphasizing the acceptance (οἰκειότης) of the law not only by Christ during his early period of life (l. 26), but also by the first Christian converts from Judaism (ll. 78 f., 128 f.).

The purpose of the Acts of the Apostles (its σκοπός, l. 155, and compare ll. 150 ff., a favorite *terminus technicus* with the Antiochian theologians) consists according to our author—and we must say that he is wholly right in this view—mainly in the presentation of the wonderful ways of God (ἀπόρρητοι οἰκονομίαι, l. 82), by which was made possible the passing over of Christianity from the Jews to the Gentiles, and, at the same time, the complete deliverance from subjection to the Old Testament law. That this transition could not be accomplished by a complete break with the law, but that God made use of many ways to bring it about, our commentator correctly explains, precisely in the manner of the author of the Acts of the Apostles himself (ll. 83-4). For that reason he begins by carefully enumerating all pre-Pauline missions to the Gentiles (ll. 84-104) and then strongly emphasizes, in the spirit of Acts, chap. 15,<sup>34</sup> the assent of the mother church to the Pauline missionary principles (ll. 134-6). At the same time he does full justice to the unique significance of Paul as the missionary to the Gentiles κατ' ἐξοχήν (ll. 137-144) and praises him in a manner that is rhetorically most effective (ll. 105-17).

<sup>34</sup> The use of the expression μετὰ τῆς προσηκούσης τάξεως in this connection is not quite clear. He either intends to distinguish the several categories: apostles, leaders of the congregation, and the congregation (after Acts 15:6, 7 Peter; 12 πλήθος; 13 James; 22; cf. Gal. 2:2, κατ' ἰδίαν δὲ τοῖς δοκοῦσιν), or τάξις has the well-attested meaning: enactment, decision, command (e. g., ἡ τοῦ φόρου τάξις, Plato, Demosth.), and refers then to the prescription in the apostolic decree, perhaps also to Gal. 2:10.

It may perhaps be said that the development of Christianity in the apostolic age was nevertheless somewhat different from what the author represents it to have been; that the passing of Christianity from Judaism to the Gentiles was not accomplished so harmoniously as it appeared to the author, who conceived of it as the work of divine providence; that, in fact, sharp conflicts had occurred, of which, by the way, our author is by no means ignorant (l. 101); but we cannot apply to any of the Greek commentators the standard of modern critical methods. Even their greatest and most critical genius—for such was Theodore indeed—was biased in that direction, and to him the “Acts of the Apostles” was the primary historical source for the apostolic history, and what can be done on the basis of this source in the way of obtaining a clear picture of the conditions of that time our author has certainly succeeded in doing within the narrow bounds of our prologue. Living at a period when Christianity was supreme in the whole Roman empire, when the greatest minds had willingly placed themselves in its service, and when apologetics had been almost completely silenced by the controversies within the church, accompanying the final establishment of the christological dogma in the church, our author has yet put the question to himself and to his readers how it became possible to build up from so small beginnings with such material so gigantic a structure (ll. 65 f.). The very fact of propounding such a problem is to be considered an eminently scientific performance on the part of a Greek theologian of that period.

It remains yet briefly to gather together from the prologue all the data concerning the New Testament used by the author and its textual conditions. This is in some cases of decisive importance for literary criticism. Here we may congratulate ourselves on having attained already well-established results; for the outcome of our following investigation is in general quite meager.

Of the *θείαι γραφαί* or *βιβλοι* (ll. 10, 21) our author mentions the gospels (ll. 22, 58), a phrase at that time, to be sure, frequently used, even when only one of the four gospels is meant (just as here, ll. 46 f.: *ὁ κύριος ἐν τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις* = John 16:12 f.), in direct contrast to the earlier period, when even all the four together were designated *τὸ εὐαγγέλιον*. He mentions in particular the gospel of Luke, on which he had written a commentary, and quotes Matthew (28:19; ll. 62 f.) and John (16:12 f.; ll. 48 f.), evidently from memory, for he omits in Matt. 28:19, *πάντα τὰ ἔθνη*, and places *αὐτοὺς* before *βαπτίζοντες*, and mentions vs. 20 only in a paraphrastic manner. In quoting John 16:22 he

uses the wholly unique εἰπεῖν instead of λέγειν ὑμῖν or ὑμῖν λέγειν. We must of course not allow ourselves to use this as a variant reading for the purpose of New Testament textual criticism. Twice he quotes from letters of Paul, viz., Rom. 6: 3-5 (ll. 31 ff.), without a noteworthy variant, and 2 Cor. 5: 17 (ll. 57), with the additional words τὰ πάντα, so commonly found in the Antiochian text of the New Testament. We have already mentioned above that his entire conception reminds us in manifold ways of that of the pastoral letters. No mention is made of the catholic epistles and the Revelation. This, to be sure, is of no importance considering the brief compass of the prologue, but corresponds exactly with Theodore's otherwise well-known attitude. The prologue deals with the Acts of the Apostles; and yet we learn very little from it concerning the text used by the author. The only quotation, Acts 1: 8 (ll. 51 f.), reads μοι μάρτυρες like all the texts except  $\aleph$  B A C Or  $\frac{1}{2}$ ; the omission of ἐν πάσῃ, or rather πάσῃ, before Ἰουδαία may be explained on the basis of a free, careless quotation. It is noteworthy that our author calls the book always αἱ πράξεις τῶν ἀποστόλων (l. 50), αἱ τῶν ἀποστόλων πράξεις (l. 12), αἱ ἀποστολικαὶ πράξεις (ll. 15, 17 f.), ἡ βίβλος τῶν ἀποστολικῶν πράξεων (ll. 167 / 8).<sup>35</sup> It seems that, as far as we know the early literature, in Alexandria both titles, πράξεις and πράξεις τῶν ἀποστόλων, were used, while in Antioch only the latter. Furthermore, it appears to be a characteristic of our author, especially noticeable in the writings of Theodore, to use the adjective μακάριος in connection with the names of all the sacred writers (Πέτρος, l. 97; Παῦλος, ll. 30, 107 f., 126 f., 132; Λουκᾶς, ll. 10 f., 72, 118 f., 167; cf. ὁ μακαριώτατος Λουκᾶς in the introduction, l. 2, and also the phrase ὁ μακάριος Εὐσέβιος of a deceased bishop), while the adjective ἅγιος is used only of the Holy Spirit. Likewise we know that Theodore, e. g., in his commentary on the minor prophets, speaks of ὁ μακάριος Δαυὶδ (Wegnern, pp. 4, 128), ὁ μακάριος Ἰωὴλ (p. 128), ὁ μακάριος Ὡσηέ (p. 129), ὁ μακάριος Ἀμώς (p. 169), etc. Still another apparently small matter may be mentioned, viz., the emphasis on the ἰδιωτεύειν of the apostles (cf. Acts 4: 13). Although met with often (e. g., Eusebius, h. e., III, 24: 3), this is nowhere else so strongly emphasized. It is, moreover, a unique feature of the representation in our prologue that only a knowledge of Syriac is ascribed to the apostles (l. 68). This points to a man who, in distinc-

<sup>35</sup> ROBINSON, *Euthaliana*, p. 16, has called attention to the importance of this title for the Euthalian question; to his remarks I will add that, of the only two passages containing πράξεις τῶν ἀποστόλων quoted by Robinson from Euthalius, the one is directly quoted and the other borrowed from Eusebius, h. e. II, 22, 1 and 6.



tion from the Greek language, of which he makes such masterly use, looked upon Syriac as the country dialect, *i. e.*, to an Antiochian. It may also be said that the author shows correct historical knowledge if by Syriac here he means the vernacular language spoken in Palestine at the time of Jesus, the Aramaic, in distinction from the Hebrew of the Old Testament, which existed then as the sacred tongue only. Thus Diodorus, *e. g.*, distinguishes between Σύροι and Ἑβραῖοι, ὁ Σύρος and ὁ Ἑβραῖος, as two different texts of the Old Testament. (Migne, *Patrol. græca*, 33, 1563 c, 1573 d, 1575 c, d, 1577 a, c, d.)

If we should go into further details, many more phrases of our prologue could be traced also in the other writings of Theodore, still extant. Yet there is no need of doing this. What has thus far been said will, I assume, amply prove my suggestion, expressed also on a former occasion,<sup>36</sup> that our prologue is a fragment of a work of Theodore. This being so, the commentary to the Acts of the Apostles by this exegete, κατ' ἐξοχήν, hitherto treated very slightly, receives at once great importance. The date of its composition, to be sure, cannot be determined on the basis of the prologue; but we can say so much that it must belong to a late period of Theodore's literary activity, because the author refers to his commentary on the gospel of Luke as having been written a long time ago. Theodore was probably born toward the middle of the fourth century. When scarcely twenty years old he began, we are told, his literary activity with the commentary on the Psalms. Not before A. D. 392 does he appear to have become bishop. After having held this office for thirty-six years, he died about A. D. 428. This long literary activity gives ample room for the πάλαι καὶ πρόπαλαι of our prologue, without assigning our commentary to the very last years of Theodore's life, when dogmatic controversies probably influenced him to a much larger extent.

Yet even more important than this precise location of a single writing of Theodore's is the observation that, notwithstanding the reproach of heresy, laid upon him by the orthodox church of the Justinian age, even as late as a hundred years after his death, though not without meeting with violent opposition, his writings have not been destroyed so completely as one might suppose and as was formerly believed by many. A careful research and examination of the *catenæ* will certainly yield also for this commentator some valuable material. It would be highly interesting to find out from what source the writer

<sup>36</sup> *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, Vol. X, February, 1893, pp. 57 f.

of our *codex Neapolitanus* in the twelfth (or perhaps even in the tenth or eleventh) century took this prologue. We can hardly suppose any connection of it with "Euthalius," even if Mill's well-known supposition<sup>37</sup> that Euthalius in his prologue to the epistles of Paul alluded to Theodore as his source really rested on a sounder foundation than is actually the case.<sup>38</sup> The only question now is whether the writer of the codex had still before him the entire commentary of Theodore, or—and this is by far more probable—whether he found this fragment in one of his exemplars as an independent<sup>3</sup> prologue to the Acts of the Apostles. One might feel provoked at the scribe, or his predecessor, for having saved for us only this introduction, instead of copying the entire commentary. Yet rather let us be thankful to him for having preserved at least so much for us; for we can justly say that such an introduction forms one of the most valuable parts of a commentary, the knowledge of which should stimulate us to further research and investigation. Contrary to their own will and intention, later writers, though fully persuaded of Theodore's pernicious and dangerous influence, have nevertheless unwittingly preserved many fragments of his writings which for the history of exegesis are far more valuable than all their other compilations together.

ERNST VON DOBSCHÜTZ.

UNIVERSITY OF JENA.

<sup>37</sup> Gregory also seems to agree with this, *Prolegomena*, p. 159.

<sup>38</sup> Entirely without foundation is Cyrill's theory that our prologue was written by Euthalius, for which reason he attributes to him also a commentary on the gospel of Luke.

## RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

THEOLOGISCHER JAHRESBERICHT. Unter Mitwirkung von Dreyer, Ehlers, Everling, Ficker, Furrer, Hasenclever, Hegler, Kind, Kohlschmidt, Lösche, Lüdemann, Marbach, Mayer, Plöthner, Siegfried, Spitta, Sulze, Troeltsch und Woltersdorf, herausgegeben von DR. H. HOLTZMANN, Professor in Strassburg, Elsass, und DR. G. KRÜGER, Professor in Giessen. *Sechszehnter Band*, enthaltend die Literatur des Jahres 1896. Braunschweig und Berlin: C. A. Schwetschke & Sohn; New York: G. E. Stechert, 1897. Complete, M. 20.

Erste Abtheilung: *Exegese*, bearbeitet von SIEGFRIED und HOLTZMANN (pp. 1-156). Einzelpreis, M. 6.

WITH usual promptness and punctuality, the sixteenth volume of this well-known yearly report has appeared. Part I, "Exegetical Theology," is, as hitherto, treated by Professor Siegfried for the Old Testament, and Professor Holtzmann for the New Testament and early Christian literature. The work is indispensable to every student of the Old and New Testament. About two-thirds of this first part is given to the literature on the Old Testament, which again is divided into the following twelve great divisions: I, "Oriental Languages, Literatures, etc.," comprising Egyptology, Assyriology, Arabic and Ethiopic, Aramaic dialects, Phœnician, Semitic palæography, and manuscripts. In the report of most of these branches the author must needs rely on reviews and the opinions of others, specialists in Egyptology, Assyriology, etc. It would undoubtedly enhance the value of this first part if the chapters on Egyptology, Assyriology, etc., could, in the future, be intrusted to specialists along those lines, as was done in Jastrow's *Jahresberichte für Geschichtswissenschaft*. When we come to the other eleven divisions: II, "The Text of the Old Testament;" III, "Hebrew Lexicography and Etymology;" IV, "Hebrew Grammar;" V, "Old Testament Introduction;" VI, "Literary Criticism of the Old Testament;" VII, "Old Testament Interpretation;" VIII, "History of Israel;" IX, "Geography and Archæology;" X, "Later Jewish History and Literature, Talmud, Aggada, and Midrash, Post-

Talmudic Literature, etc.;" XI, "History of Israelitish Religion," and XII, "Old Testament Theology"—we recognize at once the master in his chosen field, the scholar to whom every one of these branches is thoroughly known, and who can speak with authority. The literature on the New Testament (pp. 105-56), as treated by Holtzmann, is another masterpiece of mosaic work in summarizing the main books and articles of the year 1896, on every subject touching the New Testament. Of special interest to the student of the New Testament are the summaries on the gospels as a whole and in detail (pp. 112-23).

W. MUSS-ARNOLT.

Zweite Abtheilung: *Historische Theologie*, bearbeitet von LÜDEMANN, KRÜGER, FICKER, LÖSCHE, HEGLER, KOHLSCHMIDT und FURRER (pp. 157-477). Einzelpreis, M. 7.

I GIVE the title in full, because it is the best statement of what may be found in this part, and of the large partnership of scholars engaged in preparing it for us. The part is entirely devoted to the literature of church history in the larger sense of the term. The titles of books, pamphlets, and review articles on this general subject, published in 1896, are presented in more than a hundred minor divisions. More than two thousand titles are given. A few of them are repeated, as they belong to more than one of the minor divisions. The editors are acquainted chiefly with German publications, and Germany produces for them far more than the whole world besides. Yet the most important publications of other countries are noticed. The *Jahresbericht* is chiefly a bibliography, as only about one-fourth of the books and articles, the titles of which are given, are referred to in the descriptive notes. The notes are frequently so brief that they possess little real value. The few books and articles which contribute something to our knowledge are usually discussed more at length. This is not always the case, however, and ephemeral writings are sometimes noticed, while those of permanent value are overlooked. Somewhat greater care might have been taken with the use of capitals in English titles. No rule is observed, and the German printer seems to have followed his own sweet will. The *Jahresbericht* is a catalogue of theological literature astonishing in its extent, much of which would fall quickly from the attention of students if it were not recorded in some such form. It is indispensable to those who wish to know what has been written on any given theological subject, and there are few theological subjects for which it does not guide the student to an abundant

literature. Every department of church history has been subjected to fresh investigation during the past year, and the very corners of the fields seem to have been gleaned.

FRANKLIN JOHNSON.

Dritte Abtheilung: *Systematische Theologie*, bearbeitet von MAYER, TROELTSCH, SULZE und DREYER (pp. 479-632). Einzelpreis, M. 4.

THE aim of the authors of this part is to give an exhaustive survey of the more important theological literature of last year—a laborious task of such value as to win the gratitude of all students of theology. Encyclopædia, and methodology; apologetics; philosophical theology, cosmology, and anthropology; philosophy of religion and theological *Principienlehre*; psychology of religion; dogmatics; ethics—these are the topics which will also indicate the scope of the work. An examination of the year's literature would indicate that theological interest was specially directed to (*a*) the problem of method in theology; (*b*) the agelong controversy as to the relation between knowledge and faith, and (*c*) the new question of the psychology of religion. An American must be forgiven for feeling a little sensitive over the dependence, constantly charged by the authors, of American scholars upon the German and French. Thus, Van Dyke's *Gospel for an Age of Doubt* reflects Hermann; James' *Will to Believe* echoes Renouvier, etc. But, without doubt, these are cases of parallelism without dependence. The English work which has attracted most attention seems to have been Balfour's *Foundation of Belief*.

GEORGE B. FOSTER.

Vierte Abtheilung: *Praktische Theologie und kirchliche Kunst*, bearbeitet von MARBACH, EHLERS, WOLTERS DORF, KIND, EVERLING, HASENCLEVER und SPITTA (pp. 633-779). Einzelpreis, M. 7.

THIS fourth part, devoted to practical theology and Christian art, is smaller than some of the other parts, for not very many works on these subjects appeared in Germany during 1896. Hence there is more room for editorial work, and the descriptive notes are fuller and more satisfactory than those of the second part. The catalogue of works on Christian art is notably brief; only thirty-nine titles are given. A few of these represent books of real importance, like Schultze's *Kirchliche Archæologie* and Detzel's *Christliche Ikonographie*.

FRANKLIN JOHNSON.

Fünfte Abtheilung: *Register*, containing a full index of authors noticed and mentioned, completes the volume.

On the whole, it can truly be said that nowhere in the field of theolog-

ical literature is there a work similar to the *Theologische Jahresbericht*. From year to year, since its first volume was edited by the late Pünjer, in 1881, this excellent publication has gained in size and in value, its twenty-one contributors to the present volume belonging to the best representatives of theological science in Germany. The great care bestowed upon the work by the editors-in-chief, Holtzmann and Krüger, makes these twenty-one parts appear as if written by one and the same man; style, brevity, and conciseness, fairness of criticism, and freedom from all bigotry and prejudice, characterizing this unique annual report. Invaluable as a guide to the student at the present time, its importance will be immeasurably enhanced in the days of future generations.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

INTRODUCTION TO PHILOSOPHY. A Handbook for Students of Psychology, Logic, Ethics, Æsthetics, and General Philosophy. By OSWALD KÜLPE, Professor of Philosophy and Æsthetics in the University of Würzburg. Translated from the German (1895) by W. B. PILLSBURY, Instructor in Psychology in the Cornell University, and E. B. TITCHENOR, Sage Professor of Psychology in the Cornell University. London: Swan, Sonnenschein & Co., Ltd.; New York: The Macmillan Co., 1897. Pp. x + 256. \$1.60.

THE volume before us is the latest addition to the list of valuable German philosophical works which have been made accessible to English readers by the labors of the philosophers of Cornell University. The significant feature of the present work is its method. There are two methods of writing an introduction to philosophy, says Professor Külpe. The first leads the reader "to *philosophize* by enumerating the principal philosophical problems and indicating their solution." Of this sort is Paulsen's *Einleitung in die Philosophie*. The second "is characterized by the author's desire to transcend the narrow limits of individual conviction and give the reader a bird's-eye view of the whole extent of philosophy, past and present." The first "may stimulate an occasional student to philosophic thought. . . . But if one is trying to get some real preparation for this study, to find out what has been done in the past . . . to understand the reasons for the divergence of the schools and the significance of the supreme effort of our own time toward the advancement of philosophic science—then recourse must be had to the second method." Accordingly the main body of the present work is devoted to a historical and

critical examination, first, of the boundaries of the several philosophical disciplines, and, secondly, of the schools of philosophy within these separate disciplines. Professor Külpe believes that, in a man's philosophic thought, we have to look rather for difference of tendency within the separate disciplines than for any unitary or all-embracing concept.

We find, therefore, no positive attempt on his own part to establish a system of philosophy. Such a system, he says, is impossible, owing to the heterogeneous character of the problems involved. These problems are (1) development of a comprehensive and consistent view of the universe; (2) investigation of the presuppositions of science; and (3) paving the way for new special sciences and special scientific knowledge. Within the separate disciplines he states and defends his preferences. In metaphysics he considers that the greatest probability is in favor of a dualism of matter and mind, the least in favor of materialism. Mechanism and finality are to rank as coördinate conceptions under the larger concept of causality. The results of his examination of theological metaphysics are purely negative; yet he conceives it the duty of metaphysics to "show the possibility of combining a theological hypothesis with all that we know of the universe from other sources." In epistemology he inclines to criticism—a position that admits the possibility of metaphysics, but not in dogmatic form. His position toward the world as known is that of phenomenism, which finds in experience both a subjective and an objective content.

The excellent manner in which Professor Külpe has carried out his plan of giving us "a bird's-eye view of the whole extent of philosophy" need not compel us to accept his estimate of its value as an *introduction* to philosophy. One who has already studied philosophy will welcome the opportunity here offered him of viewing the study as a whole; but the uninitiated, from a want of previous acquaintance with details, will find many chapters unintelligible. Professor Külpe has well described his book as a "guide to philosophy;" but it is like the mariner's chart, which guides the navigator, but not the landsman. He hardly explains the general distrust of philosophy by ascribing it to "ignorance of what philosophy is and has been." Even those familiar with its history and problems sometimes share the popular suspicion that the latter are the outcome of perverted ingenuity. This suspicion is rather the result of a failure to perceive any connection between the problems of philosophy and the world of "common sense" and natural science. A work that made this connection clear—for it can be made clear—

would be a most fitting introduction to philosophy, not merely for the college student, but for the whole community of educated men. Such a work should, as far as possible, avoid the expression of individual opinion, but in other respects its method would resemble that rejected by Professor Külpe.

WARNER FITE.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

THE WILL TO BELIEVE, and Other Essays in Popular Philosophy.  
By WILLIAM JAMES. New York, London, and Bombay:  
Longmans, Green & Co., 1897. Pp. xvii + 332, 8vo. Cloth,  
\$2.

THE contents of this volume do not belie its title. It is truly described as a series of "essays in popular philosophy." Whatever Professor James touches he popularizes, just because whatever he touches he humanizes. The same qualities of sympathetic insight, of poetic imagination, of subtle humor, of rare style, which are familiar to readers of the *Principles of Psychology*, characterize in an even more marked degree the present volume, and entitle it, even more unmistakably than its predecessor, to rank as literature. The charm of the author's personality pervades the book, and, whether we agree with his conclusions or not, we cannot help feeling that it is good for us to have made the acquaintance of such a soul as that which finds expression in it. Nor is the epithet "popular" to be interpreted in the sense which the author's modesty intends it to carry. Although the language is untechnical, the thought is severe in its logical sequence; and, although a brilliant fancy plays round the discussion, and relieves it of all scholastic dryness, the discussion itself always sounds the subject to its depths. Besides, while the volume consists of a series of papers already published at intervals extending over nearly twenty years, it represents a unity of standpoint and of treatment no less rich than if the essays had been written continuously and in the same year. The persistence with which Professor James has preached his philosophic creed from different texts through all these years can only add to the respect with which it is received by readers of the present volume.

That creed is entitled by the author himself "radical empiricism," and is opposed by him to "monism," whether of the gnostic or agnostic, of the idealistic or materialistic, sort. "I say 'empiricism,' because it is contented to regard its most assured conclusions concerning matters of fact as hypotheses liable to modification in the course of future experi-



ence ; and I say 'radical,' because it treats the doctrine of monism itself as an hypothesis, and unlike so much of the half-way empiricism that is current under the name of positivism, or agnosticism, or scientific naturalism, it does not dogmatically affirm monism as something with which all experience has got to square." (Preface.) Radical empiricism is, therefore, for Professor James synonymous with pluralism, as rationalism is synonymous with monism. "After all that reason can do has been done, there still remains the opacity of the finite facts as merely given, with most of their peculiarities mutually unmediated and unexplained. To the very last, there are the various 'points of view' which the philosopher must distinguish in discussing the world ; and what is inwardly clear from one point remains a bare externality and datum to the other. The negative, the alogical, is never wholly banished." (Preface.) The argument for radical empiricism is the argument from the whole of experience as against the argument from its parts, or from some of them. The alternative is between an incomplete and a complete anthropomorphism. The parts of experience which are sacrificed in all monistic schemes, whether transcendental or naturalistic, are the affective and the volitional, while exclusive consideration is given to the intellectual. A total and unprejudiced view of human experience, on the other hand, discovers that knowledge, no less than affection, is subordinate in importance to, and exists for the sake of, life and activity.

Thus the philosophy which the author ultimately reaches is a moral and æsthetic idealism, as opposed to a merely intellectual idealism. Like Mr. Balfour, in his *Foundations of Belief*, Professor James insists upon the needs of the heart and of the life, and is willing to sacrifice intellectual to moral and æsthetic satisfaction. The result is an impressive plea for the rights of the moral and religious consciousness, for the validity of our judgments of worth as well as our judgments of fact. "A nameless *Unheimlichkeit* comes over us at the thought of there being nothing eternal in our final purposes, in the objects of those loves and aspirations which are our deepest energies. The monstrously lop-sided equation of the universe and its knower, which we postulate as the ideal of cognition, is perfectly paralleled by the no less lop-sided equation of the universe and the *doer*. We demand in it a character for which our emotions and active propensities shall be a match. Small as we are, minute as is the point by which the cosmos impinges upon each one of us, each one desires to feel that his reaction at that point is congruous with the demands of the vast

whole—that he balances the latter, so to speak, and is able to do what it expects of him.” (Pp. 83-4.)

The resulting view of the universe is optimistic, spiritual, and theistic. The opposite view—the pessimistic, the materialistic, and the pantheistic—is invalidated from the standpoint of feeling and will. The “will to believe” in a personal God justifies itself to the human will, if not to the human intellect; the “reflex action” of theistic belief is no less natural, and therefore no less valid, than any other and lower form of reflex action or reaction. The “essential features” of such a theistic belief are, first, “that God be conceived as the deepest power in the universe; and, second, he must be conceived under the form of a mental personality. . . . A power not ourselves, then, which not only makes for righteousness, but means it, and which recognizes us—such is the definition which I think nobody will be inclined to dispute. . . . In whatever other respects the divine personality may differ from ours or may resemble it, the two are consanguinous at least in this, that both have purposes for which they care, and each can hear the other’s call.” (P. 122.)

Two things will doubtless call forth critical attacks upon the general position thus outlined. First, Professor James gives to the term “empiricism” such a novel and rich connotation as to make it include a moral and æsthetic, if not a merely intellectual, idealism; a total, if not a merely partial, synthesis of the elements of human experience. The author would doubtless, however, insist that his philosophy is still empirical, inasmuch as it is pluralistic, and the synthesis remains rationally incomplete. Secondly, the theoretical and the practical problem, it will be urged, are not always distinguished. While it is true that “the entire man, who feels all needs by turns, will take nothing as an equivalent for life but the fullness of living itself” (p. 69), yet the theoretic need is no less real than the practical, and it is often necessary to distinguish them. This objection is also anticipated by the author, who reminds us in his preface that his sermon was, in each case, determined by the needs of his audiences, which, being academic, had been “fed already on science,” and were hungering for the gospel of “the liberty of believing.” That gospel is impressively summed up in the following passage from the essay on “Reflex Action and Theism”: “From its first dawn to its highest actual attainment, we find that the cognitive faculty, where it appears to exist at all, appears but as one element in an organic mental whole, and as a minister to higher mental powers—the powers of will. Such a thing as its eman-

cipation from these organic relations receives no faintest color of plausibility from any fact we can discern. . . . This is nothing new. All men know it at those rare moments when the soul sobers herself, and leaves off her chattering and protesting and insisting about this formula and that. In the silence of our theories we then seem to listen, and to hear something like the pulse of Being beat; and it is borne in upon us that the mere turning of the character, the dumb willingness to suffer and to serve this universe, is more than all theories about it put together. The most any theory about it can do is to bring us to that." (Pp. 140-41.)

JAMES SETH.

CORNELL UNIVERSITY.

TWO LECTURES ON THEISM (Princeton Lectures). By ANDREW SETH. New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1897. Pp. ii + 64; 12mo. \$1.

THESE lectures, delivered on the occasion of the sesqui-centennial celebration of Princeton University, come appropriately from the Scottish fatherland, which has been the source of so much of the philosophy taught in America, and with especial appropriateness from the incumbent of Sir William Hamilton's chair at Edinburgh. For the standpoint taken, though based on other grounds, is in its outcome closely akin to the doctrines of the relativity of knowledge and of the unknowableness of the Absolute which were maintained by his predecessor. The two opposing tendencies of thought characterized as pantheism and deism are traced through modern philosophy, and criticised for their one-sidedness. Hegelianism is accused of identifying the Absolute with human experience, in its effort to avoid the opposite error of regarding the Absolute as something which does not and cannot reveal itself. Bradley's *Appearance and Reality* is treated as a reaction against such an identification, a protest against the reduction of the world to a set of logical categories, a recall of fellow-Hegelians from a too narrow humanism to an insight into the vastness of the sustaining Life that operates unspent throughout the universe; "a praiseworthy attempt to treat the life of the Absolute for itself as a reality, as the most real of realities." But Mr. Bradley is criticised in turn for rejecting knowledge, as relational, and falling back upon pure feeling for our best analogy in trying to realize the nature of the experience of the Absolute. This speculation leads, not to any higher or larger unity, but to the pit of undifferentiated sub-

stance out of which Hegel took so much pains to dig philosophy, and issues in the statement: "The Absolute is not personal, nor is it moral, nor is it beautiful or true." This discussion seems to Professor Seth to prove afresh that the attempt metaphysically, scientifically, or literally to determine the Absolute as such is necessarily barren. "There are regions of speculation where agnosticism is the only healthy attitude. Such a region I hope to be that of the Absolute as such," but "no shadow of doubt need fall on the truth of our experience as a true revelation of the Absolute for us."

If Professor Seth were not so saturated with the spirit of Sir William, he might have said that an "Absolute as such" was something that no one need ever trouble himself about, and it would have been a welcome addition to his criticism if he had made some attempt at relating the practical and emotional sides of experience, on whose symbolic truth he would fall back, with the intellectual processes which surely must count for something in a true theory of evolution. It is profoundly true that, as he says, "without the assumption of the infinite value and significance of human life, argument about God is simply waste of time," but if he had started with an analysis and criticism of this assumption, I can but think he would have reached a much more satisfying and positive result.

J. H. TUFTS.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

**BASES OF RELIGIOUS BELIEF, HISTORIC AND IDEAL.** An Outline of Religious Study. By CHARLES MELLEN TYLER, A.M., D.D., Professor of the History and Philosophy of Religion and of Christian Ethics, Cornell University. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. Pp. x+273. Cloth, \$1.50.

THIS work is, as the title indicates, divided into two parts. In the first of these, which is named "Historic Basis of Religion," four chapters discuss various problems connected with the investigation of the origin and essence of religion. Thus our author begins by classifying under two heads—historical and philosophical—the various definitions of religion which have been offered by such men as Réville, Pfeiderer, Max Müller, and Edward Caird. The second, which is the weakest chapter of the book, aims at discussing the prehistoric and historic data, and their bearing upon the study of religion. The third chapter concentrates attention upon the intellectual and moral condition of man at the beginning of history, and especially upon the

question whether "a moral catastrophe" occurred then. Professor Tyler appears inclined to uphold the idea that the doctrine of the fall "may be successfully defended as a precosmic event" (p. 33). The fourth chapter reviews the well-known theories regarding the origin of religion. Our author in a very interesting way sets forth his own theory, in which those others blend and become stages in a prolonged process. He calls it the "psychological genesis" of religion. "Naturism" is the first stage, when primitive man, looking around upon all external activities, attributes to them such a causality as he himself possesses. Here is found the worship of great nature powers. The next stage is animism, which is marked by "the discovery of soul as distinct from body" (p. 80). The third stage is found in polytheism and henotheism. In Israel we find monotheism attained only after a prolonged discipline; that race "possess and cherish a greater receptivity of the divine influence which is active in all history." But it is also "the race called of God to be the ethical and religious teachers of humanity" (p. 105). Is it not precarious to make the history of the final religion depend upon a racial receptivity, if that religion is to become universal?

The second part carries us away into another world, to look at the "Ideal Bases of Religious Belief." There are here five chapters and a "Conclusion." The first, on the "Metaphysical Grounds of Religious Belief," is the ablest in the book. The author's argument employs the conception of personality which has been worked so much in recent years and whose significance has not yet been exhausted. He boldly accepts the fact that we pass from nature and through nature to the reality of One who is, like ourselves, possessed of will, of reason, of personality. The last point is taken up more fully in the following chapter, on the "Ethical Grounds." The reality and significance of man's ethical progress are here insisted upon, and the naturalistic explanations of man's sense of obligation and his correlative sense of freedom are dealt with in a vigorous fashion. The following chapter finds in our sense of beauty another fact which reveals our native alliance with the divine. And the last chapter seeks to establish the fact that the goal of all religion is reached in the possession of a real love of God.

The subjects with which the book is concerned are undoubtedly of vital importance and possess a great fascination at present. Unfortunately our author's style is the reverse of clear and impressive, and many good points lose their effectiveness through cumbrous phraseology.

A number of sentences have been marked as "cloudy," such as those on pp. 6, lines 4-10, and 24, lines 5-11, 14-16. Others have seemed to be examples of broken construction or confusing arrangement of clauses. On p. 32, last line, the pronoun "he" has a very distant and obscure antecedent. On p. 37, "The older Scripture of the Bible abounds," sounds very curious. On p. 84 we read: "Among certain peoples the three manifestations not only, but the monotheistic conception of religion as well, are found to be contemporary impulses." On p. 99: "The few coincidences between Hebrew and Sanscrit, no more than those existing between English and Chinese, prove community of religion." On p. 70: "Because in later stages of society religion and morality have been sundered, that they have this common root is denied." The style which indulges in these and similar constructions can hardly lend itself to clear exposition of abstruse problems. Many interesting citations of opinion from the writings of other thinkers are given, but in many instances the reader is provoked to find the exact references, which one expects to find in a work of this kind, either withheld or incompletely given. Some serious misprints occur; e. g.: "Hæckel" (pp. 8, 136) for Haeckel; "Hoffding" (p. 41) for Höffding (pp. 16, 268); "Thiele" (pp. 3, 272) stands presumably for "Tiele;" *Studies in Religion* (p. 149) for Martineau's *A Study of Religion*; and others of the same kinds.

The book is well conceived and well planned. No more important subjects in the general theory of religion can be discussed than those with which our author is here concerned. At the close of each chapter the reader finds numerous notes, which consist chiefly of well-chosen illustrative extracts from a large variety of writers. The positions defended by the author, while not all accordant with a severe orthodoxy, are those toward which there is a general movement of approval among the leaders of the highest religious thinking. It is a good thing to have them thus surveyed and expounded.

W. DOUGLAS MACKENZIE.

CHICAGO THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

PRACTICAL IDEALISM. By WILLIAM DEWITT HYDE. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1897. Pp. xi + 335, 12mo. Cloth, \$1.50.

THE appearance of such a book as this suggests that one of the greatest of modern philosophical movements has entered upon its final

stage, at least in its influence upon the English-speaking world. That stage is reached when the thought of one of the world's great thinkers has, by reason of its grasp of truth and its adaption to the spirit of an age, forced its way outward and downward until it becomes the common possession of all cultivated men, and begins to exert its molding force in individual and social life. The movement represented by this book began with Hegel. It is but yesterday that his thought began to take root in the English mind, but it has grown and flourished with astonishing vigor, attacking philosophic problems with the new organon of Hegelian synthesis and eagerly applying the new method, not only to the whole circle of philosophic sciences, but also to society, literature, art, and religion. Edward Caird, T. H. Green, Bradley, and Bosanquet have led the way; the makers of text-books both in this country and in England are rapidly following in their wake, particularly in ethics and in logic, and now President Hyde gives us a book which takes for granted the results of all this earnest research, and endeavors to so present them to the average cultivated reader as to show their bearing upon the practical life of the individual.

The author is evidently well equipped for his task. He has read widely and intelligently. He has firmly grasped the method and reflects the lofty, earnest spirit of his predecessors, and the concreteness and vigor of his style make the book very readable. But we are nevertheless doubtful of its attractiveness, especially to those untrained in the school of thought which it represents. We fear that for them the synthetic movement of the thought will after all be obscure, and its practical application often so familiar as to be commonplace, for, though President Hyde's views on realism in art, the new education, marriage, divorce, the training of children, labor, currency, taxation, pensions, and the civil service, may be, and doubtless are, legitimate deductions from this idealistic philosophy, yet they are precisely the views already held by the intelligent Christian citizen, the class to which the book would usually most strongly appeal. However this may be, the book is really neither obscure nor commonplace. It requires the penetration and grasp of a master in exposition to focus as President Hyde has done this vast idealistic movement in a single volume. He clearly and rapidly describes the functions of self-conscious spirit by which it constructs a world of order and unity from the chaos of material which surrounds it, advancing from the world of material things, given by sense-perception and association, to the scientific world of genus and law, the product of the logical functions. He

risks from this to the world of persons and institutions and the moral order realized in them, and crowns his work with a final synthesis in the sphere of religion in the living grasp of an infinite, all-unifying personal God. The author is particularly happy in his effort to refute the destructive analysis which would separate and isolate these various worlds, and he vividly and clearly reveals their truth and significance as members in an organic whole. The book abounds in illustrations of the author's striking power of concentrated, lucid exposition. The reader will find the pith of many volumes in the few pages which exhibit illusion, hallucination, hypnotism, somnambulism, and dreams as modes of mental construction determined by the single principle of association, and the philosophy which underlies what President Hyde calls the "rotten realism" of much recent literature, quickly reveals its one-sided falsity in the white light of this noble idealism.

The weakest chapter is that which treats of the "World of Science." The grasp of the logic of science seems much below the standard of other chapters. Thus the author cites Jevons' worthless "canons" as the laws of syllogism, repeats his crude statement of the laws of thought, gives Mill's "canons" of induction without explanation or criticism, and, minimizing the distinction between contingent and necessary truth, fails to grasp and state for his readers the deepest and most important distinction between science and philosophy.

President Hyde's theology is of the liberal type. The fall of man is at least "a fall forward, if not upward," into moral consciousness and moral conflict. The traditional views of "the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, the scientific accuracy of the opening chapters of Genesis, the historicity of the story of Jonah, and the narrative of the birth of Jesus in the gospel of infancy" are "unscientific and unhistorical." The incarnation of Jesus seems to give "a concrete and individual expression" of God, and was essential to deliver man from the vagueness and emptiness of pantheistic conception, but it is not Jesus as an individual, but rather the spirit of love that was poured out without measure upon him, and came forth from him, whereby the Infinite God is revealed to men.

The author bravely attempts to grapple with the problem of evil in all its forms. Indeed, he rashly stakes the value of the whole idealistic philosophy upon his success, but here, of course, we have nothing new. Natural evil is explained as a necessity of finite existence and relations. Thus God is rendered helpless by his own creation. Moral evil comes from the collision of finite wills, and can be overcome by forgiving the one who sins against us and turning to God from our own sin.



On the whole, the book is thoroughly praiseworthy in matter and manner. Its defects are incidental and trivial in comparison with its solid excellencies.

GEORGE M. FORBES.

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YOGA PHILOSOPHY: Lectures delivered in New York, winter of 1895-6, by the SWAMI VIVEKANANDA on *Rāja-Yoga*, or, Conquering the Internal Nature. London, N. Y., and Bombay: Longmans, Green & Co., 1897. Pp. xii + 234, 8vo. 3s. 6d.

OF the Swami's Yoga philosophy it may be said, as of someone's Christianity, that "it is really a new firm trading under an old name and trying to purchase the good-will of the former establishment." The Swami's Yoga is neither Hinduism nor Christianity, but a mixture of both. And as the Swami's Yoga, so is the Swami himself. Neither of them is the genuine article. In the circumstances it could scarcely be otherwise. The Swami is not a Brahman, but a half-Christianized Sudra, and has consequently no right to the self-assumed title. He was born in a half-Christianized family and graduated from a Scotch missionary college—facts which have greatly influenced his life and his lectures. The effect of the Christian teaching is seen in the very first motto under which the lectures are published: "Each soul is potentially Divine." The true Yogi would have said: "Each soul is divine—eternally and necessarily so, and cannot be anything else." And as it is with the motto, so is it with the Babu's assumed name or *alias*. His true name, with its genuine academic degree, is Narendra Nath Datta, B.A., and his national title is "Babu," not Swami. His assumption of the Swami is from the Hindu point of view as improper as it would be to add the M.A. to the B.A. degree without the university's authority. So, also, in the matter of his dress. It is not the genuine Yogi dress; and the life he is living is not Yogi life. It is important to realize all this, as the real Yoga philosophy consists so largely in dress or no dress, in food or next to no food, and in the peculiarities of the life lived, much more than in the doctrines believed in. Doctrine is at a discount in Yoga philosophy.

Further, it must never be forgotten that, like mathematics, Indian philosophy is reasoned from definitions clearly laid down in each system. These definitions differ *toto cælo* from those given in European philosophies and theologies. A Hindu's idea, for example, of God,

soul, mind, body, has little in common with a European's. The Swami takes no trouble to define his terms. This is the more remarkable as a Bengali Babu knows perfectly well the value of definitions. But Mr. Datta uses his terms sometimes like a Hindu, at other times, without notice, like a European, to the utter confusion of his readers. And as to his "commentaries," as on his title page, or "commentary" in his text, it can only be said that he illustrates the truth of his own remark (p. 13) that "the more modern the commentator, the greater the mistakes he makes." Take, for example, aphorism 2 : 10, which the most distinguished Brahman Sanskritist of modern Bengal, whose marble bust is being put up in the Calcutta University, Dr. R. L. Mitra, C.I.E., translates : "These, the subtle ones, should be avoided by an adverse course," *i. e.*, the subtle or fine afflictions, distinguished from the gross, should be suppressed, not through the stimuli of *external* objects, their natural course, but by *internal* reflection or concentration. They will thus become like roasted seeds, and will not sprout. But Mr. Datta imposes the Christian idea so beautifully illustrated by Dr. Chalmers in his sermon on the "Expulsive Power of a New Affection"—an idea which our Babu no doubt received from his Scotch missionary teacher, but which is utterly foreign to Hindu philosophy. He translates thus Patanjali's Sanskrit : "They, to-be-rejected-by-opposite-modifications, are fine." "For instance," he explains in his commentary, "when a big wave of anger has come into the mind, how are we to control that? Just by raising a big opposing wave. Think of love. Sometimes a mother is very angry with her husband, and while in that state the baby comes in, and she kisses the baby; the old wave dies out and a new wave arises." This is very good Christian teaching and not a bad illustration; but there could scarcely be any teaching or illustration more alien to the true Yoga. That it is so is seen from the very next aphorism (the eleventh), even as translated by our Swami. But we pass on to the fourteenth and fifteenth, which will also illustrate our point. Mr. Datta translates them : "14—They bear fruit as pleasure or pain, caused by virtue or vice. 15—To the discriminating all is, as it were, painful, on account of everything bringing pain, either in the consequence, or in apprehension, or in attitude caused by impressions; also on account of the counteraction of qualities." The taming down of the original "verily" into "as it were" is the Christian's as distinguished from the Yogi's idea. So, also, are the Swami's labored explanations and illustrations. Dr. Mitra's remark is clear and to the point, and his translation is faithful

to the original, what cannot be said of the Babu's. "15—To the discriminating all are verily painful because of the adversity of the actions of (the three qualities) and of the pains of sequence, anxiety, and residua," *i. e.*, "to all ordinary beings the fruition is thus of two kinds; but to the Yogi all are painful." "Nor does the rule apply only to sins; it applies equally to virtuous deeds. . . . In fact, every work, whether right or wrong, has its apportioned desert, and it must be born in a corporeal existence, and the succession of birth, decay, and death must in the ordinary course of things recur over and over again without a limit. The fruits may be joy or suffering, according as the cause is virtue or vice, but to the discriminating [*i. e.*, the Yogi] they are invariably painful." Hence, he should do no virtuous or vicious act, so there will be no residua. So much for the morality of the Yogi.

As to the Swami's theology, it is neither Christian nor Yoga. He delights in caricaturing the Christian's God as "the great Being sitting above the clouds and governing the whole universe." "If," says Mr. N. N. Datta, B. A., speaking oracularly as "the Swami Vivekananda," "men believe in God, they may become good, and moral, and so make good citizens. We cannot blame them for holding such ideas, seeing that all the teaching these men get is simply to believe in an eternal rigmarole of words, without any substance behind them" (p. 4), not a very bad description of much of the Swami's own fluent words about God. He translates Patanjali's definition of God: "Isvara (the Supreme Ruler) is a special Purusa untouched by misery, the results of actions or desires." To this definition he adds the comments: "The Yogis avoid many ideas about God, such as creating," and "they arrive at God in a peculiar fashion of their own," as, for example, that He is only one soul out of the innumerable uncreated millions of souls that have existed from all eternity, and that, like these other souls, he does nothing and desires nothing, and is consequently untouched by misery. That is the Yogi's god. But it is difficult to say whether it be our Swami's. Compare the above translation and comments of the Swami's with the Brahman Sanskritist, Dr. Mitra's, straightforward, literal translation: "God is a particular soul which is untouched by affliction, works, deserts, and desires." The Yoga philosophy is the atheistic Sankhya philosophy of Kapila *plus* God. But, save as a sop to Hindu religiousness, even to the Yogi it is a useless addition, as it plays but a very subordinate, unnecessary part in Yoga, as is seen by the *or* of aphorism 1:28: "Or by devotion to God;" *i. e.*, devotion to God may be used as one of the various

means (foolish, absurd, and even disgusting) towards the end aimed at alike by the atheist and by the Yogi. The Yogi says devotion to God *may* be found helpful, the Sankhya philosopher says no. Even the Swami says: "In the study of Rāja-Yoga no faith and belief is necessary." But what is the end contemplated by the Yogi? Negatively, it is not what the Swami suggests, absorption into the Godhead, or union with God. This idea forms no part of the Yoga theory. Patanjali, like Kapila, rested satisfied in the complete isolation of the soul—*free*, emancipated, as God is described above, from the results of actions and desires. The existence or non-existence of God has no bearing whatever in either philosophy on the final aim contemplated. Neither has it on the secondary and intermediate ends sought after, and which figure so largely in both philosophies. These are generally spoken of as *Siddhis* or "perfections," and include power over disease and death, absolute control over all our corporeal and mental processes, the occupying and animating of dead corpses, levitation, the control of sun, moon, and stars, the passing into and acting through any other living bodies, and such like mythical powers. The readers of Southey's *Curse of Kehama* know what a Hindu's curse may mean, and Yogis deal largely in curses, if there be any truth in the Hindu scriptures. As our author has given, neither in his book, nor, as far as we are aware, in his life, any evidence that he has yet attained such "perfections," or, indeed, that he has seen any other who possessed them, we simply conclude that he possesses an unlimited assurance, or, in slang phrase, "colossal cheek." With Dr. Jogendra Nath Bhattachayya, the Brahman president of the largest college of Pundits in the world, and the able and learned author of *Hindu Castes and Sects*, we would remark that "some of the most important features of the Hindu's so-called religions are so palpably absurd that the only difficulty in a subsequent age will be to imagine that such things could ever have appeared credible." We may be allowed to doubt whether our "Swami" believes in these *Siddhis* of which he writes so confidently. As regards the Swami's justification in publishing a new translation of the aphorisms of Patanjali, it is enough to say that Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra's and M. N. Dvivedi's translations, not to speak of Dr. Ballantyne's and Govindadeva Sastri's, all renowned Sanskrit scholars, are infinitely more satisfactory, on the score of both faithfulness to the original and intelligibility, than Mr. Datta's.

K. S. MACDONALD.

INTRODUCTION TO THE MASSORETICO-CRITICAL EDITION OF THE HEBREW BIBLE. By CHRISTIAN D. GINSBURG, LL.D. London: Published by the Trinitarian Bible Society, 1897. Pp. xii + 1028.

In the year 1894 the Trinitarian Bible Society published an edition of the Hebrew Bible as prepared by Ginsburg. The text is based upon the oldest editions, which were published between 1477 and 1525, and is practically the third great edition of the Hebrew Bible—the first being that of Soncino, 1488; the second, Venice, 1524–5; and this, the third, of London, 1894. Printed by Carl Fromme, of Vienna, this edition has the most beautiful black type. Below the text, in addition to the massoretic notes, there is a selection of the various readings taken from the ancient versions, but all in Hebrew. While retaining the modern divisions of chapters and verses, the text is arranged according to the ancient chapters and sectional divisions of the Massorah and the MSS. which are thus restored. To this Bible (highly spoken of by Kautzsch in the preface to the twenty-sixth edition of his *Hebrew Grammar*, 1896) Ginsburg wrote his *Introduction*, which will supplant all that matter pertaining to the text which we generally find in the so-called “Introductions to the Old Testament.” The work consists of two parts. Part I, “The Outer Form of the Text,” contains the following chapters: (1) the order of the books; (2) the sectional divisions of the text; (3) the division into chapters; (4) the *sedarim*, or triennial pericopes; (5) the *parashiyôth*, or annual pericopes; (6) the division into verses; (7) the number of the words; (8) the number of the letters (pp. 1–113). Very interesting is the notice appended to a MS. in the Cambridge University Library that the division of the text into chapters was adopted by Solomon ben Israel about 1330 A. D., for controversial purposes, in order to facilitate reference to particular passages.

The second part treats of “The Text Itself” and has thirteen chapters, viz.: (1) dagesh and raphe; (2) the orthography; (3) the division of words; (4) the double or final letters; (5) abbreviations; (6) homœoteuton; (7) the *Keri* and *Kethiv*; (8) the readings called *Sevirin*; (9) the Eastern and Western Recensions; (10) the differences between *Ben-Asher* and *Ben-Naphtali*; (11) the Massorah: its rise and development; (12) the history and description of the MSS.; (13) the history of the printed text (pp. 114–976). Then follow appendices, indexes, tables. By far the most interesting part is chap. 11, which treats of the Massorah: its rise and development. Here we are told

of: the introduction of the square characters; the division of the consonants into words; the introduction of the final letters; the introduction of the *matres lectionis*; the consonants of the Hebrew text and the Septuagint: i, *Mikra Sopherim*; ii, *Itur Sopherim*; iii, words read which are not written in the text; iv, words written in the text, but canceled in reading; v, the fifteen extraordinary points; vi, the suspended letters; vii, the inverted *Nuns*; viii, the removal of indelicate expressions and anthropomorphisms, etc., from the text; ix, the emendations of the *Sopherim*; x, impious expressions toward the Almighty; xi, the safeguarding of the Tetragrammaton; xii, the attempt to remove the application of the names of false gods to Jehovah; xiii, safeguarding the unity of divine worship at Jerusalem. As an illustration of No. xi, Ginsburg points out how a certain school altered words beginning with *Jeho* (יהו) into *Jo* (יו). Thus we have names Jehoahaz and Joahaz; Jehoash and Joash; Jehozabad and Jozabad; Jehohanan and Johanan; Jehoiada and Joiada; Jehoiachin and Joiachin; Jehoiakim and Joiakim; Jehoiarib and Joiarib; Jehonadab and Jonadab; Jehonathan and Jonathan; Jehoseph and Joseph; Jehozadak and Jozadak; Jehoram and Joram; Jehoshaphat and Joshaphat. He points out words which, ending in *Jah*, have a *vav* appended, so that they respectively occur in duplicate form now terminating in *Jah* and again in *Jahu*, as Abijah and Abijahu, Adonijah and Adonijahu, Urijah and Urijah, Ahazjah and Ahazjahu, Ahijah and Ahijahu, etc., fifty-nine names. The distinction between these two forms of the same name is entirely obliterated in both the Authorized and Revised Versions. In illustration of xii, Ginsburg points out how names compounded with Baal have been altered either in a good sense or principally by way of ridicule into compounds with *bosheth*=shame; thus Jerubbaal became Jerubbosheth; Eshbaal=Ish-bosheth; Ashbel=Jechiael (an alteration in a good sense); Merib-baal=Mephibosheth; Beeliada=Eliada, etc.

After mentioning the lost codices, such as Codex Mugah, Hilleli, Zambuki, etc., Ginsburg gives the history and description of the manuscripts examined and perused by him (pp. 469-778). He mentions altogether sixty. As the oldest he regards *Oriental. 4445* in the British Museum, which he thinks to have been written probably about A. D. 820-50. It contains the Pentateuch. The next oldest is the *Petersburg Codex* of A. D. 916 on the prophets and reproduced by Professor Strack in 1876. Without going into the details, which are very minutely given by Ginsburg, we only remark that a codex (mentioned

as Kings 1) written in the year 1385 has the chapters and verses marked in the margin throughout the whole Bible in red Hebrew letters. In the margin against Gen. 1:1 the scribe frankly avows that he has taken the chapter and verse divisions from the Christians and by a play upon the word *Edom*, which denotes both "Christian" and "red," he tells us that "he indicated them so distinctly in red ink in order that he who readeth may run and be enabled to answer those who turn white into black and green into red, as well as to cope with unbelievers." *Cod. Add.* 9399 of about 1250 divides the Psalter into 159 psalms, whilst *Oriental.* 4227 of A. D. 1300 divides into 170 psalms. The fifty-ninth codex (Madrid University Library, *Cod. No.* 1) is dated Toledo A. D. 1280, originally belonging to the University Library of Alcala. In 1837 this codex, with other MSS. and a number of printed books, was taken to the University Library at Madrid and remained packed up in boxes for eight years, until, in 1845, the boxes were unpacked at the earnest solicitation of the professor of Semitic languages. The MS., which still has the book plate with the arms of Cardinal Ximenes, was taken to pieces at Alcala, about A. D. 1506-10, to be rubricated and prepared for printer's copy in loose sheets. The rubricator and redactor was a Jewish Christian. To show the sincerity of his new faith, which was necessary in those days, especially in Spain, the converted editor converted in two passages a simple ornament, which indicates the official variant or *Keri*, into a *cross* by putting a horizontal line across the perpendicular shaft. So much on the manuscripts.

The thirteenth chapter is headed "History of the Printed Text," which is a somewhat misleading title. It conveys the idea that we have here a history of the printed text down to our days, as the writer of this review has endeavored to do in *Hebraica*, Vol. IX (1892-3), pp. 47-116. Ginsburg merely gives the history of the editions published from 1477-1525. The first part was the Psalter, which contains no fewer than 108 omissions of whole verses, three omissions of half verses, forty-three omissions of single words. The *editio princeps* of the entire Bible was published in 1488 at Soncino. Kennicott once stated that this edition's variations from the received text amount to above "twelve thousand," a misleading statement according to Ginsburg's examination. The second edition of the Bible was published at Naples, 1491-3; the third at Brescia, 1494, used by Luther for his translation of the Bible into German. His own copy, with his autograph, is preserved in the Royal Library at Berlin. The fourth edition was published at Pesaro, 1511-17. In the latter year the Complutensian Polyglot was

issued at Alcalá. At the same time the first edition of the Rabbinic Bible was published at Venice, 1516-17; also the first edition of the Bible in quarto, which was followed in 1521 by a second edition. In 1524-5 the second edition of the Rabbinic Bible, or the *editio princeps* of Jacob ben Chayim with the Massorah, left the press at Venice, and the third quarto edition followed in 1525-8. With this the history of the printed text of the Hebrew Scriptures closes in Ginsburg's *Introduction*. Altogether he describes twenty-four editions, and to these he refers in his Hebrew text. It is of interest to learn that in the first edition of the Rabbinic Bible (Venice, 1516-17) both Samuel and Kings are for the first time divided each into two separate books; so also Ezra and Chronicles. Ginsburg points out that the final letters were not yet used at the time when the Septuagint version was made, and he also infers that the same version perused a text in which abbreviations were used. This he proves from some passages, *e. g.*, Gen. 47:3, where אָחֵיוֹ (his brethren) originally read אָחֵיוֹ, *i. e.*, the brethren of Joseph, as Samaritan, Septuagint, Syriac, and Targum Jonathan read; Exod. 8:23, יְהוָה אָמַר is resolved by the Septuagint into אָמַר 'ה' as *Jehovah said*; Levit. 6:10, according to the testimony of the Samaritan, Septuagint, and the Vulgate, stands for מַעֲשֵׂי יְהוָה = מַעֲשֵׂי 'ה' as *the offerings of Jehovah*. This is not only confirmed by vs. 11, but by some MSS. In 2 Sam. 17:11 בָּקָרְבִּי is an abbreviation of בְּקִרְבָּם, *in the midst of them*, and the passage ought to be rendered: "and thou thyself shalt go in the midst of them." This is not only the solution of the abbreviation in the Septuagint and Vulgate, but is most suitable to the context. Besides, קָרַב is never used in Samuel for *battle* or *war*, which is invariably מִלְחָמָה. Ginsburg has also many strictures on certain features introduced by the late Baer into his edition of the Hebrew text (complete with the exception of Exodus to Deuteronomy). Enough has already been said to show the importance of Ginsburg's *Introduction*, which is replete with information. Even those who know already something of the history of the Hebrew text will find this work highly instructive. The author is probably the only living authority on massoretic lore, and his works in that department have been highly appreciated by scholars. The index of principal texts referred to in the *Introduction* (twenty-four columns) will be greatly appreciated by all who study the text of the Old Testament.

B. PICK.



DIE VOREXILISCHE JAHWEPROPHETIE UND DER MESSIAS. In ihrem Verhältnis dargestellt. Von PAUL VOLZ. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1897. Pp. viii + 93. M. 2.80.

THIS little book is a contribution at once to the theology of the pre-exilic prophets and to the literary and historical criticism of the prophetic literature. The author's thesis is that the Messianic idea is foreign to the nature of the pre-exilic prophecy. He asserts that there is no Messianic passage in any of the pre-exilic prophets from Amos to Ezekiel, and, further, that the Messianic hopes which are unquestionably present in Ezekiel owe their origin, not to the pure prophetic spirit, but to a different, and even antagonistic, spirit of the period immediately preceding the exile. He insists that the word Messianic must be used to describe only that which stands in direct connection with the king and the kingdom of the future; the Messiah is the Israelitish king of the coming "golden age." The argument in support of this thesis is twofold. The author seeks first to show that the Messianic idea is contrary to the whole course of thought of the pre-exilic prophets, and then, more specifically, he proceeds to attack the authenticity of the various Messianic passages which are preserved in the prophetic books bearing the names of the prophets of this period. For the purposes of the first or more general part of the argument the author brings into prominence four of the elements of the Messianic idea. The Messianic kingdom may be regarded as a hope of the future; as the expression of the nationalistic spirit; as the successor and idealization of the actual monarchy; and as the outgrowth of the theocratic kingdom. And in each of these particulars the Messianic idea is opposed by the teaching of the pre-exilic prophets. As opponents of the moral turpitude of their contemporaries, and heralds of the impending wrath of Jehovah, they had but little occasion or desire to soothe their auditors with pictures of a brilliant future. Their demands that Israel's preëminence among the nations should be a moral preëminence only, based upon the moral transformation of the people, were opposed to the idea of a purely national, political supremacy. Their conception of Jehovah as Israel's king, and their sublime assurance that Jehovah, rather than military force and political sagacity, was the only source of Israel's present or future power, brought them into direct opposition to the actually existent monarchy, and compelled them to find, in the continuation of that monarchy, even in an idealized form, only a hindrance to the establishment of their ideal moral community. And, lastly, their teaching that Jehovah, as Israel's king, made himself

known directly to his people, and, in return, demanded their direct and personal allegiance, left no room for the Messiah, who, as the successor of the theocratic king, was a mediator between Jehovah and his people. The only mediator whom the prophets recognize is a prophet like Moses.

From this general discussion the author proceeds to an examination of the writings of the pre-exilic prophets. This investigation occupies by far the larger part of the book (pp. 17-88), but it will be necessary to indicate only the method of procedure, which is essentially the same in all cases. The author investigates in each case the relation of the Messianic hope, as he has outlined it, to the general tenor of the preaching of each individual prophet, and, having satisfied himself that the two are irreconcilable, he then proceeds to show that the unmistakably Messianic passages in these various prophetic writings form no part of the original prophecy, but are the additions of a later hand. In this process the critical knife must, it is true, be used with great dexterity, but the author applies it without flinching. When thus pruned of the accretions which have attached themselves to the original writings, he finds absolutely no trace of the Messiah in Amos, 1 Hosea (*i. e.*, Hosea, chaps. 1 and 3, chap. 2 being a mosaic composed of various fragments of uncertain authorship and age), 2 Hosea (*i. e.*, chaps. 4-14, probably from a different prophet), Isaiah, in the small portion of the book bearing his name which is left to him, for even 9:1-6, 11:1-8, 32:1-8, and other Messianic passages, are unauthentic; Micah, Zephaniah. Jeremiah, too, had no place for the Messiah in his teaching. He is, however, slightly inconsistent with himself in his conception of an organized state in the future, but in this inconsistency is to be found only a trace of the feeling of the time. The Messianic idea had come to be the popular idea among the people of Jeremiah's time, and all unconsciously to himself he was influenced by it, without adopting or giving direct expression to it. The same thing holds true of the prophecies of Nahum and Habakkuk. In Ezekiel are to be found the first and the only unmistakable Messianic passages in the earlier prophets. These references are the clearest in Ezekiel's earlier utterances, and become less marked with the lapse of time, until scarcely a trace of the Messianic idea is to be found in his description of the prince of the restored theocracy. And even in Ezekiel these Messianic references are not in harmony with the general tenor of his prophetic teaching, and are undoubtedly to be attributed to that same popular sentiment which influenced Jeremiah. It is

the patriotic and nationalistic prophets of the time just before and after the fall of Jerusalem, the opponents of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, who were the real advocates, if they were not the originators, of the Messianic idea.

This little book is characterized by a large degree of ingenuity, but with its aim, its method, and its result the present reviewer has no sympathy. It is scarcely scientific to take the Messianic idea in the form which it had assumed in the later Judaism and apply it to the teaching of the earlier prophets, and then conclude that the Messianic idea was not present there even in germ, because its later outgrowth bears so little resemblance to the germ. And, further, the reviewer feels it his duty to protest against the author's treatment of the text. Interpolations and glosses there may be, and there doubtless are, just as there are some passages, which, by a corruption of the text, are rendered impossible of translation and interpretation. But the recognition of this fact is a far different thing from the wholesale excision of all passages which do not harmonize with some preconceived theory. Scientific method demands that the theory shall be the outgrowth and explanation of the data, and forbids the selection of the data to suit the theory.

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DIE BERUFSBEGABUNG DER ALTTESTAMENTLICHEN PROPHETEN.  
Von FRIEDRICH GIESEBRECHT, Dr. und Professor der  
Theologie zu Greifswald. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck &  
Ruprecht, 1897. Pp. 188. M. 4.40.

THE title is a happy one and deserves a better book. The author is a capable one, and should have written a better book. Really, it is not a book at all, but an abnormally developed magazine article of a controversial character. It grew out of a paper that appeared two years ago in the *Greifswalder Studien*. That paper was a reply to a review by Oort of the author's commentary on Jeremiah; and the occasion of Oort's "herber Kritik" was, says Giesebrecht, chiefly a "polemische Bemerkung" of the commentary against Kuenen. Evidently the book is not to blame for its character, with such a line of descent as that.

The subject is one of permanent interest, and the book should be of permanent value. The strength of such a book will lie in its

positive and constructive features. *Kritiken* and *Widerlegungen* of a dozen scholars "right" and "left" may be exciting at the time, but do not form a permanent contribution to the literature of the prophets. Those who feel it incumbent upon them to follow the positions taken by different scholars must know what Giesebrecht says here. Those whose aim is to learn about the prophets will doubtless find more instructive and suggestive reading elsewhere.

The absence of clear definition of topics, and of logical progress of thought, is illustrated, not to say indicated, by the unsatisfactory editing of the volume for the press. There are no titles or headings, large or small, except that the two appendices have titles. One can scan four, five, or six pages in succession without discovering even a paragraph indentation. The table of contents is most unsatisfactory. Making use of it, the reader often finds the page referred to unbroken even by paragraphs.

In his preface the author's tone is throughout one of apology. We are, however, indebted to him for a clear statement here of what he calls his "Standpunkt." To him the revelation of God to the prophets is no figure of speech, but a sure reality; but the reality of the revelation does not demand that it be accomplished by means of an objective miracle. We would be glad courteously to call this his thesis as well as his point of view; but this he forbids by frankly avowing his purpose: "So habe ich mich bald gegen rechts, bald gegen links wenden müssen, mit Angriff und Abwehr, nicht aus schwächerer Vermittelungsneigung, sondern aus dem Verlangen nach Wahrheit."

The appendices are not subject to all the foregoing strictures. The one entitled "The Spirit of Jahwe" is a clear, though not very profound, historical examination of the Spirit as understood by the prophets, and that concerning the predictions of Ezekiel is a well-articulated discussion of this prophet's peculiarities.

OWEN H. GATES.

OBERLIN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

ÜBER DIE AUFGABE UND METHODE DER SOGENANTEN NEUTESTAMENTLICHEN THEOLOGIE. Von D. H. WREDE, o. Professor der ev. Theologie zu Breslau. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1897. Pp. 80. M. 1.80.

THIS brochure contains the substance of lectures delivered by the author at a convention of clergy held under the auspices of the Univer-

sity of Breslau. As is intimated in the title, Dr. Wrede believes that New Testament theology has no legitimate standing as a separate science. He contends, in the first place, that the writings of the New Testament are not sufficiently distinct either as to the age of their origin or as to their contents and peculiarities of thought or style to constitute a class by themselves. They are simply *some* of the literary results of the ferment of thought which occurred in Palestine at the opening of the Christian era and in consequence of the life and teaching of Jesus of Nazareth. But so also were the first epistle of Clement, the epistle of Barnabas, and the *Didache*. To say that the New Testament writings have been recognized as canonical is to put the cart before the horse. Upon historical principles they should be recognized as canonical after their uniqueness has been proved, not be declared unique because they have been received as canonical. But, secondly, Dr. Wrede holds that the method usually employed in the building up of New Testament theology is defective and futile. It calls for too much analysis. It builds pyramids on their apexes—whole systems of thought out of fragments like James and Jude, or even the epistle to the Hebrews. These may represent only the incidental and subordinate elements in their authors' worlds of thought. Dr. Wrede would, therefore, dissolve the discipline of New Testament theology and relegate what is valid and valuable in it to the branches of New Testament introduction, exegesis, and the history of early Christian thought. His argument does not lack in clearness and vigor; but it strikes one as a case of special pleading. It would be impossible to meet it at every point without writing a treatise of equal length. It is enough to say that the author loses sight of all analogies in the domain, not only of theological science, but also of philosophy and history, and ignores fundamental principles, deemed valid universally.

A. C. ZENOS.

MCCORMICK THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

THE CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE OF IMMORTALITY. By STEWART D. F. SALMOND, M.A., D.D., Professor of Theology, Free Church College, Aberdeen. Third edition. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark; New York: Imported by Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1897. Pp. xiv + 709, 8vo. Cloth, \$5.

THIS massive volume constitutes the thirteenth series of *The Cunningham Lectures*. The appearance, within eighteen months of its origi-

nal issue, of a third edition is significant testimony both to the interest in the subject and to the impression which the book itself has made. Professor Salmond is a specialist in New Testament literature; his treatise, therefore, has the advantages and the defects which that fact implies. It is divided into six books, which treat successively of the ethnic preparation, the Old Testament preparation, Christ's teaching, the general apostolic doctrine, the Pauline doctrine, and conclusions. The two first discussions aim to be comprehensive, and are in general sympathetic; but two difficulties seem to us to attach to the treatment: first, not sufficient space is given to the discussion of what the author calls the ethnic preparation; and, second, the treatment in the discussion both of the ethnic preparation and the Old Testament preparation is not up to the level of modern scholarship. We have space for the mention of only two or three points in substantiation of this latter statement. The view that the Rig Veda represents the childhood of the race and of religion, which is here accepted (p. 29), is one that has been given up by the best scholars. Under the same head we may add that the author hardly gives enough credit, in the discussion of transmigration, to the view that it was a belief which was received into the old Aryan faith from the aboriginal peoples of India. In the discussion of the Egyptian belief the distinction is not clearly drawn between the two ideas of the state of the soul, its dwelling in the tomb, and its going to a distant place; nor does the writer lay enough emphasis upon the fact that we have the demand for righteousness in the earliest texts. As for the Old Testament section, it is to be remarked that there is no treatment of the Old Testament view of immortality possible without a theory of the origin of the Old Testament books which will stand the test of the critical investigations of the last fifty years. It is enough to say of Professor Salmond's discussion that he has no such theory. His discussion of particular points is interesting, sympathetic, and, to a certain extent, valuable, but it is certainly not this part of the book which will give it any permanent value.

When Professor Salmond comes to the treatment of the New Testament teaching, he is evidently on more familiar ground. Taking account of the view current among the Jews of the first century, and making just allowance for the "occasional" form and highly figurative language of Jesus, he bases on careful exegesis a systematic statement of the teachings of the several portions of the New Testament. Familiar with the recent historical criticism of the New Testament, Dr. Salmond himself writes from a decidedly conservative point

of view. He does not think it necessary to attempt to reach the exact words of Jesus by distinguishing between the earlier and later reports of his words, because the result remains essentially the same in any case. He would be quite out of sympathy, not with the spirit, but with the critical methods of Schwartzkopff in his book on the prophecies of Jesus. In his interpretations also he inclines to what may be broadly described as a conservative position. He cannot resolve all that Jesus says about the kingdom into the conception either of a present or of a future kingdom, but finds in it the teaching of a kingdom already present, and one to be consummated at the second coming of the Lord at the end of the age. The final judgment is a world event, occurring for all men at the same time, and this is the teaching both in the synoptists and in John. The issues of this life are, according to Jesus, final; there is no suggestion of possibilities of change, forgiveness, relaxation of penalty, or cessation of punishment in his words. The teachings of the apostles are interpreted as in essential agreement with those of Jesus. Neither in Acts, Paul, or even in 1 Peter is there any intimation of a gracious ministry after death. At one point Professor Salmond falls into a seeming contradiction, though this is doubtless rather a matter of terminology than of thought. Though interpreting Jesus as teaching a world-judgment, universal and individual, he yet denies that there is in his thought any room for an intermediate state. But if men are all to rise and be judged at once, at the second coming of Christ, where are they between death and the resurrection if not in an *intermediate* state? The question of the character of that state is distinct from the existence of such a state; the latter can only be denied by affirming that judgment immediately follows death, and is thus for each man a separate event. But this view Salmond expressly excludes on p. 315.

This is an able book, and a valuable contribution to biblical theology. It is not the last word, we are persuaded, even for this generation, on this great theme. It is learned and it is fair, but it does not grapple quite seriously enough either with the critical or the exegetical difficulties.

Though this third edition is apparently from new plates, the differences between it and the first edition are slight, consisting chiefly of the addition of a footnote on p. 64, a blank page, 158, a note on p. 697, and two pages to the index.

GEORGE S. GOODSPEED AND ERNEST D. BURTON.

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DIE APOCALYPSE ABRAHAMS UND DIE VIERZIG MÄRTYRER. Herausgegeben von G. NATHANAEL BONWETSCH (Studien zur Geschichte der Theologie und Kirchengeschichte, herausgegeben von N. Bonwetsch und R. Seeberg. I. Band, 1. Heft). Leipzig: A. Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung Nachfolger (Geo. Böhme), 1897. Pp. 95, 8vo. M. 2.80.

It is a strange experience we are making in the field of apocryphal and extracanonical literature. Whenever a new discovery seems to bring us nearer the solution of some problem, we learn on closer examination that the matter is far more complicated than we supposed. Instead of reaching the source we are in search of, we come across new streamlets pointing to origins far older than we could dream of. This happened to Professor Charles when he became familiar with the Slavonic book of Enoch. Instead of finding a work identical with the Ethiopic apocalypse, as he expected, he saw to his great surprise a work teeming with phrases and ideas strikingly similar to New Testament passages and yet older than the gospels, almost Christian in thought and yet specifically Jewish in character. Some such surprise is offered to the reader of this little book containing a German translation from the Slavonic text of the apocalypse of Abraham. The writer of this review (who may be permitted here to refer to his article in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, July, 1895, on the "Apocalypse of Abraham"), judging from the title, fully expected to find here the same apocryphon which Montague Rhodes James had edited in the Greek text under the title: "The Testament of Abraham" (*Texts and Studies*, Vol. II, Cambridge, 1892), and of which an English translation by W. A. Craigie has recently appeared in the additional (ninth) volume of the *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, 1897, New York. The two books, however, erroneously identified by Mr. James, have very little in common, at least as far as form and conception are concerned. The Testament of Abraham describes the end of the patriarch and the vision he had while riding up to heaven on a chariot in the company of the archangel Gabriel before his death. Our apocalypse forms part of a Haggadic book in regular Midrash form on the life of Abraham, if not on the whole book of Genesis, such as circulated among the Jews of Alexandria and Palestine in the second or the first pre-Christian century, when the book of Adam and Eve, the Jubilees, and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs were composed. Bonwetsch, following the authority of Tichonravov, the editor of the Slavonic texts, traces the work to the fifth-century Palæa ("Old Testament story"),



which itself points back to a much older Greek original. But neither of the two seems to be familiar with Dr. M. Gaster's Ilchester lectures on *Grecko-Slavonic Literature* (London, 1887), where the historical connections of the Palaea with the pre-Christian Midrash are dwelt upon.

Mr. Bonwetsch, who also published last year a German translation of the Slavonic book of Enoch, based on different manuscripts, immediately after Professors Morill and Charles had published their English one, has placed the learned world under great obligation by his translation of the apocalypse. It is needless to say that he is very accurate and cautious. Still it cannot be denied that, had he used a little more common sense and criticism, he could have given us in many passages a far more intelligible translation. Those old Slavonic copyists often mistook words and names, and wrote *Azazel* where the original had *Israel*, and the like. It is, indeed, greatly to be desired that one better versed in the whole literature, especially also in the Midrash and Kabbala, a man like Dr. Gaster, should take up the subject and treat it from a broad historical point of view.

Few, indeed, have an idea what unexpected light is thrown by our little book on the Midrash literature of the ninth century (*Pirke de R. Eliezer* and *Sefer Hayashar*) and the Mohammedan legend, and still more on the beginnings of the Kabbala, or gnosticism, in the centuries preceding the rise of Christianity. We see here old Babylonian, Persian, and Jewish elements of mythology strangely mixed, especially in the character of *Satan*, the personification of evil. But this must be left to a special article. I will here simply endeavor to convey to the reader an idea of the contents of our apocalypse. It consists of two parts: The first part, chaps. 1-8, describes with true poetic art, while commenting on Gen., chap. 12, how Abraham perceived the folly of idolatry practiced by his father, how by continued reasoning he arrived at the monotheistic faith, and how he mocked and ridiculed the different idols made of stone and wood, silver and gold; also how he argued with his father, trying to convince him that neither stone, nor wood, nor fire, nor water, nor earth, nor sun, moon, and stars could be God, until finally God responded to his call, appearing in a fire cloud which destroys the house of Terah, while he is told to escape and go to Canaan. The story, traced by Bonwetsch through the various Jewish and Christian, as well as Mohammedan, legends, is told with a great deal of originality, and the peculiar names given to the chief idols, as well as the biblical style of the whole, betray an ancient Hebrew source, older than any of our Midrash tales.

Far more interesting, however, is the second part, chaps. 9-32, containing the real apocalypse. It is obviously an ancient Midrash commenting on the verses of Genesis, chap. 15, describing the nocturnal vision of Abraham. The chief of the archangels, called in the later Kabbala *Mithron* or *Metatron*, bears here the significant name *Yaoel* ("My name is in him," say the Kabbalists). He is a veritable reflection of the Lord's glory as described by Ezekiel. He leads Abraham after a forty-days' fast up to Mount Horeb, whence they both soar up on the wings of the dove and turtle-dove — the two birds that were not cut in two — until they see the earth, Eden, and Gehenna, far beneath them. Before they make the circuit of the heaven, Azazel or the devil appears to them in the shape of the bird of prey mentioned Gen. 15:11. "He is the evil spirit that stole the secrets of heaven while conspiring against the Mighty One," says the archangel, and tells Abraham to condemn him to hell's fire, and to take his heavenly robe of immortality and put it on himself. We have here a sort of combination of the Babylonian god Zū and Satan, reminding us of the King *Taus* of the devil worshipers.

Amidst mystic invocations, the magic spell of which only the archangel knows, the fiery realms of heaven are passed, and the fiery throne wagon of the Lord with the four beasts of fire surrounding it is reached, where the Lord himself unrolls to Abraham all the secrets of the past and of the future. Most striking is the literal resemblance of one passage commenting on Gen. 15:5 to the Midrash Bereshith Rabba, §44, *העלה אותו למעלה מכיפת הרקיע שנאמר הבט נא* — "God lifted Abraham above the firmament, saying to him: 'Look down and behold the stars beneath.'" The description of the seven heavens which follows, of hell with its Leviathans, and Behemoth and other voracious demons, is, in the main, identical with that in the Slavonic Enoch, the Testament of Abraham, and the Peter and Paul apocalypses. Altogether strange and weird is the picture of the serpent or Azazel as the personification of sensuality and lust standing between Adam and Eve and luring them to sin. We find it only in the book of Adam and Eve, and its coarser prototype is *Ahriman* in the Bundahesh. The retrospect of human and Jewish history, and the prediction of the Messianic time with its birth-throes, or the ten preceding calamities, betray throughout a Jewish conception. In fact, only by going back to underlying Hebrew words and names we find the text to yield an intelligible meaning, whereas the translator, in failing to do so, has

often missed the same entirely. The "left side"—סֵטְרָא אֲדָרְיָא—and the אֲדָרְיָא or *other one* for heathenism and *the evil one* are instances of this kind. Only one passage describing the Christ in antagonism with Satan—"idolatry"—shows the hand of a Christian writer or interpolator.

The work deserves a more careful study. We hope Mr. Bonwetsch will continue opening to us this mine of ancient legend hidden in the Slavonic literature.

K. KOHLER.

NEW YORK CITY.

ANECDOTA MAREDSOLANA. Vol. III, pars i: Sancti Hieronymi Presbyteri qui deperditi hactenus putabantur Commentarioli in Psalmos edidit, com. crit. instruxit, prolegomena et indices adiecit DOMINUS GERMANUS MORIN. Maredsoli: apud editorem; Oxoniæ: apud J. Parker, 1895. Pp. xix+114. 5s.

ANECDOTA MAREDSOLANA. Vol. III, pars ii: Sancti Hieronymi Presbyteri Tractatus sive Homiliæ in Psalmos, in Marci evangelium aliaque varia argumenta primus edidit DOMINUS GERMANUS MORIN. Maredsoli: apud editorem; Oxoniæ: apud J. Parker, 1897. Pp. 424. 15s.

LES MONUMENTS DE LA PRÉDICATION DE SAINT JÉRÔME. Par DOM. GERMAIN MORIN. (Extrait de la *Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses*, I, 1896, pp. 393-434.) Macon: Protat Frères; Oxford: J. Parker & Co. 1s. 6d.

THE learned Benedictine Germain Morin has given us in the first two parts of Vol. III of the *Anecdota Maredsolana* material not unworthy the lectionary, the so-called *liber comicus*, which formed Vol. I, and the letter of St. Clemens to the Corinthians, which filled Vol. II of the series.

It has long been recognized that the apocryphal *Breviarium Sancti Hieronymi in Psalmos* had for its kernel a large number of fragments of Jerome's own work, so overlaid, however, with later accretions that the genuine portions were hardly to be discovered in the mass. Still Morin's scholarship and accurate acquaintance with Jerome's works were sufficient to enable him to extract the genuine portions, which fell into two classes. The first class was made up of short comments on the Psalms, which, corrected and enlarged with the aid of four MSS. of the seventh to twelfth centuries, which have handed down genuine

excerpts of Jerome's commentary, form Part 1 of the third volume. The second class consisted of longer homiletical passages, among them one cited as Jerome's by Augustine, *ep.* 148. Here, as in the case of the *Commentarioli*, MSS., eight in number, which had not been hitherto fully used, came to Morin's aid, and thus he was able to restore to us the fifty-nine homilies on the Psalms which fill pp. 1-316 of the second part of the volume before us. These homilies are followed (pp. 316-70) by ten homilies on the gospel of Mark, which have generally been regarded as translations of Chrysostom's work. Already in the sixteenth century the similarity in style between these homilies and the accepted works of Jerome was noticed by Erasmus in his Latin edition of Chrysostom's writings, Venice, 1549. The reference in Cassiodorus (Migne, 70, 12-13) to the passage in the homily (p. 326, Morin) as belonging to Jerome is sufficient evidence of the genuineness of the first discourse; and we must recognize the weight of Morin's evidence for the genuineness of the entire ten. Further investigation enabled Morin to restore to Jerome still other discourses, among them homilies on Matthew, Luke, and John, and on Christmas, all of which appear in the Latin edition of Chrysostom's works above mentioned; also, seven homilies on various themes, some of which have passed under the name of Augustine. Finally, a brief discourse on the fiftieth Psalm is given, drawn from a MS. in Monte Cassino. This last is regarded by Morin as in all probability a Latin translation of Jerome's Greek. But this is not all. Morin has found, in the progress of his investigations, still another series of discourses on the Psalms which may be ascribed to Jerome. This series will appear as Part 3 of Vol. III, with prolegomena and indices to Parts 2 and 3.

In the article reprinted from the *Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses*, published before the appearance of Part 2 of Vol. III of the *Anecdota*, Morin presented the evidence in favor of his attribution of the homilies to Jerome. One would hesitate to accept so stout an addition to the authentic writings of any author, if the proofs were not convincing. Morin shows, from internal evidence, that the author of the homilies was a monk, speaking to monks; furthermore, the speaker is from the West, his mother tongue is Latin, but he is acquainted with Greek and Hebrew; he is an ardent enemy of heretics, a despiser of philosophers, and an enthusiastic admirer of the sacred writings. The place in which the discourses were held was Bethlehem; the time, 401-10 A. D. All this, and much more, points to Jerome alone as the author. The discourses display also remarkable agreement in style

and thought with other writings of Jerome, as is shown in Morin's edition by parallel passages printed beneath the text and critical notes.

The gains from these discoveries are not insignificant. The historian finds some interesting evidence as to the inner life of a monastery in the early part of the fifth century; the influence of Greek theology on occidental thought is plain; the quotations from the Bible are valuable for text criticism; and in all we gain a view of a side of Jerome's life which has hitherto been practically unknown to us. Furthermore, we now possess a fixed starting point for the analysis of the *Breviarium*. The philologist will find much to interest him in the references to the older literature, as well as in the colloquialisms which frequently come to the surface, especially in the homilies on the Psalms.

CLIFFORD HERSCHEL MOORE.

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CYPRIAN: HIS LIFE, HIS TIMES, HIS WORK. By EDWARD WHITE BENSON, D.D., D.C.L., sometime Archbishop of Canterbury. With an Introduction by the Right Rev Henry C. Potter, D.D., LL.D., D.C.L., Bishop of New York. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1897. Pp. 636, 8vo. Cloth, \$7.

THIS book is the ripe product of thirty years of special study, and the only one which the author published. It was begun when he was headmaster of Wellington College, and finished in 1896, a short time before his death. It presents, therefore, the literary toil of a lifetime. "Year after year," his son writes, "at Lincoln, at Truro, at Canterbury, these patient pages have grown; sometimes weeks would be consumed in the elucidation of some technical point; he even undertook, a few years ago, a journey to North Africa to study his topography." The first hundred and fifty pages were put into print so long ago that, when he had reached the end, they required to be entirely revised and rewritten.

The result of this prolonged toil is a book of remarkable quality. It contains not only the results of research, but also the processes. It is a singular mixture of the interesting and the dry and dull. The plan of the author is to give us in a few pages of large print the main outlines of the story, and, then, in a few pages of fine print, the most minute discussions of dates, of places, of the meaning of Latin and Greek terms, of the errors of his predecessors in this field, and of a

thousand other details. In addition to the pages of solid fine print, which continually interrupt the onward flow of the narrative, there are copious footnotes; and in addition to everything else, an appendix of twelve articles, to the last of which are appended six notes. The entire volume, with its varied contents, constitutes an apparatus of the very highest value for the study of Cyprian and his times, a monumental work, destined to be an authoritative standard of appeal in all discussions of fact which properly lie within its scope.

Cyprian is made to appear in a most advantageous light. He is a great preacher, a great writer, and a great ruler. But he is also a great saint, free from personal ambition, always distributing his wealth to the poor, and genial and loving in disposition and manner. It was owing to his wisdom and self-restraint that the church was not rent in sunder by the agitations of the third century, which shook it to its foundations. He was the first great prelate of Christian history, and vindicated for the episcopal office an authority which it retained for more than a thousand years.

Archbishop Benson writes with scholarly fairness; yet he does not attempt to conceal the fact that he writes with a pronounced controversial aim, and directs his argument against the papacy on the one hand, and what he calls "the sects," that is, the non-episcopal denominations, on the other. He has achieved a great success in setting Cyprian, for the first time, in a clear light. He is less successful as a controversialist.

In his argument against the papacy he shows, indeed, that the treatise of Cyprian on "The Unity of the Catholic Church" has been deliberately interpolated with forgeries by Roman Catholic editors, and his indictment of his Roman Catholic opponents for this crime is terrible, not for invective or vituperation, but for the crushing array of evidence by which it is supported. This, however, is a matter of secondary importance. The real question between Archbishop Benson and the Roman Catholics is whether or not Cyprian, after his writings have been purged of such intrusions, recognizes the Church of Rome, and hence its bishop, as supreme. Benson answers in the negative, on the ground that Cyprian acted independently, and was almost ready at one time to break with the see of Rome and the Catholic church. This was his practice; but what was his theory? Benson recognizes the fact that the practice of a man and his theories are not always harmonious, and proceeds to discuss the theory which Cyprian held. In his fifty-ninth letter Cyprian calls the Church of Rome

"*principalis ecclesia*." Some Roman Catholic writers translate this term "the sovereign church." Benson admits that the emperor was commonly called "princeps," and that "*principalis*" is derived from "princeps." He seeks to show, however, that the emperor was called "princeps" only as he was the foremost man of the state, the first citizen, invested by senate and people with certain powers. But after all, if we grant that the Church of Rome is "*principalis*" in the sense in which the emperor was "princeps," we leave little for the Roman Catholic to demand, and it is but a step to his doctrine of papal supremacy.

Benson is not more fortunate in his dealing with the non-episcopal denominations.

He believes episcopacy to be of apostolic origin, in part because Cyprian believed so about the year 250. But Cyprian believed the whole church system of his day, in doctrine and organization, to be of apostolic origin. As bishop, he received the Catholic church as the apostles had left it and as their successors had transmitted it to him; and he was in duty bound to hand it on unchanged, a sacred deposit, to those who should come after him in the episcopal office. Such was his belief. But it is certain that the Catholic church of his time had departed widely, in both faith and practice, from the apostolic model. Its entire system of belief was legal, sacerdotal, and sacramental, in direct contrast to the teachings of the New Testament. The conviction of Cyprian that the episcopate was of apostolic origin was only a part of his conviction that the Catholic church as it stood was of apostolic origin. Besides, it was the fashion for every bishop to insist that the thing which he believed and practiced was of apostolic origin. The unknown author of the treatise on "*The Rebaptism of Heretics*" declared that "to repeat baptism was contrary to a decree of the apostles," and Pope Stephen appealed to apostolic authority against the practice. On the other hand, the councils of Iconium and Synnada, with the supporters of rebaptism in general, affirmed that they enjoined it by apostolic authority. In these circumstances the testimony of Cyprian to the apostolic origin of an office whose powers he sought to confirm and enlarge is of slight importance.

In any case, to a Protestant, the opinion of Cyprian on such a subject should have little weight. The New Testament contains all that the apostles deemed it necessary for us to know concerning church organization and order. If episcopacy could be traced even to the middle of the first century and to churches at the time presided

over by the apostles, their silence in reference to it would show their reluctance to recommend it to future generations, and it would stand condemned, rather than approved, by its early origin and their failure to speak of it. It is incredible that they should not have prescribed it in the clearest terms, if it is, as Benson holds, an institution essential to the very existence of a church, without which a denomination is only a sect. And if it were prescribed in the New Testament, its present advocates would not search so diligently for traces of it in early Christian literature as proofs of its apostolic origin.

Benson, adopting the view of Cyprian, commends episcopacy to us as the divinely ordained means of preserving the unity of the church. But it does not preserve the unity of the church. Benson himself flashes with indignation whenever he turns to the papacy, the validity of whose episcopacy he admits, and no denominations are more hopelessly divided from one another than the Catholic, the Greek, and the Anglican, the great episcopal bodies. The Roman Catholic bishops did not have the wisdom to keep the Lutheran movement within their church, nor did the Anglican bishops have the wisdom to keep the Wesleyan movement within their church; and in both cases the divisions of Christendom which arose were owing largely to episcopal negligence and folly.

If the advocates of episcopacy presented the institution to us without an accompaniment of unscriptural doctrine, their appeal would gain a much wider sympathy. The doctrines of apostolic succession and of special grace owing to apostolic succession, and imparted by the medium of certain rites, have hindered greatly the extension of episcopacy. Much might be said, on grounds both of Scripture and of reason, in favor of committing large interests and enterprises in the kingdom of God to wise men distinguished for their ability to bring things to pass. If I am not mistaken, the non-episcopal denominations are learning slowly but surely how to do this without detriment to the freedom with which Christ has made them free. But they have been cautious in adopting the expedient lest they should favor false doctrine and create an order of prelates.

I should say something of Benson as a writer before I close. He chose Thucydides as his pattern, and claimed that the obscurities of his style, which were pointed out to him, came "of hours and hours spent with intense enjoyment" over the great Greek historian, "weighing the force of every adjective and every particle." He learned by this study to form sentences which are terse and forceful.



Yet the reader has the constant impression of an author who is trying to follow a model and to achieve an ideal, rather than of one who is himself a fountain of excellent literary expression. Not infrequently, also, Benson violates the elementary principles of the English language. He often writes what may be called memorandum sentences, formed by rapid jottings in a notebook, and with important words omitted, usually the subject or the verb. The pronouns trouble him, and are often used inaccurately. He sometimes employs an adverb where an adjective is demanded. He seems to have an objection to the conjunction "and," for he sometimes omits it in an enumeration of particulars. On the whole, the reader is justified in expecting better writing from one who has chosen to follow Thucydides and has spent thirty years in producing a single volume.

These defects, however, are relatively small. They fade away when one considers the supreme excellences of the book, which is destined to occupy a permanent and authoritative place in Christian literature, when any fact concerning Cyprian is in question. No more remarkable work of historical research has been produced in this generation.

FRANKLIN JOHNSON.

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THE MISSION OF ST. AUGUSTINE TO ENGLAND ACCORDING TO THE ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS. Edited by ARTHUR JAMES MASON, D.D. Cambridge: At the University Press; London: C. J. Clay & Sons; New York: The Macmillan Co., 1897. Pp. xx + 252. 5s.

CANON MASON, in compiling this book, is carrying out the wishes of the late Archbishop Benson, who planned that it should consist of "a complete collection of authentic documents bearing on Augustine's coming." The sources are found in Gregory and in Bede. The text is taken from *Monumenta Germaniæ Historica* by Hartmann and Ewald, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents* by Haddan and Stubbs, and *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* by Bede. On the upper half of each page appears an excellent translation; on the lower half is printed the Latin text. This part of the work covers 160 pages. The rest of the book is devoted to four valuable dissertations on the political outlook of Europe in 597, Augustine's mission in relation to other agencies in the conversion of England, the landing place of Augustine, and some liturgical points relating to Augustine's mission. There

are three maps: western Europe in 597, England in 597, and the island of Thanet and adjoining mainland in the sixth century.

"The truth must be the first aim—to let people see it as it is." This injunction of his archbishop Dr. Mason has faithfully obeyed. Without any "controversial purpose" he has let the "facts speak for themselves." The student who wishes to know "all that is known concerning the Gregorian mission which founded the Church of England" will find it "contained in the documents given in this book." We do not see wherein the material could have been better edited.

ERI B. HULBERT.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

DAS HOMILIARIUM KARLS DES GROSSEN, auf seine ursprüngliche Gestalt hin untersucht von LIC. DR. FRIEDRICH WIEGAND, Privatdocent der Theologie. Leipzig: A. Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung Nachf. (Geo. Böhme), 1897. Pp. 96. M. 2.

THE first object of Karl the Great in commissioning Paulus Diaconus to make a "homiliarium," or "collection of sermons," was to supply the clergy with a book suitable for use in the *officium nocturnale*, or midnight vigil. The midnight vigil differed from the other canonical hours in that in connection with it, besides the prayer and psalm, a selection from the Bible was read. The midnight vigils of Sundays and feast, or saints', days were given still greater prominence by reading also a selection from the works of some church Father. In the time of Karl the Great there were many such lectionaries or homiliaria for these vigils in use, but all were corrupt in text and not well adapted to the service. There has long been a controversy as to whether Karl intended merely to offer a revised lectionary for the devotional use of the clergy or rather to furnish a large number of sermons which should not only instruct the clergy, but also give them good models, in form and matter, for the sermons which they were to preach to their flocks. The influence of this work on the development of preaching in the Middle Age has also been a matter of dispute.

Dr. Wiegand admits that at present it is impossible to say exactly to what extent this work influenced the preaching of the Middle Age, but he shows conclusively that this homiliarium served a far wider purpose than merely ministering to the religious needs of the clergy.

The majority of its sermons were adapted to the needs of the people rather than to those of the clergy. Dr. Wiegand's treatment of this subject leaves no doubt as to the wider purpose which Karl had. For instance, fifty-three of its 234 sermons are by Maximus of Turin, the great popular preacher of Lombardy (fifth century), famous for his sermons which were adapted to a people which was still largely heathen. Further investigation will be necessary before the exact influence of this homiliarium on mediæval homiletics can be determined, but its wide use, its adaptation, and its frequent revisions make it certain that its influence was great. Along this line, however, the author points out that this homiliarium was gradually changed into the Roman breviary, and, on the other hand, that it was the model for Luther's "Postillen."

The homiliarium was divided into two parts, one for the winter, containing 110 sermons (from the fifth Sunday before Christmas to the Saturday before Easter); the other part, for the summer, with 134 sermons (from Easter Sunday to the end of the ecclesiastical year). Dr. Wiegand contents himself with giving only the first words of the lessons and the titles of the sermons. He discusses many interesting details, but reserves the full text and exhaustive discussion for the larger work which he promises.

OLIVER J. THATCHER.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

**THE AGE OF THE RENASCENCE.** An Outline Sketch of the History of the Papacy from the Return from Avignon to the Sack of Rome (1377-1527). By PAUL VAN DYKE. With an Introduction by HENRY VAN DYKE. New York: The Christian Literature Co., 1897. Pp. 397, 12mo. \$1.50.

PERHAPS there is no more involved period of human history than that to which we are introduced in this volume, belonging to the series of "Ten Epochs of Church History." Our first question, therefore, very reasonably is, Does the story of the evolution, or rather devolution, of the church and papacy during the Renaissance unfold itself before us in clear stages and with inevitable logic? There need be no hesitation about answering in the affirmative. We have, at the outset, a view of the precarious position of the popes in Rome on their return from Avignon; we are then acquainted with the rise in the world of the anti-papal influences, the most important of which are the new sense of nationality, the growing democratic self-consciousness of the lower

orders, and the progressive intellectual manumission of the upper classes through the movement called humanism. We stand by while the weapons are being forged in this society of the Renaissance for protest and revolt against the old order. And what a splendid battle thereupon ensues! We see how one set of men, the set which places ideas above institutions, and is represented by such names as Wiclif and Huss, breaks the bonds of allegiance, and raises the banner of heresy; and we observe a rival set—good men these, too, the d'Aillys and Gersons of conciliar fame, only so prudent!—we observe a rival set which places institutions above ideas and contents itself with remonstrance, veiled under assurances of obedience. Altogether the greatest marvel is, not the audacity of Huss and his revolutionary followers, nor the timidity of d'Ailly and his constitutional followers, but the mere persistence, proved by both of these parties alike, of moral purpose in that corrupt world of the Renaissance. That fact constitutes as flattering a panegyric of humanity as any that has ever been pronounced.

Thus the great forces operative in this period have been placed in clear relation to each other and to the church. But satisfactory as this part of the work is, it cannot be called new; Mr. Van Dyke has worked with authorities which are known to all students of the subject. And yet his volume has, in some respects, the charm of real novelty. We fall under its spell when, abandoning the analysis of forces, Mr. Van Dyke takes up the individual actors. Petrarch, Boccaccio, Jerome of Prague, Ulrich von Hutten, and the rest, have frequently before had their literary portraits drawn, but Mr. Van Dyke, who is no mere copyist, gives us their features as he personally has caught them with his mind's eye. We may not always recognize on the artist's canvas the man as we have known him, but we find, at least, a living image and are duly grateful.

Mr. Van Dyke adopts occasionally too rapid a pace, and then either overcrowds or falls into careless error. Pages 116 and 187 offer examples of a narrative threatening to break down under its burden of fact. Foreign names are carelessly handled on p. 66 (*San Spirito*), on p. 156 (*San Croce*), and on p. 37 (*Gerard von Puy*). But these things are trifles. The book well deserves reading, because it is, in the main, a scholarly presentation, and is tempered with vivacity and humor.

FERDINAND SCHWILL.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND BEFORE THE REFORMATION. By DYSON HAGUE, M.A. With an Introductory Note by H. C. Moule. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1897. Pp. xix + 399. Cloth, 7s. 6d.

THE ANGLICAN REFORMATION (Ten Epochs of Church History Series). By WILLIAM CLARK, M.A. (Oxon.), Hon. LL.D., D.C.L., F.R.S.C. New York: The Christian Literature Co., 1897. Pp. vi + 482. Cloth, \$2.

IN the October, 1897, number of this JOURNAL there appeared a review of Wakeman's *Introduction to the History of the Church of England*. That work was written from the point of view of an intelligent and uncompromising high-church devotee. It is the conviction of this thoroughgoing sacerdotalist and sacramentarian that the apostolic succession of the episcopate, baptismal regeneration, priestly absolution, the real presence of our Lord in the eucharist, and the eucharistic sacrifice are absolutely essential and vital. Men who deny these divine realities are enemies of the Catholic church. Among such men must be classed Wiclif, Cranmer, Hooper, Ridley, Latimer, Tyndale, Edward VI, Luther, Calvin, Knox, and Zwingli. Among the friends of the ecclesiasticism, ceremonialism, and sacramentarianism of the mediæval and Catholic faith are Gardiner, Bonner, Elizabeth, Whitgift, Andrewes, Charles I, Laud, and churchmen of their type.

Dr. Hague's history is written from the point of view of an intelligent and uncompromising low-church devotee. He attacks every fundamental position of historians of the Wakeman school. There is a total reversal of judgments. High-church angels are low-church devils and *vice versa*. To Wakeman Rome is a true branch of the Catholic church; to Hague she is "corrupt in doctrine and ritual, teaching blasphemous fables as truths and deceitful superstitions as divine ordinances." Wakeman is in full sympathy with "the religious opinions and principles" which were dominant in the Middle Ages; Hague looks upon the mediæval church as "Romish, Romanized, and Roman"—fit only to be condemned and repudiated. Wakeman makes it a matter of life and death to maintain the "historical continuity theory;" Hague declares it to be a "fond thing vainly invented." Only by "special pleading" and an "ignoring of the facts of history" can it be held at all, and the man who would wish to hold it "one would think had been set on to it by those of the Church of Rome." Wakeman insists that there is the sharpest hostility between the "spirit of the Catholic church" and the spirit of Protestantism, and that in

the Reformation period Catholic theology and practice signally triumphed over Lutheran and Calvinistic error ; Hague insists that the Anglican Reformation was "definitely Protestant," that the English church "experienced a change of principles, practices, and character," "a change not of accidents, but of essentials, not of form, but of condition," an absolute and radical change of "the essential, the internal, the doctrinal, the very principles and the character of the church." According to Wakeman the very heart of Anglicanism, constituting the life of its life, is the sacramental power of orders, the real presence, the eucharistic sacrifice, and the attendant doctrines ; according to Hague these are sham goods out of the pope's shop, and are stamped in the doctrinal standards of the Church of England as "fond fables and blasphemous deceits."

Whatever view the outsider may take of the possible or permissible interpretation of the formularies of the establishment, it seems evident that among Anglicans there is a growing sympathy with high-church views, and that these views are drawing Anglo- and Roman Catholics into closer fellowship and union. This Romeward trend must be a pleasure to Romanists, a horror to Evangelicals, and a sort of joyous pain to high-church men. Plain people who do not belong to "the church" can congratulate themselves that the destiny of Christ's religion is not in the keeping of the Church of England.

Somewhere between Drs. Wakeman and Hague stands Dr. Clark. His work may have been intended as an irenicon. It is not controversial in spirit. It aims to distribute praise and blame with equity—"to state the facts with the greatest possible impartiality." No one can doubt Dr. Clark's good intention, and perhaps no one can feel happy over the result. Men cannot endure the damning of their favorites with faint praise nor the quasi-approval of their enemies with mild censure. Clark writes as an Anglican, and so can never treat of Puritans, Presbyterians, and Independents to the liking of their descendants. High-church men can find no satisfaction in the way he pulls down their idols. Evangelicals cannot help feeling that he has not come out for simple truth and righteousness in the blunt and honest way that history demands. The mutual friend standing between sworn enemies may find himself in unhappy relations with both parties before he is through.

These three works fairly reflect the conflicting sentiments which obtain in the Anglican communion. Wakeman loves mediævalism and hates Protestantism. Hague loves the religion of the Bible and of the

reformers, and hates all Romish drifts in the church of which he is a member. Clark is a man of peace, whose loves and hates are less intense, and who calls up the great characters in English ecclesiastical history to administer to each a mild and measured word of praise or blame, or of mixed praise and blame, as the case seems to him to require.

Wakeman, Hague, and Clark begin their histories with the introduction of Christianity into the British isles. Wakeman carries his work down to the present day. Hague proceeds to the end of the reign of Henry VIII. Clark writes his last chapter on "The Work of the Restoration" in the reign of Charles II.

ERI B. HULBERT.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

DIE BEKEHRUNG JOHANNES CALVINS. Von LIC. A. LANG. Leipzig: A. Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung Nachf. (Georg Böhme), 1897. Pp. 57, 8vo. M. 1.35.

THE monograph before us belongs to the series of "Studien zur Geschichte der Theologie und Kirche," appearing under the editorial direction of N. Bonwetsch and R. Seeberg. The aim of the author is to prepare the way for such an exhibition of the theology of Calvin as we already have of the systems of Luther, Melancthon, and Zwingli. The fundamental thoughts of the system must be ascertained before the system as a whole can be adequately wrought out. To ascertain what is most fundamental and characteristic in Calvin's theology, it is necessary to determine what influences led to his conversion. This is by no means an easy task. The notices from his own and other writings are exceedingly few and inconclusive. The author's first task is to subject to a searching criticism the conclusions of earlier writers on Calvin's conversion, especially those of Abel Lefranc (*La Jeunesse de Calvin*, Paris, 1888), and H. Lecoultré, "La Conversion de Calvin, Étude Morale," published in the *Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie*, 1890. It would require too much space to follow him in his discussion of the various notices that have been supposed to have a bearing on Calvin's conversion. Suffice it to say that he attaches little importance to any of the supposed data except the discourse delivered by his friend Nicholas Cop on the occasion of his installation as rector of the University of Paris, November 1, 1533, the authorship of which he unhesitatingly ascribes to Calvin. The date of his conversion must

accordingly be placed a few months earlier. The discourse furnishes adequate material for a judgment as to the influences that were most potent in transforming the law student and humanist into a zealous Protestant theologian. A comparison of this discourse with Erasmus' 'Adhortatio ad Christianæ Philosophiæ Studium,' which appears as a preface to his edition of the New Testament, 1524, and with Luther's sermon, preached on All Saints' Day, about 1522, shows that the first part of the discourse was largely drawn from Erasmus and the second part from Luther. At the close of the discourse an earnest exhortation, independent of Luther, reveals Calvin's own intense religious enthusiasm. The author's conclusion is that Calvin was greatly influenced by Erasmus' "Christian philosophy," but far more by Luther's edificatory writings, and that his religious experience was quite similar to that of Luther. The change wrought in him, however, was far more sudden than in Luther, owing to difference of nationality and temperament, and to the fact that he had better counselors than had the Augustinian monk in his lonely cell. He came to realize that his desire for worldly honor and glory, which had dominated him as a student of law, and later as a student of the new learning, was leading him to hell. He resolved to confer not with flesh and blood, but thenceforth to devote himself unreservedly to God's service. He was conscious that God forgave his sins graciously and without any merit of his own. He could now glory that there is no good to be compared with peace in conscience, peace with God.

This is not the author's first published study on Calvin's theology, and he promises, if God vouchsafes him time and strength, still further to enlighten us on this fruitful theme.

ALBERT HENRY NEWMAN.

MCMASTER UNIVERSITY.

THE LIFE OF PHILIP SCHAFF, in part autobiographical. By DAVID S. SCHAFF, D.D., Professor of Church History in Lane Theological Seminary. With portraits. New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1897. Pp. xv + 510. Cloth, \$3.

THE story of a great man's life must be, in large measure, the story of his contemporaries and of his time. Well-written biography is thus always of far wider than individual interest. Hardly could greater expectations of this book be aroused than by saying that in its preparation the most has been made of the materials furnished by Dr. Schaff's



prominent connection with the great religious and theological movements of this country and Europe between 1842 and 1893. More, perhaps, than any other one man he was the animating force in the "Mercersburg" theological movement, the New York Sabbath Committee (1859-67), the preparation and publication of the American edition of Lange's *Commentary*, the Evangelical Alliance, and American coöperation in the revision of the Authorized Version of the Scriptures. From 1870 to 1893 he was identified with the Union Theological Seminary in New York city, and he took an active part in the Parliament of Religions at Chicago, in 1893. He was a great traveler, not, however, merely for recreation. Fourteen times he journeyed to Europe charged with delicate and important missions. Yet wherever he went "he took with him a restless curiosity to find out men, and by conversation to discover the trend of current thought and scholarly research." At the same time "his eye was wide open to the beauties of nature and the monuments of history."

This threefold interest pervades the book, which is largely autobiographical. Dr. Schaff made copious entries in his journals, and extracts from these are freely introduced with the text of the biographer. The men he knew, the scenes he witnessed, and the activities in which he shared *et quorum pars magna fuit*, pass vividly before the reader, presented as he knew and estimated them. Not only does one feel the personality of Dr. Schaff, but through his eyes one sees his teachers, many of whom were his closest friends—Schmid, Bauer, Heinrich Ewald, Dorner, Schelling, Neander, Tholuck, Julius Müller. And in like manner one encounters the men with whom he afterward associated here, in England, and on the continent.

The call to America came in 1843 in the form of an invitation to the chair of "church history and biblical literature in the Theological Seminary (German Reformed church) at Mercersburg, Pennsylvania." Philip Schaff was then twenty-four years of age and was a *Privatdocent* in Berlin. Though his prospects for promotion in Germany were bright, he seems to have had little, if any, hesitation in accepting the call. He possessed a "combination of religious warmth, and a practical aim, with a thorough theological equipment that gave Dr. Schaff providential fitness to pass from the sphere of the German university to an important place and work in the church in America." At his ordination Krummacher preached the sermon. *En route* for America he spent six weeks in England, where he was much impressed by the orderly and reverential spirit of the people. "We must confess,"

he writes, "that the moral and religious spirit of Christianity has struck deep roots into the soil of English life; then we thank God that such a nation is Protestant and that for the time being it makes Protestantism invincible." His inaugural address at Mercersburg on "The Principle of Protestantism" brought down upon him a storm of dissent and finally involved him in a trial for heresy, the charges being brought by those who thought they detected crypto-Romanism in one who could bespeak for members of the Roman Catholic communion a place in the church of Christ — a plea that could not come from one who assented to the dicta of his accusers, who held that "the pope is Antichrist, that man of sin and son of perdition that exalteth himself in the church against Christ, and all that is called God," and that the Church of Rome had "long since become utterly corrupt, and hopelessly apostate." To this Dr. Schaff would never have subscribed, and they who did failed to convict him of heresy. In this episode, within a year of his arrival, there were manifested his "enlarged spirit, fearless candor, and devotion to Christianity which rises superior to all denominations." These two traits, catholicity and profound spirituality, pervaded all the activities of his life.

In 1858 Dr. Schaff opened correspondence with Dr. Lange with a view to reproducing his great *Commentary* in this country. This enterprise is noteworthy as "the first attempt on an extensive scale, on this side of the Atlantic, to enlist on an exegetical enterprise, in joint and friendly authorship, the pens of a guild of theological writers belonging to different denominations." The great labor involved extended through sixteen years and resulted in "the most extensive work in the department of exegesis yet produced in America." In the midst of these labors, Dr. Schaff was chosen deputy to England and the continent, to make arrangements for the contemplated conference of the Evangelical Alliance. This business took him to England, Scotland, France, Germany, Holland, and Switzerland. The pages that tell of this mission are brilliant with his own accounts of his travels and his meetings with such men as Alford, Mansel, Spurgeon, Norman Macleod, St. Hilaire, Lange, Tholuck, Père Hyacinthe. The story of the great meeting of the alliance in New York, in 1873, offers most interesting reading to many who distinctly recall that event. The chapter (11) abounds in notes from Dr. Schaff's correspondence relative to the preparations.

In the Union Theological Seminary, where he was professor from 1870 to 1893, Dr. Schaff held a distinct place among his colleagues,

Henry B. Smith, Roswell D. Hitchcock, William G. T. Shedd, George L. Prentiss. In the active duties and literary associations of this work Dr. Schaff seems to have been most agreeably employed. He loved his students, visited them, walked and talked with them daily. His conception of the end of theological study appears in his parting counsel to one of his classes: "Remember first of all the true bearing of theological study on your personal character. Scholarship is good, virtue is better, holiness is best of all. Your learning and eloquence will do little good in the world unless they are quickened by spiritual power. Remember next that theological study looks to public usefulness. It is not merely an intellectual gymnasium, a gratifying of literary curiosity and taste, but it is all that for our fellow-men for whom the Son of God died on the cross and whom we are to lead to Him."

"It was quite in keeping with the mediatorial and unionistic feature of his career that Dr. Schaff should have a prominent part in the Anglo-American revision of the English Scriptures" (1881-5). He was called upon to take the initiatory and leading part in the formation of the American committee. He selected its members and arranged for its organization and first meeting. This task demanded and called forth the exercise of the utmost patience, tact, and wisdom. And while he displayed the qualities of the diplomat, the executive, the indefatigable toiler, his profoundly religious spirit pervaded all. As chairman of the committee, and as participant in the work of the New Testament Company, he repeatedly emphasized the point that, while "the revision must be chiefly the work of biblical scholarship, its success will depend by no means on scholarship alone. To understand, to translate, and to interpret the Word of God, we must be in sympathy with its spirit, which is the Holy Spirit." The long and interesting account of the progress and method of the work of the revisers will be many times reread, and will be referred to as an important chapter in modern religious history.

Although he had received warnings of failing strength, Dr. Schaff gladly accepted the call to participate in the Parliament of Religions at Chicago, in 1893. At one of its sessions he said: "I was warned by physicians and friends not to come to Chicago. They said it might kill me. But I was determined to bear my last testimony to the cause of Christian union in which I have been interested all my life. And if I die, I want to die in the Parliament of Religions. The idea of this parliament will survive all criticism. The critics will die, but the cause will remain." "Dr. Schaff's address," writes the biographer, "was set

for September 25. He arrived in Chicago in high spirits and seemed as eager as any young man to see everything that was to be seen at the exposition, the neighboring grounds of the new Chicago University, and the parliament itself." There is given a résumé of his paper on "The Reunion of Christendom," declared by Dr. Henry H. Jessup, of Beirut, to be "apostolic, one of the most Christ-like utterances in all church history." In less than one month thereafter he had passed away.

Dr. Schaff was preëminently an optimistic, catholic Christian scholar. Harnack said that it is impossible to think of him as a church historian without thinking of him as a Christian. Said a friend to him some months before his death: "What, Dr. Schaff, is your attitude to the question of eternity in view of all the discussions of the last few years?" He replied: "My only hope is in the mercy of God. My trust is in Christ, my Savior, who died to save sinners." The late Dr. Bright, of the *Examiner*, declared that "Philip Schaff did more than any other man to promote Christian unity."

One lays down *The Life of Philip Schaff* with a sense of having had great enjoyment and of having received great advantage from its pages. It keeps us in the company of admirable men, it engages us with lofty themes, and its sketches of men and of travel are full of life and color. It is not only a book for the scholar and the student of church history and theology, it is also a book of noble biography, a book for the student of the times, the lover of travels, and the general reader.

NATHANIEL BUTLER.

COLBY UNIVERSITY.

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THE ANCIENT FAITH IN MODERN LIGHT, a Series of Essays. By T. VINCENT TYMMS, EDWARD MEDLEY, ALFRED CAVE, SAMUEL C. GREEN, R. VAUGHAN PRICE, SAMUEL NEWTH, JOSEPH PARKER, WILLIAM BROCK, J. GUINNESS ROGERS, and the late HENRY ROBERT REYNOLDS. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1897; New York: Imported by Chas. Scribner's Sons. Pp. xxviii + 416. Cloth, \$4.50.

THIS volume of essays by members of a "society of ministers," all, as we believe, either Congregationalists or Baptists, may be briefly described as a conservative review of doctrines under special question at the present day. The field of such discussion is so largely left to radicals that it is refreshing to find the conservatives inclined, now and then, to be heard. The writers whose work lies before us cannot be styled unprogressive, nor in any special sense—and certainly not

in any derogatory sense—can they be called dogmatic. In fact, they may at times be criticised for lack of the dogmatic element, as in the essay on our Lord's redemptive work. But they are "orthodox;" that is, they are not in the field for the purpose of destruction, and they manifest a sympathy for the doctrinal work of the church throughout the centuries, and general agreement with its results. They are possessed of considerable scholarship—a thing which the radicals are sometimes apparently inclined to think their own distinctive attribute. A large degree of maturity of thought is also displayed, lending beauty and finish to the style.

Some of the essays need little attention by the reviewer. Those on "The New Testament Witness concerning Christian Churches" and "The New Citizenship" pertain to questions in dispute between the Church of England and Nonconformists, which in America we may happily regard as settled. The right of Congregationalism as a legitimate form of church organization is well argued, and the broad view taken that there are possible and permissible varieties of church polity. "Christianity and the Child," "The Pulpit and the Press," represent the department of practical theology, and are stimulating and good. The remaining essays pertain to Christian thought, and have equal interest for English and American readers. The first essay is upon "Christian Theism." It rests upon a solid basis of Old Testament theology, which finds the original religion of Israel monotheistic, and not "henotheistic." The writer adjusts himself to biblical criticism and shows a disposition to give it a place, while not remodeling his theology too hastily in consequence of extravagant claims in its behalf, thus defending the right of the systematic theologian to time and to verification before he puts new elements into his system. The most interesting portion of the essay is that which discusses "the most serious objection which theists have ever had to face," "that which affirms that the existence of a sole eternal person is inconceivable." We are here brought into connection with Dr. Martineau, who, as a Unitarian, could find no help in the trinitarian idea of "society" within the god-head, rendering consciousness, and so personality, eternally possible. He posited, therefore, eternal matter, and, finding even this defective as a basis for the "intellectual and dynamic action of the supreme subject," went on to suppose created intelligences, for only "the conscious *ego* of intellectual existence which finally sets up *another person*" can give full security against pantheism, and afford us a sufficient ground for sound theism. The essayist does not fail

to point out how Dr. Martineau has thus first shown the impossibility of the Unitarian theory of the nature of God, and then how necessary is some eternal and uncreated "other-than-self" within God to account, on Dr. Martineau's own principles, for the creation which he demands. Christian theism, therefore, includes, to Dr. Tymms, the doctrine of the trinity.

The essay by Professor Medley on "The Permanent Significance of the Bible" finds that significance in its literary, historical, moral, and spiritual value. The moral value of the Bible is found in the culmination of its ethical teaching in Jesus Christ, before whom Israel had been passing through a process of gradual moral enlightenment, traces of which are to be found in the relative imperfection of some of its moral ideals. In this final revelation of Christ is also found the supreme spiritual value of the Bible, enabling it to minister effectively to the spiritual in man. It is the means actually of setting up a personal relation between men and Christ.

Principal Cave discusses "The Bible View of Sin." Sin is preliminarily defined as "transgression of the divine law by a moral agent;" but this definition does not confine the whole meaning of sin to its individual expression. There is a doctrine of a fall, and of the consequences of the fall, both racial and personal.

The essay by Dr. Green on "The Deity and Humanity of Christ" presents the "kenosis" as the means of explaining the union of the divine and human in Christ. It is quite remarkable and suggestive that Dr. Green presents it, not as a theory, but as a fact, and not even then as a fact to be theorized about, as a kenosis of "immanent" or "transient" attributes, or "consciousness," and what not. Dörner's theory of progressive incarnation is termed a theory upon matters beyond our reach. The incarnation was "conditioned by sin, and culminated in sacrifice."

Thus we are introduced to the last essay we need note, Principal Price's on "The Redemptive Work of Christ." As already intimated, this essay fails somewhat in the dogmatic element. But it vindicates generously and fairly a vicarious sacrifice, consisting in the death of Christ. It fails to bring to the definition of such words as "propitiation" a broad view of the biblical teaching, and hence fails to get the real meaning, while correctly rejecting false ideas, of divine placation. The suggestion made as to the operation of the atonement is almost wholly that of a "mystical union" with Christ, which will leave the subject in the realm of the dim and unintelligible for most readers.

The book is thus suggestive of many new points of view, helpful for the present, and strong in its loyalty to the Christian past; while by no means literal or minute in its adherence to confessional orthodoxy.

FRANK HUGH FOSTER.

OAKLAND, CAL.

**LATER GLEANINGS.** A New Series of Gleanings of Past Years. Theological and Ecclesiastical. By THE RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE. New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1897. Pp. iv+426. Cloth, \$1.25.

THIS is the eighth volume of Mr. Gladstone's *Gleanings of Past Years*. Its second title, "Theological and Ecclesiastical," indicates the nature of the contents. The other volumes contain political, personal, literary, historical, speculative, foreign, ecclesiastical, and miscellaneous articles, giving some idea of the broad interests and varied studies of the author. The classics and science have to be added to embrace the entire range of his investigations. The articles in the *Gleanings* heretofore published are selected from different journals to which they were contributed during the years 1848-79; the thirteen in the volume before us bear dates from 1885 to 1896. Among them are the following: "Dawn of Creation and of Worship;" "Proem to Genesis;" "Robert Elsmere: The Battle of Belief;" "Ingersoll on Christianity;" "Professor Huxley and the Swine-Miracle."

It is not necessary to describe the well-known characteristics of Mr. Gladstone's writings as illustrated in these essays. The last, "Soliloquium and Postscript," is on the rejection of the validity of Anglican orders by Leo XIII. It was sent to the archbishop of York, by whom it was given to the London press. It is dated May, 1896, and, as it contains some of the most significant of the venerable author's recent utterances, a part of its contents is here summarized.

The rejection of the validity of Anglican orders by the pope can have no practical effect on the Church of England. "For the clergy of the Anglican communions, numbering between 30,000 and 40,000, and for their flocks, the whole subject is one of settled solidity." But the official rejection of the validity widens the breach between Rome and Anglican Christianity. This the author deeply regrets. "He is not one of those who look for an early restitution of such a Christian unity as that which marked the earlier history of the church. Yet he

even cherishes the belief that work may be done in that direction, which, if not majestic or imposing, may, nevertheless, be legitimate and solid, and this by the least as well as the greatest." The unity of Christendom is required in order to fight the fight of faith. "The one controversy which, according to my deep conviction, overshadows and in the last resort absorbs all others is the controversy between faith and unbelief. . . . The age has been what may be rudely termed an Armageddon age; not, indeed, exhibiting the stages of the great battle between faith and unfaith, but the marshaling on either side of the forces with a view to some decisive encounter. On the one hand, immense additions have been made to secular and scientific knowledge; the whole of which ought, of course, to be claimed as effectually auxiliary to the grand truths of all, the truth of Christ." To the question where the reasons for alarm in behalf of religion lie, he answers: "Partly in imperfect or perverted ideas among religionists themselves as to the proper effects of science and research; secondly, they lie in a less suspected, but far more dangerous, quarter. The enormous increase in the material comforts and conveniences of common life, and a proportionate multiplication of human desires and appetites, have cast a heavy weight in the scale, in which things seen and temporal are weighed against things unseen and eternal." In traditional and hereditary religion he sees "a large and palpable decay."

The Christian unity required to meet these conditions has been promoted in different ways. What attitude has the pope taken respecting them? "In all the bulls, briefs, encyclicals, and other multifarious products of papal thought during the bygone generation, I have never noticed one kindly syllable of appreciation of these approximations. Glorification of the Roman see and its prerogatives, touching complaints of the blindness and deadness of mankind to its attractions, assurances of the gushing tenderness with which each successive pontiff yearns for the day when we are to prostrate ourselves at his feet—all these, of course, untainted by the smallest admission of any error or shortcoming on the side of Rome itself—we have had in abundance; but of appreciation, which need not be the less kindly because justly guarded, of this I have never seen a word."

The essays well deserve the permanent form in which they are now published. They are learned, but not dry; the theology in them is subordinated to the great interests of the Christian life. The reader is struck by the author's frankness, his kindly disposition, his profound



reverence, and his earnest desire for the promotion of the truth and human welfare.

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ESSAI D'UNE INTRODUCTION À LA DOGMATIQUE PROTESTANTE. Par P. LOBSTEIN, Professeur à la Faculté de Théologie de Strasbourg. Paris: Librairie Fischbacher, 1896. Pp. 243.

THIS volume of 250 pages from the pen of Professor Lobstein is an eloquent introduction to Protestant dogmatics, as understood and defined by a pronounced Ritschlian. A clearer or better statement of the principles asserted by the Ritschlian school of theology, which has many adherents in Germany and probably not a few in America, we have never met.

In his first chapter Professor Lobstein investigates the traditional sense of the word "dogma" by means of philological, psychological, and historical analysis, and reaches the conclusion that it signifies a belief, defined and formulated officially by competent authority. That authority has been the church, marching hand in hand with the state. History does not authorize us to call every scientific expression of faith a dogma. This term must be reserved for a formula which has acquired legal force in the church and which shares the authority of the church.

In his second chapter Professor Lobstein shows that this traditional sense of the word dogma is absolutely contradictory to the religious principle of Protestantism. Yet he urges the practical necessity of a dogmatic expression of the Protestant faith, and argues that the term may be fitly applied to a scientific statement of the belief of the Protestant church at any given time. It cannot, however, be applied to the creed of an isolated teacher or of a mere school of religious thinkers. For the beliefs of individual teachers or special schools are too capricious, and have too little influence, to merit such a designation.

In his third chapter Professor Lobstein discusses the actual task of Protestant dogmatics. This task, according to the religious principle of the Reformation, consists in a systematic exposition of the faith, of which the gospel is both the foundation and the object. He also examines the points of contact between Protestant dogmatics and Christian faith, and explains the scientific independence and the practical end of Protestant dogmatics, showing how this science contributes to the edification of the church, not by imposing a creed which

rests on external and legal authority, but by expressing scientifically the religious content of the Christian consciousness.

In his fourth chapter Professor Lobstein investigates the source of Protestant dogmatics. This source is commonly supposed to be evangelical faith. Thus in his *Schriftbeweis* Hofman says: "I, the Christian, am the object of study to myself, the theologian." But something more than this is needful. "Suppose an individual having a spiritual nature raised to its highest power, with a consciousness the most delicate and true, having in his soul the richest and most various religious and moral treasures, still you would always feel that he is infinitely below the Christian ideal. No one save the only Son has realized and manifested, in his life and in his death, the perfect moral and religious experience, of which his noblest disciples have caught but glimpses and reproduced but the faintest likeness." Besides, one cannot know how far his consciousness is veritably Christian, without having a criterion independent of his mental states, a type with which he can compare himself, an obligation from which he cannot set himself free.

What, then, is the source from which the faith of a Protestant Christian springs? It is the gospel, the revelation of the grace of God in Jesus Christ, which by its redemptive and sanctifying power inspires confidence in the eternal mercy, with assurance of pardon and sonship by adoption. This is the unique object, the sovereign and permanent principle of Christian faith. The source of dogmatics is the gospel laid hold of by the mysterious power of faith. Experiences, then, are not states of the soul independent of an objective factor which determines them, nor is Christian consciousness an abstract form deprived of all positive content; far from it! Nothing has a right to this beautiful name, except in so far as it draws its nutriment and substance from the fertile soil of evangelical revelation.

In the fifth chapter Professor Lobstein proposes to define the norm of Protestant dogmatics. It is not, he says, the legal authority of confessions of faith. This is the Romanist view, rejected by Protestant orthodoxy. Nor is it the legal authority of Holy Scripture, as traditional orthodoxy affirms. For the doctrine of literal inspiration has been generally and justly abandoned. And with it must be surrendered the doctrinal inerrancy of the Scriptures. Hence, to establish a dogma one must do more than allege a text of Scripture, or even a great number of *dicta probantia*; one must show that it is the authentic translation of the religious experience of Jesus and that its substance is drawn from the gospel, as realized and proclaimed by the Christian community.

In order to do this we must bear in mind that Jews and Greeks borrowed from their intellectual culture or their theological tradition auxiliary theses and corollaries for the explanation of their Christian faith. We must, therefore, beware of exalting the metaphysical formulas, scattered through the New Testament, as well as of trusting implicitly the exegesis of the apostles. For it is illogical to dismiss the hermeneutics of Paul, of Matthew, or of the epistle to the Hebrews, and at the same time retain the speculative formulas of the fourth gospel.

The position of Professor Lobstein in respect to the New Testament does not differ materially from that of Harnack. It may be inferred from the following extracts: "What is the notion of the pre-existence of the Son of God, if not the translation, in the language of the time, of the religious value of the personality of Christ, the eternally predestined organ of the divine will, the perfect revealer of an inviolable holiness and an infinite love, and the founder of the kingdom which the Father has prepared for his chosen from the foundation of the world? (Matt. 25: 34.) What is the notion of the miraculous birth of Jesus, if not the popular and symbolical expression of a truth of Christian experience, namely, that the divine life, incarnated in Christ and communicated by him, came from a divine source, . . . that the Son of God was very really a new creation, the chief of a humanity 'which is rooted in heaven,' the second Adam born of God and living in God? And what is faith in his resurrection, if not the victorious and immovable assurance that the Lord is living, that the death of the crucified One was not the last word of his saving mission, but rather the starting point and indispensable condition of an imperishable work, that the spirit of holiness, an essential factor of the terrestrial personality of Jesus, has unfolded itself perfectly in the glorified Lord, so that his action is no longer subject to the conditions of time and space, but he is now more nearly present to his own than he was during the days of his earthly and historic ministry?"

The bearing of all this upon the obvious teaching of Scripture is too evident to require comment. Under such treatment many a doctrine of the Lutheran church and of all evangelical churches would disappear; that is, if we understand the purport of Professor Lobstein's language in these extracts from the sixth chapter of his treatise.

In the same chapter he also explains the connection between dogmatics and philosophy, affirming and limiting the anatomy of each over against the other. Yet he admits that indifference to philosophy is impossible to a Protestant dogmatician. For a dogmatic system can-

not be constructed which does not rest on some theory of knowledge. And the best theory yet propounded is that contained in the philosophical writings of Kant; especially in his distinction between pure and practical reason. Religious knowledge belongs exclusively to the domain of practical reason. It is valuable to us, not because it gives us correct ideas of God, but because it gives us ideas better fitted to do us good than, perhaps, the very truth itself, which transcends our capacity.

All the ordinary arguments for the being of God are, therefore, rejected. Only by faith in Christ can one have valid reason to believe in God. What, then, must be said of men living before the time of Christ, or, indeed, since his time in pagan lands? We prefer the doctrine of the psalmist that the heavens declare the glory of God, and of the apostle that his eternal power and divine nature are to be seen in the things that have been made. The fullest and clearest revelation of God may be found, no doubt, in Jesus Christ, but to assume that the only revelation has been made in him is inconsistent with the religious history of mankind, as well as with the words of Jesus concerning God's relation to nature. The flowers of the field and the birds of heaven had lessons for him of the Father's care; why not for us?

Our criticism of the Ritschlian view of Protestant dogmatics, as luminously expounded in this volume, may be summarized as follows: First, the sources of Christian truth are too restricted. More account should be taken of the self-revelation of God to those who lived before the coming of Christ. Secondly, speculative philosophy is depreciated, yet the whole scheme of dogmatics is made to rest upon philosophy. Thirdly, the Ritschlian party in the Lutheran church seems to be conceived of as embracing the whole Protestant church. Fourthly, the gospel records are treated with less respect than they deserve.

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**DIE CHRISTLICHE LEHRE VON DER SÜNDE.** Eine Untersuchung zur systematischen Theologie. Von LIC. DR. CARL CLEMEN, Privatdozent an der Universität Halle-Wittenberg. Erster Teil. *Die biblische Lehre.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1897. Pp. vi + 272. M. 6.

THE author undertakes the treatment of the subject of the Christian doctrine of sin not without a clear conception of the difficulty of the

task. The impression has been growing that in the highly specialized state of theological science such a subject can only be adequately treated in parts by specialists in biblical theology, history of doctrine, and dogmatic theology. Clemen concedes that there is much to be said in favor of such a piecemeal treatment, but thinks that there are counterbalancing advantages in the handling of it by one investigator. He enters the field as a legitimate follower, if not a disciple, of Julius Müller. Since the publication, however, of Julius Müller's classic and immortal work on the subject there has been a considerable change, not to say progress, in theological thought. Views of Christian doctrine, taken synthetically, have been dissolved into their component parts. First of all the distinction has been recognized between the biblical basis of doctrine and the ecclesiastical superstructure. Next within the biblical section thus constituted another distinction has been recognized between the Old Testament and the New Testament stages of its development—a distinction which corresponds in general with that between the preliminary or germinal stages of a development and the fully matured forms of it. Still further within each of these general biblical stages there has come to be recognized a distinction between the successive periods of history and the individual leaders of thought. This analytic method it is Clemen's intention to apply in the reconstruction of the Christian doctrine of sin. The volume before us represents the results of his labors in the biblical branch of his subject. In a subsequent volume he designs to do for the ecclesiastical branch what he has done here for the biblical. As far as the biblical doctrine is concerned, the author vindicates the reality of a connected view of sin in the Bible, which warrants the use of the word in the singular number. Furthermore, he believes in the limitation of the investigation to the canonical Scriptures. Whatever our views of the inspiration of the Bible may be, he insists that there is a sharp distinction between the canon and extra-canonical writings. He does not, indeed, dispense with extra-canonical literature as far as it may bear upon and illumine the subject under consideration, but he does not make the investigation of this literature an end in itself. It is simply auxiliary and subordinate. As a matter of fact, he makes a very much larger use of the extra-biblical literature than it is customary in the study of the contents of the Scriptures. In dealing with the Old Testament portion of his subject he adopts the prevailing critical theory of the origin and composition of the Old Testament books. In the New Testament he claims his right as a specialist to independence, but is in accord in general

with the conservative and evangelical criticism. His results are given under the three subdivisions of (1) "The Essence of Sin," (2) "The Origin of Sin," and (3) "The Consequences of Sin." Under the first of these divisions he finds that the ideas of innate and inherited sin are not as prominent in the biblical presentation as they have been commonly made in dogmatics. Further, that the idea of the counter-action of sin (presumably apart from divine grace) has been denied too often without any qualification, and needs to be given a place in the foreground in a true view of the subject. Finally, under the division of the origin of sin the author claims that in the Old Testament the ultimate cause of sin is represented as God himself, and that sin is somehow intimately associated with the flesh. Whatever appears fragmentary and disjointed the author promises to articulate together and clear up in the second portion of the work.

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AFTER PENTECOST, WHAT? A Discussion of the Doctrine of the Holy Spirit in its Relation to Modern Christological Thought. By JAMES M. CAMPBELL, Author of *Unto the Uttermost*, and *The Indwelling Christ*. New York, Toronto, Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1897. Pp. 298. \$1.

IF to any of us the question which serves as the title of this valuable work seems somewhat questionable, and less fitted for its purpose than would have been something more explicit and less in need of explanation, we will remember that tastes differ and that no one may speak ill of a man because not quite pleased with his name. In calling his work "a discussion of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit," the author must not be understood as about to serve to his readers indigestible courses of metaphysics. This "discussion" is throughout eminently practical, stimulating, edifying. It has in it the breath of life and the power of downright conviction. It shows careful, reverent, devout study of Holy Scripture, whose authority seems to be accepted as adequate and final. It is also characterized by comprehensiveness of view and exposition, as appears from the subjects of its sixteen chapters. They treat successively of the Spirit in relation to Pentecost, Christ, God, worship, apprehension of truth, influx of life, character, holiness, authority, distribution of gifts, modes of operation, impartation of power, production of works, the formation of society, religious enterprise, God's kingdom. The author does not seem to have a

hobby, to have written the book to advocate some peculiar view of his own in order to set the rest of the world right. We do, indeed, fall upon a passage now and then which seems to be open to question. In insisting that Christ by his Spirit is specially with his people since the day of Pentecost he is certainly right, but in making this presence the promised *parousia* (p. 18) he is as certainly unscriptural. Every use of the word in the New Testament is against his view. In laying such emphasis on the abiding presence and work of the Spirit in men of all times as to say: "The Bible might be destroyed [by 'destructive criticism'], but the incorruptible seed of the word within it would live on in human hearts," etc. (p. 74), he is at least liable to mislead, as he is in making the prophets of this day coördinate with the prophets of the Bible. His explanation of successful prayer for the conversion of men as being examples of "telepathy" (pp. 162, 163) will not command universal assent as yet. But it is ungracious to call attention to such points when the work as a whole is so rich in manifold truth. The style of the book is good—clear, simple, epigrammatic, and anti-thetic, at times unduly so, but on the whole admirable. It is a valuable addition to the literature of the subject.

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THE PROVIDENTIAL ORDER OF THE WORLD. "The Gifford Lectures," 1896-97. By ALEXANDER BALMAIN BRUCE, D.D., Professor of Apologetics and New Testament Exegesis in the Free Church College, Glasgow. New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1897. Pp. 346, 8vo. \$2.

THE principal aim of the author is twofold: to justify the theistic conception of the world, and to vindicate a providential order in the evolution of nature and history. Waiving traditional arguments for the existence of God, Dr. Bruce, agreeably to the "requirement" of Lord Gifford's lectureship, adheres in pursuing his purpose to strengthen belief in a divine order of the world to the "scientific method." That requirement, however, does not mean "that one must prove the being of God as you prove a proposition in Euclid;" and he adds categorically: "The thing cannot be done, and, if it could, it would not be worth doing" (p. 4). What is to be said "about God is to rest on observation of the world we live in, of nature, of man, of human history." "Through man to God must be the line of proof for us" (p. 9). Or, as expressed elsewhere: "Man, the crown of creation, the key to

its meaning and to the nature of the Creator, is the basis of our whole inquiry" (p. 323). The authority of Scripture is distinguished from the witness of Scripture; the former being by the scientific method excluded, but not the latter. The author, however, affirms that "the authority which rests on the power of the teaching of Christ," contrasted with "the religious literature of mankind, is after all that which carries most weight."

Of the providential order of the world Dr. Bruce does not attempt a formal definition. The general theme embraces thoughts such as these: God cares for men; he sustains such a relation to man as makes that care natural and credible; his care covers all human interests, especially ethical interests; he overcomes evil with good, ruling over all things with a view to a kingdom of the good (p. 6).

Assuming the validity of the evolutionary theory, the argument begins with man's place in the universe, and is described "in accordance with the ascertained results, or even the precarious hypotheses, of recent evolutionary science." Both the Bible and science set man at the head of creation, as the "crowning result of the process by which the known world came to be" (p. 15).

Whether man as to his intellectual and moral being, no less than as to the body, is the product of evolution is for science not a settled question. Nevertheless, in the interest of theism, the author is inclined to the idea that man is out and out the child of evolution. But "it is vital that we conceive of God as immanent in the world, and unceasingly active throughout the whole history of its genesis, the ultimate cause of all that happens" (p. 24). If God be immanent, then he is in the evolution of intellect and conscience as truly as in the development of man's physical nature, and the "ultimate cause" of every new epoch in human history (p. 41). Evolution thus becomes God's "method of communicating to man the light of reason and the sense of duty" (p. 41). The same thought is more fully taught in the closing chapter: "There is an Ultimate Cause at work within the evolutionary process, who has an aim in view, and who directs the process so that that aim shall be realized. The aim is man, and all that goes before has its reason of existence in him and its value through him" (p. 323).

Dr. Bruce concedes that for long ages "the genus *Homo*," "by reason of mental imbecility," may have been "unable to speak," and, as specialists tell us, "it took thousands of years" to say "I" and "thou," yet he maintains that there is "a great gulf separating man, even



at the lowest point of civilization, from the most intelligent animals" (pp. 60, 147).

From the place that man, a moral being, holds as the crown of the natural world, "theistic inferences" are drawn (III). Dismissing the method of thought that sees the action of God only at noteworthy epochs, Dr. Bruce holds that we may argue from the scope and issue of the *whole* that evolution has its ground in a Being whose nature accounts for all that comes to pass. But immanent action does not exclude nor supersede his transcendence. God is active on the world no less than active in it throughout its whole history, a truth to which we have an analogy in the relation which we ourselves bear to our own bodies (p. 53).

Three principles have a wide range of application in providential action—election, solidarity, sacrifice—to each of which a final lecture is devoted, constituting the strongest and most suggestive portion of the book. Of the rich lecture on election the history of Israel, chosen for service, furnishes the type of reasoning. Solidarity presents itself under two forms, *family* and *social* solidarity, to which *personal* solidarity, identity with past self due to habit, may be added (p. 285). As to sacrifice, the vicarious suffering of the few for the many, of which the cross of Christ is the eternal symbol, is the universal law. God, being immanent, is more than a spectator of self-sacrifice; he is in it, a fellow-sufferer, a burden-bearer for his own children (p. 333). Solidarity is the fundamental fact, demanding election as its complement, and imposing sacrifice on the elect (p. 335).

Dr. Bruce recognizes the Christian idea of sin; but on the relation of sin to the history of man, or its function, if any, in the process of universal evolution, the book is silent. Is this profound disorganizing force in humanity an element of the normal order, referable to "the ultimate cause of all that happens"?

The question may be put whether, judging by the scientific method, man, as we now know his constitution, is in truth "the crown of creation"? Is the Second Man, in whom "was realized the moral and religious idea" (p. 223), who "was a Hebrew, a Greek, and a Roman all in one" (p. 276), the product, or the ultimate product, of evolution? Does the scientific method, purely applied, uninfluenced by Christianity, require or allow speculation to pause either with man or with Jesus Christ?

The entire argument is conclusive for those who believe in divine providence; but would it be for a Confucius or a Haeckel? Christian

thought may legitimately ask whether the scientific method yields such results as Dr. Bruce correctly affirms to be valid? The considerate reader cannot but feel that at all points his *Christian idea* of God, of man, and history is the background of the argument, the regulative force of the manner in which the reasoning by the evolutionary method in support of the divine order of the world proceeds.

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THE GREAT POETS AND THEIR THEOLOGY. By AUGUSTUS HOPKINS STRONG, D.D., LL.D. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society. Pp. xvii + 531. Cloth, \$2.50.

THE poets selected are Homer, Virgil, Dante, Shakespeare, Milton, Goethe, Wordsworth, Browning, and Tennyson. The author says that there may be question which names deserve to be counted among the great poets, but that there will be no dissent from the opinion that the study of all those he has chosen is of the greatest advantage to theologians and preachers. He hopes that old truths may gain new interest and brightness from the unfamiliar setting of theological beliefs. Browning is especially commended to preachers: "He who would serve men's highest interests as secular or religious teacher will find more of suggestion, more of illustration, more of stimulus in Browning than in any modern writer." To lead preachers to the study of the poets is a great service, for the best literature is as important to them as exegesis, theology, or philosophy. The object of the essays, then, is to indicate the religious spirit and beliefs of the poets. The author does not confine himself closely to this purpose, but describes the life of his poets, discusses the nature of poetry, defines the poet as a creator, an idealizer, and a literary artist, and then, in each case, considers the religious views of the poems. The title of the book, however, is not "The Theology of the Great Poets," but "The Great Poets and their Theology." Doubtless a comprehensive view is necessary to the recognition of any single characteristic. Some of the essays read as though they were originally lectures to popular audiences, and, therefore, treated the whole subject, making special reference at the end to the theology of each poet. The book is, in fact, an introduction rather than an interpretation. It is designed to awaken interest in the best poetry and to guide in the selection of that which is finest. Those who are already familiar with the poets will be disappointed if

they expect profound and critical interpretation. The author, indeed, says that he is well aware that he does "business on small capital and that most of the capital is borrowed," that he only hopes to repay what has been lent him, with the addition of some moderate interest.

With this aim, the work is very well done. The characteristics of each poet are clearly indicated, the best poems and plays are referred to and quoted, tendencies and limitations are pointed out, and the relation of the poets to their times is clearly shown. Only a few comments on the several essays can be made in a brief notice.

Half the essay on Homer is occupied with the question of authorship, and is a formidable beginning of poetic studies. The conclusion is that the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are the work of one author, who was the real Homer. It seems as though the object of the discussion is to vindicate the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, an unwarranted application of the argument in view of the comparatively homogeneous structure of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* and of the composite structure of the Pentateuch, besides being totally foreign to the subject in hand. In another essay the difference of style of the earlier and of the later writings of Milton and of George William Curtis is made a conclusive proof of the single authorship of the book of Isaiah. Such discussions are too wide a digression, and harm the cause they were meant to promote.

The greatness of Goethe is admitted with reluctance. Dr. Strong thinks the world, and especially Germany, would have been better off if Goethe had never written. "To bring a whole nation, and to some extent the whole world, into the toils and under the bonds of a pantheistic philosophy that knows no personal God, no freedom of will, no real responsibility for sin, no way of pardon and renewal, no certain hope of immortal life, is to be the agent of a moral and spiritual enslavement worse by far than any enslavement that is merely physical or political, because it is enslavement of the soul to falsehood and wickedness, and sure in due time to bring physical and political enslavement in its train. . . . Tennyson is not too severe when he intimates that this abuse of intellectual power and this self-exaltation above truth and duty are signs, not of human, but of diabolic greatness. It is Goethe whom he calls 'A glorious devil, large in heart and brain, that did love Beauty only, or, if Good, Good only for its beauty.'" But *Faust* is admirable and could not well be spared, yet it is by *Faust* chiefly that Goethe is known. Dr. Strong says that *Faust* is great—one of the greatest poems of the world—"because the first part

embodies sublime truths of human freedom, sin, guilt, retribution from which Goethe in his earlier life had not yet falsely emancipated himself."

The estimate of Milton is, on the whole, just and sympathetic. His theology is approved in part, in respect to the infallibility of the Bible, anthropology, and soteriology. Dr. Strong entertains, with obvious delight, the opinion that Milton was, in principle, a Baptist, although he was not actually immersed. Other beliefs are disapproved: Arianism, traducianism, and Arminianism. The readers of *Paradise Lost* will be surprised to learn that Milton was a Unitarian. It is almost amusing to read what Dr. Strong thinks Milton should have believed concerning the divine decrees. Had he only held that the decrees respecting moral evil are permissive, not efficient, he would have been a sufficiently good Calvinist to satisfy Dr. Strong. Some apology is to be made, however, on the ground that in his earlier and more vigorous writings Milton speaks of Arminius as "perverted," and that his departure from Calvinism was a development of his later and feebler years. This terminology sounds strange in an analysis of Miltonic poetry. The beliefs of Browning and Tennyson are tested, not by the Catholic faith of the ages, but by a particular variety of Calvinistic theology. This is the chief fault in the avowed aim of the book. While, in the main, the great religious beliefs of the poets are suitably characterized, yet occasionally the measurements of a technical theology, not universally held by Christians, are applied. Shakespeare is made to say that man is guilty for hereditary as well as for personal sin. "The imposition cleared hereditary ours" is interpreted thus: in boyhood Polixenes and Leontes could have answered heaven boldly, "not guilty, provided our hereditary connection with Adam had not made us guilty," whereas the probable meaning is that hereditary imposition had been cleared and was not imputed to them. Because the truest penitence is imperfect, and because we are saved by Him whose "blessed feet were nailed for our advantage on the bitter cross," Shakespeare is believed to have held the Anselmic doctrine of atonement as paying man's debt to the divine justice. In fact, Shakespeare is the only poet on the list who is a soundly orthodox theologian!

Browning is right in some respects, but he severed faith from knowledge, found the origin of evil in God, made evil the necessary means of good, and was a Universalist. Tennyson was too much of an evolutionist, although he escaped materialism, was somewhat agnostic,

was a Universalist, and sundered faith from knowledge. There is commendation for the early optimism of Tennyson and the unabated optimism of Browning, for the belief of both in the love of God, in the incarnation of the divine Christ, and in immortality, but Shakespeare surpassed them both, for he was neither evolutionist nor restorationist, and was a firm believer in the penal sufferings of Christ for the satisfaction of the justice of God. Milton, Tennyson, and Browning could not have obtained ordination from an orthodox ecclesiastical council, but Shakespeare would have been approved, so far as his theology was concerned. I do not mean that Dr. Strong has instituted these comparisons in precisely these terms, but that his estimate of doctrinal tenets is made according to the measure of Calvinistic theology more than by the truth of spiritual religion, and that the theology which he considers unsound would not be so regarded in many branches of the Christian church. Neither would I leave the impression that the book is largely occupied with criticism of doctrinal opinions, for, as already stated, much of it does not touch religion at all, and even the inquiry concerning beliefs is, to a good degree, directed to the positive, inspiring, catholic faith of the poets. But it would have been better to rest there, without applying the nicer measures of a metaphysical system which is unintelligible to half or more of the Christian world, to the religious spirit of poetry. The book is readable throughout, and will doubtless lead many preachers and students into a new world of delight and inspiration.

GEORGE HARRIS.

ANDOVER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

CHRISTIAN ASPECTS OF LIFE. By BROOKE FOSS WESTCOTT, D.D., D.C.L., Bishop of Durham. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd.; New York: The Macmillan Co., 1897. Pp. x + 428. Cloth, \$2.

THIS volume is made up of discourses delivered by Bishop Westcott, between the years 1889 and 1897, in different places in England, and before audiences assembled for the consideration of questions pertaining to industry, education, or religion. One thought, however, constantly recurs in all these addresses; that thought is the essential solidarity of the race, and the duties that devolve on men on account of their corporate life.

The doctrines of the Reformation fully developed the conscious-

ness of our individual responsibility, and it remains for us at the present day to awaken the consciousness of men to the duties that they owe to the universal brotherhood to which they belong. The foundation of both individual and corporate duty was laid in the incarnation of men in Christ. In him all things are to be finally brought into unity. Paul declares that in Christ "all things were created," and in him "all things consist." All men are ideally in him. Men everywhere should be brought to realize this. To become fully conscious of it will bring at last the solution of all social problems. Here we have the law of divine progress, "first the union of the believer with God ; then the union of believers in God ; then the establishment of God's kingdom ; then the fellowship of the saints."

Since believers are in Christ, they should be one. But this union is "to be sought from within, and not from without. It is possible for an external unity to exist without any spiritual force." "The hymns which we use in our common worship are a continual witness to the reality of the communion of saints in the midst of our divisions." "In the last issue we, and all who know what human infirmity is, must pray, not that others may hold what we hold, but that in common we may together hold the truth in its fullness, and gladly lay aside whatever in our opinions, which we identify with it, is only of human origin."

But since the whole race is a brotherhood, and ideally is in Christ, we are under the most solemn obligation to preach the gospel to every creature. And since the English nation has by colonization planted itself in every portion of the globe, it is specially bound to herald the glad tidings to all peoples. Moreover, the oneness of the race makes sympathy the supreme element of power in the teacher ; while coöperation in manufacture and trade is only an incident in the broader coöperation of the entire race in all that pertains to individual and corporate welfare. It also follows from the unity of the peoples of the earth that all questions which divide nations should be settled by peaceful arbitration. Thus all social and national problems find their real and perfect solution in the incarnation of the race in Jesus Christ.

Such is the practical, central thought of these discourses. The style in which it is set forth and elaborated is of crystalline clearness. Some pages, however, are, perhaps, too condensed and abstract to be popular, but in many of these sentences we have the generalizations and gathered wisdom of one who for decades has been, on the one hand, a profound student of the Scriptures, and, on the other, of men

and society. The interpretations of various passages of Scripture found scattered over these pages are exceedingly suggestive and helpful, while the discussion of present, living problems is fully abreast with the best thinking of our day.

The author, however, regards the possible disestablishment of the Church of England as a dire calamity, which should be averted, because, in his conception, the national church is the established organ through which the English nation gives expression to its religious life. But it expresses that life just as freely and fully through its nonconformist bodies as through its established church. If there were no such church, its religious life would find the amplest expression through voluntary religious bodies, just as the religious life of the United States has inevitable and abundant expression through churches which have no organic connection with the state. But where there is so much which is of the highest excellence, it seems almost ungracious to indulge in adverse criticism; still we are constrained to add that the value of this volume would be greatly enhanced by a good index.

GALUSHA ANDERSON.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

THE LITURGY AND RITUAL OF THE ANTE-NICENE CHURCH. By F. E. WARREN, B.D., F.S.A. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1897. Pp. xvi + 343. 5s.

THE author has aimed to present in this volume all the original material bearing on his subject. An index of authors and documents, covering six pages, points out the sources in ante-Nicene literature whence all that is known concerning primitive usage in worship is derived. In the book itself all the relevant passages are put together in an orderly manner in correct translations, with judicious and edifying comments. In the Old and New Testaments there are traces of liturgical worship. The ritual allusions in the Old Testament are passed over rapidly, but those in the New are dwelt upon at length. Baptism, benediction, unction, Lord's supper, kiss of peace, laying on of hands, love feast, and washing of feet are among the topics discussed. Next to be considered are "the liturgy and ritual of the ante-Nicene church, so far as they can be gathered from the writings of the ante-Nicene fathers." After quoting at length passages of a general character describing Christian worship, ritual observances connected with absolution, baptism, confession, confirmation, exorcism,

saints' days, vestments, etc., are noticed in detail. Fifty pages are given to a discussion of "the connection between the liturgy and ritual of the Jewish and Christian churches." The information derived from the apostolic constitutions is thrown into an appendix, because, though much of this devotional material is no doubt ante-Nicene, the compilation itself "dates from the second half of the fourth century."

The treatise under review is of high value in several particulars: (1) It gives all the passages bearing on the subject found in the New Testament and in the ante-Nicene ecclesiastical writers. (2) It handles this material with great wealth of learning and in great candor of spirit. (3) It helps members of the English church to determine how far their prayerbook "retains or reflects primitive usage." (4) It helps members of non-liturgical churches to look at the whole question of liturgy and ritual in the light shed by Scripture and the practices of the second and third centuries.

ERI B. HULBERT.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

THE SCHOLAR AND THE STATE, and other Orations and Addresses.

By HENRY CODMAN POTTER, D.D., LL.D., Bishop of New York. New York: The Century Co., 1897. Pp. vii+335, 8vo. Cloth, \$2.

SEVENTEEN occasional addresses and papers make up the contents of this handsomely printed volume. A Harvard Phi Beta Kappa oration, "The Scholar and the State," furnishes an apt title for the entire book; for in the discussions of such closely allied themes as "The Scholar in American Life," "Scholarship and Service," "The Christian and the State," by which it is followed, the reader meets again and again the noble conception of the obligations of Christian scholarship, which is the distinguishing mark of the book, and which gives it a permanent value. Bishop Potter holds steadily in view the high ideal of a scholarship "which does not concern itself with merely material applications or seek for merely material reward," as against the tendencies of a practical age which measures the results of the student's time and labor by "what they have earned in money or can produce in dividends." It is not the chief function of a university to give a practical education, as a "utilitarian dispensation" so readily assumes. On the contrary, a university does not fulfill its purpose unless it offers opportunity and hospitality to original investigators. Its resources should enable it to endow research. "To create an adequate endow-



ment or foundation," says Bishop Potter, "then to place upon it the best man that can be commanded in all the land; and then, for a time at any rate, to let him alone, not to burden him with conventional tasks, nor to exact from him so much a month or a year, but to leave him conscious that he has a noble opportunity and that the eyes of his brother scholars are upon him to see how he improves it—this, I am rash enough to believe, will open the door to imperishable work and to imperishable honor." Bishop Potter's convictions as to the duty the university owes to investigation and research do not sound as "rash" today as when they were first published in the *Forum* nearly ten years ago. In this utterance he is not now a voice crying in the wilderness of unbelief. The universities are getting the endowments for which he asks. But there are many people still who believe in the "higher education," and wonder, nevertheless, what a university instructor who teaches but six hours in the week can possibly do with his spare time; and everyone who believes in the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake must wish that this plea might have a wide and attentive hearing from the American public.

But though scholarship must not be estimated solely by its practical results, it has its weighty responsibilities. Bishop Potter calls upon the educated men of the community to take the lead in the advocacy of "those sounder ideas of civic and social and moral order of which the greatest nations have yet so much to learn." The state has a just claim upon the larger learning and riper culture of the fortunate man to whom opportunities of intellectual discipline have been generously offered. Let the "men of light" be also the "men of leading."

In the enforcement of these truths the book is thoroughly American, in the best sense of that much abused word. No one can question the purity and the fervor of Bishop Potter's patriotism. He puts emphasis upon the moral value of American civilization, and the service our republican institutions have rendered to learning. One may venture, however, to doubt whether too large an inference is not drawn from the fact for which the history of Union College serves as illustration, that in the curriculum of our earliest educational institutions "polite learning" took precedence over physical sciences and practical arts. If the "founders" of a hundred years ago did not regard the restriction of the college course to languages, mathematics, and literature as "a stupid impertinence" in the face of the urgent bread-and-butter demands of their day, it was the result, more largely than Bishop Potter seemed to admit, of the traditional conception of what a col-

lege training should undertake. When the physical sciences came to something like man's estate and their educational value was recognized, they found their place as a matter of course in the curriculum.

It is the spirit of a genuine patriotism, too, which sounds through the plain, strong language regarding the abuses of the pension system and the vigorous defense of civil-service reform.

The style of these papers is altogether commendable. The themes treated do not always demand originality of thought. But even the inevitable commonplaces are made interesting. There is a sustained dignity of expression, but never frigidity; and the language, when its march is stateliest, is temperate and lucid.

CHICAGO, ILL.

A. K. PARKER.

THE GROWTH OF THE KINGDOM OF GOD. By SIDNEY L. GULICK, M.A. New York, Chicago, and Toronto: F. H. Revell Co., 1897. Pp. xv + 320. Cloth, \$1.50.

THE author is an American Congregational missionary in Japan. From "an address delivered to an audience of wide-awake Japanese young men" has grown this treatise. The thesis is: "The kingdom of God on earth is growing." It controverts the assertion so often made, not only by non-Christians, but even by Christians, that the religion of Christ is losing power. Outside the church men are fast bound in the spirit of this world, and even within the church the spirit of Christ is manifestly declining. A true view of the world shows plainly that it is growing worse and worse. Unless the reader of this book is wedded beyond reclaim to his pessimistic theory, he will rise from the perusal of its pages a converted man. If solid tables of statistics and uncontrovertible facts of history can carry conviction to a reasonable mind, then of four things Mr. Gulick's book gives abundant and convincing proof, viz.: "(1) The growing number of those who claim to believe the teachings of Jesus; (2) the increasing understanding of the contents of those teachings by those who claim to believe them; (3) the increasing obedience to the spirit taught by Christ; and (4) the increasing influence of those teachings and that spirit, even on those who make no claim to believe or follow them."

Christians who take a lugubrious view of the moral state of the church and the world, and infidels who join them in preaching a gospel of despair, will find abundant material for reflection in the statistical evidences of the growth of Christianity. But if these objectors waive

these statistics aside as indicating mere numerical increase, and as not touching the heart of the matter, then Mr. Gulick is prepared, in the second division of his subject, to show that the growth in the comprehension of Christianity is quite as remarkable as the growth in numbers. If objectors still insist that numbers count for little when we are judging of the advance or decadence of vital religion, and that even an increasing intellectual acquaintance with Christian truth is no certain sign of its growing power in the earth, then Mr. Gulick is ready, in his third division, to show, in a great variety of convincing ways, that Christians are not only knowing more, but that they are also living better, than ever before. Not only are their philosophy and theology better, their character and conduct are also better. There is a growing knowledge of the plan and purpose of Christ, and there is likewise a growing realization of his plan and purpose in consecrated, useful lives. The last refuge of objectors is removed when Mr. Gulick, in the fourth division, adds the growth in influence to the growth in numbers, in comprehension, and in practice. The influence of Christ's spirit and teaching on the unsaved world is increasingly profound and far-reaching. Doubting and desponding saints would do well to revive their drooping spirits by a thoughtful reading of these suggestive pages.

ERI B. HULBERT.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

RELIGION FOR TODAY. By MINOT J. SAVAGE. Boston: G. H. Ellis, 1897. Pp. 250. Cloth, \$1.

THE characteristics of Dr. Savage's thought and style are already so familiar that it would be superfluous to describe them at length. Utterly fearless in thought and frank in utterance, he is one of the important forces that are now shaping popular religious thought in America. We cannot help respecting a man who gives us clearly and unequivocally his entire thought upon any religious topic, whether it win our acceptance or not. Dr. Savage keeps nothing back, and never for a single instance is his meaning in doubt. Perhaps it is in this very definiteness and sharp-edgedness that both the strength and the weakness of his thought are to be found. Many evangelical believers would object stoutly to his statements of their belief, and undoubtedly, in many instances, the exception would be well taken. Certainly a belief that after the crucifixion Christ suffered in hell all the pangs that

those who were to be saved would have suffered through all eternity (p. 19) has formed no part of authorized Romish or Protestant belief. Neither does it seem quite accurate to say that in early Christian belief the dead went down into the under-world, there to remain till the day of resurrection. Paul, at any rate, believed that to be absent from the body was to be present with the Lord, who certainly was in the heavens and not under the earth. In other and more important respects also Dr. Savage does not describe accurately the present belief of most evangelica churches, but he has a valid excuse. In the last political campaign the silver men found an effective answer to Republican orators in the statements of the Republican platform, for why should an attempt be made to secure international bimetallism unless there were a grievance to be remedied? Similarly, Dr. Savage quotes the unrepealed confessions of the church as authority for present belief and urges that, if these things are no longer believed, they should be promptly removed from the solemn and official declarations of faith. The unrescinded but unbelieved creeds of Christendom give critics like Dr. Savage a precious coigne of vantage. Yet may not his own belief give a partial answer to his criticisms? To his mind the old theology and the new lie over against each other, like products of specific creation with an out-and-out definiteness, but the doctrine of evolution of which Dr. Savage was one of the earliest, as he has always been one of the most prominent, clerical defenders leads us to expect imperceptible gradations and slowly accumulating variations. Popularly, at any rate, the change from old thought to new is always slow and cumulative, and the doctrine of special creation is as exceptionable in theology as in science.

The creative germ of Dr. Savage's thought is that the new and larger science demands a new and larger theology to match it. The vastness of the known universe forbids us to regard the history of this planet as more than a single scene or episode in the great cosmic drama; the stage is too small for the supposed divine enacting. Moreover, the scientific story of man's life on earth, teaching the ascent instead of the fall of man, makes unnecessary the whole supernatural scheme, based, as Dr. Savage teaches, upon the Genesis story, and, by inspiring faith in the immanent God, renders the naturalness of religion not only possible, but inevitable. Hence in the natural order of the material universe and of humanity is God's progressive revelation. The protest is against the particularism of the old theology, against its denials rather than its affirmations. In this respect his book will be especially useful to those who suppose that modern liberalism is merely a system of negations.

Those who have followed Dr. Savage's intellectual career know that for many years he has been especially interested in the doctrine of immortality as affected by psychic research. In this volume he reiterates his assurance of immortality as demonstrable from the facts established by psychical investigation. These considerations have led him to believe also in the credibility of the gospel narratives of the resurrection of Jesus. The body did not leave the grave, but the disciples did see and talk with their Lord; and this, continues Dr. Savage, "I can believe, because I believe that similar things have happened in the modern world."

These sermons were preached extemporaneously and written out from stenographic notes. Naturally, therefore, they have the merits and defects of such a method. A careful reader will notice trifling inaccuracies, which more careful revision would have removed; but in tone and spirit the book is admirable and should be carefully read by whoever wishes to understand the nature and tendency of the modern "liberal movement."

W. W. FENN.

CHICAGO, ILL.

THE NON-RELIGION OF THE FUTURE: A Sociological Study.  
Translated from the French of M. J. M. GUYAU. New York:  
Henry Holt & Co., 1897. Pp. xi+543. Cloth, \$3.

GUYAU'S *L'Irréligion de l'avenir* is a natural outgrowth of his *Esquisse d'une morale sans obligation ni sanction*. The two titles are mutually significant. The volume under consideration attempts to show, first, that religion must inevitably disappear, and, second, that it will be replaced by an even more socially useful system of control.

Religion is declared to be fundamentally social in its origin and principles. Anthropomorphism should be expanded into sociomorphism. Primitive men conceive a society composed both of men and of gods, between whom relations of friendship and enmity exist. Worship is the influencing—often the bribing—of powerful though invisible associates. Again, religion is primarily a system of physics—an explanation of phenomena. Religious physics gradually gives place to religious metaphysics, to animism, to a spiritualistic conception, to dualism, to monism. Religious morality, it is further asserted, "grows out of the laws which regulate the social relations between gods and men." Religion, being sociomorphic, really gets its morality

from human society. Society is more moral than religion. Morality needs religion less than religion needs morality.

Dogmatic religious faith is an expression of primitive credulity. It comes in conflict with scientific knowledge. The result is either a rejection of science or an attempt to readjust religious belief. As religion loses in dogmatic faith, its dependence on morality becomes increasingly obvious. The strength of Christianity lies not in its supernaturalism, but in its ethical system, upon which stress is more and more laid by its defenders. Yet, declares Guyau, religious morality is in process of dissolution. The Christian principle of love, relatively refined and inspiring, nevertheless results in a rivalry between love of man and love of God. This led in the past to the neglect of man, now the tendency is to substitute for a mystical love of God a practical love of men. Thus the last stronghold of religion is yielding.

What, then, are the elements connected with religion which society must perpetuate? Association for intellectual, moral, and æsthetic purposes must be retained and extended. Charity, enthusiasm, poetry, art will be increasingly important. Feeling for nature, which was originally an essential element of the religious sentiment, must be preserved. Although dogma will disappear, certain metaphysical conceptions will replace it. The human mind will ever seek the mysteries which lie beyond the knowable. Various forms of theism will persist. These will eventually become more abstract. Pantheism, and different types of idealism, materialism, and monism, will survive, but they will maintain relations of mutual toleration.

The problem of immortality can never be solved scientifically. Personality, however, may be preserved in the memory of friends. Yet, after all is said, the attitude toward death must be that of courageous resignation.

The morality of the future will find its stimulus in an ethical idealism which shall worship no other gods than the highest conceivable type of humanity, to the realization of which each individual will seek to make some contribution, however humble.

The key to a criticism of this volume lies in the word religion. Make this definition narrow enough, and a part, at least, of the argument might be readily granted. Extend it, and the thesis rapidly loses its strength. According to Guyau, a religion reduced to its lowest terms must assume, at least, (1) an eternal energy or energies, (2) some relation between this energy or energies and human morality, between the direction of these energies and that of the moral impulse in man-

kind. Again, the ordinarily accepted idea of religion, says the author, includes three elements: (1) a mythical, non-scientific explanation of natural phenomena or of historical facts; (2) a system of dogmas, *i. e.*, imaginary beliefs and symbolic ideas forcibly imposed upon faith as absolute verities, although susceptible of no scientific demonstration; (3) a cult and system of rites. Here surely are extremes far enough apart to make room for almost any mean, and question-begging terms sufficient to open wide the whole range of argument!

The attitude of the author is throughout tolerant, judicial, and courteous. There is no word of flippancy or of cheap ridicule. M. Guyau was clearly inspired by a sincere moral earnestness. He has presented a case which every open-minded student should give a thoughtful and respectful hearing. The translation, which is anonymous, seems to have been made with care and intelligence.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

GEORGE E. VINCENT.

LETTERS FROM THE SCENES OF THE RECENT MASSACRES IN ARMENIA. By J. RENDEL HARRIS and HELEN B. HARRIS. New York, Chicago, Toronto: The Fleming Revell Co., 1897. Pp. 254, map and illustrations, 12mo. Cloth, \$1.25.

THERE are certain epochs in history, occurring less frequently as Christendom extends, the records of which are so horrible as to give rise to a wide-spread feeling of incredulity among those who happily gain knowledge of the events only by hearsay. This incredulity is so much the greater as the press grows more and more eager for sensation at the expense of truth. Doubt as to the extent and horror of the Armenian massacres still widely obtains.

Professor and Mrs. J. Rendel Harris, reliable and unprejudiced observers as they are, have done a great service to history by giving their indorsement to facts that others have sent out from Armenia. The reports of consuls are not published; missionaries are supposed to be hysterical and blindly prejudiced; the Red Cross agents were pledged to tell no tales; travelers and reporters were not allowed in Turkey. The Harrises, in some unexplained way, were given admittance—probably as harmless archæologists.

This volume of letters is characterized by the wonderful charity, even optimism, of the writers, and sets forth, certainly to one who is acquainted by personal experience with the matters of which they

write, a very graphic picture of the condition of things in Armenia as it was in 1896.

These letters were written, we must remember, under the constant constraint of the Turkish censorship. The writers were the guests of the Turks. Their letters had to pass by Turkish postal service to Europe, and hence were liable to be inspected. If violent criticism were found in them, the writers were in danger of expulsion, at the very mildest, which would mean failure to carry out the relief work they had come to do. One could wish that their hands had not been thus holden. But, after all, the main thing is that they should indorse the fuller accounts that have come to the world from other sources. By their witness to events in Ourfa, Diabekir, Harpoot, etc., they add the force of their gentle Quaker veracity to the testimony already in hand as to the unutterable horrors of Turkish barbarity.

Incidentally also they give testimony, which ought to be of value to our Congregational churches, as to the work which their representatives are doing in Turkey.

The whole brutal truth, or as much of it as it is possible to record, should be preserved in blue books and other historical archives. But there is also need of an expurgated narrative, such as can give a somewhat adequate idea of this terrible struggle between Christianity and Mohammedanism, especially to the young people of our churches. Among the half-dozen volumes (English) which have been hurriedly prepared to meet the demand for information concerning the Armenian massacres this volume of the Harris letters seems to have peculiar merit. It lacks the sensationalism of some of the publications, and gives a fairer and less hysterical picture in better literary form. It is certainly a book that ought to be in our Sunday-school and public libraries, as well as in the hands of those who would be well informed in this department of current history.

Let us hope that some time Professor and Mrs. Harris may give us another more critical and less constrained résumé of the doubtless abundant material on this subject in their possession.

VASSAR COLLEGE.

GRACE N. KIMBALL.

ARMENIA AND EUROPE. An Indictment. By J. LEPSIUS, PH.D., Berlin. Edited by J. RENDEL HARRIS, M.A., Cambridge. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1897. Pp. 344, 8vo. 5s.

It is noteworthy that we have from a German not only the most



forcible indictment of the Christian nations in general, and of Germany in particular, *in re* Armenia, but also the most valuable compilation of the leading facts upon which such an indictment rests, that has yet been given to the public.

Dr. Lepsius does not claim to speak from personal observation, though he is a traveler in Asia Minor. He has the wisdom to inform himself more widely, impartially, and accurately than one man could do by even the most extended travel. He makes a compilation of facts, for the most part reliable and verified, from memoranda accepted by the six powers, from consular reports, from Dr. Dillon's admirable investigations, and from other not so easily recognized, but evidently trustworthy sources.

It would be beyond human science, with existing data, to write on this subject statistically and avoid inaccuracies. But it is not a question of whether exactly 88,243 Armenians were killed, and 3,139 villages and 973 churches burned, plundered, or made Mohammedan. A few hundreds more or less do not affect the great question in the least. Even some exaggeration of the treatment given women and girls does not matter when so much was true—true that murder, pillage, outrage, and crimes unclassified and unnamable exceeded in horror, extent, and duration anything that even the malign ingenuity of a Nero could instigate.

The most reprehensible inaccuracy, or rather misconception, is the failure to give the proper place to the part that the revolutionists undoubtedly played in the history of the past three or four years. We need impartial history as a basis for arguments and conclusions. But, passing over these points lightly, as all save the last may well be passed over, we have here the most valuable contribution to the literature of the last Armenian massacre that has yet been made, whether viewed as a valuable book of reference or in respect of its interest.

As its title page announces, it is an indictment—more directly an indictment of *Germany*, regarding her, justly, as a full sixth in signatory responsibility under the Berlin treaty.

The arrangement is admirable. The first section—"The Truth about Armenia"—gives in brief and readable form a clear and reasonable setting forth of the whole matter. There are, indeed, as I have indicated, minor inaccuracies, but the general understanding of the case is accurate. It would be desirable to have the question of the secondary responsibility of the Armenians more carefully and understandingly set forth. It is all there by implication, but the implica-

tion is unintelligible except to those who have an intimate acquaintance with secret Armenian politics of the past ten years. He says (p. 19): "All that has been published in our papers about revolutionist attempts of Armenians against the Turkish government is entirely false, *so far as the blame is laid on the Armenian nation*, and not on certain agitators." The italics are mine, and are needed to convey the proper force of meaning. We should always preserve a clear conception of the difference between the Armenian *revolutionists* and the Armenian *nation*. It was not against Armenian revolutionary societies, nor for the suppression of Armenian disloyalty, that the terrific thunderbolts of extermination were hurled. It was against the pretensions and the possibilities of Christianity, as indorsed and protected by the Christian nations of Europe, that the thoroughgoing and merciless anti-Armenian policy was adopted and carried out by Abdul Hamid. The ignorant, hard-working, taxpaying peasant of a remote mountain village, and the Hunchogist, with his red flag emblazoned with crossed bayonet, sword, and firebrand, were all one in the imperial edict of destruction. The sultan's ingenious way of evading the demand for reform made by the Christian powers was to see to it that there should remain practically no Christian communities to enjoy those reforms. The definiteness of this policy, and the faithfulness with which it was carried out, are admirably set forth (pp. 58-62) in Dr. Lepsius' summing up of the evidence as to the responsibility for the awful deeds. Every item is a statement of an undeniable truth.

Perhaps the least meritorious part of the book is the section which deals with the Van massacre (pp. 184 *et seq.*). I am surprised that Dr. Lepsius should have accepted it in the first place, and that Dr. Harris, with his knowledge of the affair, should have incorporated it in the English translation. It is written evidently by an Armenian revolutionist with the object of discounting the blame which was sure to be put upon the revolutionists in the reports of the British vice-consul, Mayor Williams, and by Dr. Reynolds, of the American mission. It is full of undeserved slurs, intentional omissions, and gross misstatements, giving all in all an entirely wrong coloring to the affair.

But, as a whole, the book is one which will be welcomed and valued by all who are interested in Turko-Armenian history.

The introductory letter by the translator, Professor Harris, is an eloquent indictment of the church of today. It is hard to be obliged to acknowledge that the Christian nations are Christian only by tradi-

tion and classification, no longer so in policy and procedure. On the other hand, the history of the past year makes one unwillingly admire the political solidarity of the Mohammedan as much as one deploras the consistent selfishness of the so-called Christian nations. Will Mohammedan India, Africa, and Turkey unite to exemplify this solidarity still further to the dear cost of the Christian powers? There are signs pointing to this.

Dr. Lepsius, through Professor Harris, has given to those who have ears to hear and a heart to understand, both fact and philosophy of great importance.

GRACE N. KIMBALL.

VASSAR COLLEGE.

#### IMPRESSIONS OF TURKEY DURING TWELVE YEARS' WANDERING.

By W. M. RAMSAY, D.C.L., LL.D., Professor in Aberdeen and formerly Fellow of Exeter and of Lincoln College, and Professor of Classical Archæology, Oxford. New York : G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1897. Pp. xvi + 296, 8vo. Cloth, \$1.75.

By long training and varied and fruitful experiences as a traveler in Asia Minor, Professor Ramsay is peculiarly fitted to speak with authority of the different races, tribes, and peoples of western Asia. For twelve years the author has devoted from two to six months of his summer vacations to patient research and wearisome travel over the plains and deserts, and among the mountains and valleys, of Asia Minor.

While searching for traces of ancient civilization, the archæologist was acquiring the official language of the country and learning the ways of the people, without which no traveler in the Orient can form a correct estimate of the oriental spirit and of oriental institutions.

The casual traveler or tourist in Turkey generally misconceives the spirit and genius of the people and scenes of which he writes. Even writers of general repute write worthless and misleading trash when attempting an estimate of oriental life, customs, and manners, because they lack the requisite knowledge of the people and their language and, therefore, have no intelligent sympathy with them, as all who attempt to describe an oriental people must have.

Professor Ramsay is, perhaps, better known to the world by his admirable works on *The Church in the Roman Empire before A. D. 170*; *St. Paul, the Traveler and the Roman Citizen*, and *Cities and Bishop-*

*rics of Phrygia.* In each of these works he has shown himself an indefatigable explorer, and by his painstaking researches in the field, and by the well-directed study of his subject, has placed under perpetual obligations to himself the whole Christian and civilized world.

The volume before us is not written from an antiquarian point of view, but is a serious, intelligent, and admirable study by a competent observer of the people themselves, the village people of Turkey, of the manner and method of their daily life and their heritage from a remote and venerable past of a network of traditions and customs as old as human history. He discovers and paints in living color the charm of manner of the old-school Turk, who is, perhaps, a mixed descendant of the ancient Phrygians or Pisidians, or some other people known to St. Paul. The illiterate peasant, who can neither read nor write, is often a good conversationalist. His manner is grave and dignified, while his measured speech and well-modulated voice, with its rich intonations, are often musical to the ear.

The peasants of Turkey are tenacious of their customs and traditions, and in village life among the mountains of Asia Minor the character and leading characteristics of the masses suffer but little change from century to century. It is chiefly of these village people that the author writes so charmingly. He admires their sturdy, even their stolid characteristics, and he loves them for the qualities of their honest, hospitable hearts, while he hates the political class for its unfathomable corruption and that spirit of savagery which delights in human misery.

Of the fiendish spirit which conceived and directed the recent massacres engineered from the palace he writes boldly and without bias, but he condemns, with righteous judgment, the selfish spirit of the European powers, which, supporting the worst elements in Turkey, have made possible and virtually sanctioned a thousand acts of inhuman cruelty, cold-blooded butchery, and brutish outrage upon defenseless women and innocent children wherever found. The indiscriminate torture and slaughter of Armenians is clearly traced to the Mohammedan revival, which, so far as outsiders can learn, began about the year 1882, when propagandists were sent throughout the Moslem parts of the empire to prepare the Mohammedan mind. The author then sees in the revival of Islamism the renewal of the "conflict between the East and West," similar to that which took place under Mithridates, and not unlike it in the method, viz., the attempted extermination of all who are affected by the western spirit.

As to the method of the conflict he truly says: "The means whereby Turkish power is restored is always the same—massacre, and the preparation consists in preaching that it is a virtue and a merit before heaven to slay and spoil the infidels."

Notwithstanding the plan of extermination conceived and conducted from the palace, it is clearly shown that the Turkish government could not be administered without the services of its Christian secretaries and clerks who fill all the offices where education and a high degree of intelligence are required. Many a Turkish official who can neither read nor write depends upon his more intelligent and keener-witted secretary, who is usually a Greek or an Armenian subject.

The author's hearty recognition of American explorers will interest many on this side of the Atlantic, and of far greater interest to the whole Christian world are his high words of praise for the educational and religious institutions which the American missionaries, through forty years of unceasing and unselfish toil, have built up in the Turkish empire.

In testimony of the high character and permanent value of the missionary's work in Turkey, we will let Professor Ramsay speak in his own forcible terms in the preface to the American edition:

"My hope is that this book may do something to produce in America an adequate conception of the great educational organizations which the American missionaries have built up in Turkey with admirable foresight and skill. Beginning with a prejudice against their work, I was driven by the force of facts and experience to the opinion that the mission has been the strongest, as well as most beneficent, influence in causing the movement towards civilization which has been perceptible in varying degrees among all the peoples of Turkey, but which has been zealously opposed and almost arrested by the present Sultan, with the support of the six European powers." Again, in chap. 9, Professor Ramsay says: "I believe firmly that Robert College has done more to render possible a safe solution of the 'Eastern question' in European Turkey than all the ambassadors of all the European powers have succeeded in doing to render that solution difficult; and the reason is that the missionary colleges have sought neither to gain anything themselves nor to prevent others from gaining anything, whereas the whole aim of the diplomacy of every European power has been, first, to prevent any other from gaining anything, and, secondly, to achieve some selfish gain."

People everywhere, interested not only in missions, but all who are interested in the cause of humanity struggling for enlightenment, freedom, and righteousness, should read this book from beginning to end,

and if they have dwelt long in the land of the "unspeakable Turk," they will find little to which they can reasonably take exception.

BROWN.<sup>1</sup>

*The Expository Times.* Edited by Rev. James Hastings, M.A., D.D. Vol. VIII. October, 1896–September, 1897. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark; \$1.50.) *The Expository Times* fills a place of its own in the periodical world. It is ably edited, always informing, never dull, and never trivial. The volume for 1897 shows no signs of decline. We are interested to observe that the Christian Literature Company of New York is hereafter to issue an American edition of it, containing all the material of the English edition with additions by American editors.—E. D. BURTON.

*Congrès universel des religions en 1900.* Histoire d'une idée. Par Abbé Victor Charbonnel. (Paris: Armand Colin et Cie., 1897; pp. 301; f. 3.) Fired by the thought which inspired the Parliament of Religions at Chicago, some generous and enthusiastic souls in France caught at the notion of having a similar assemblage in connection with the Paris exposition to be held in 1900. Most prominent and zealous in this connection was the abbé V. Charbonnel, who immediately began a vigorous propaganda in the reviews and on the platform. This book is a summary of the progress of the enterprise up to the period of its publication, early in 1897. It contains the principal ideas and arguments urged by the abbé, letters and articles written by others in opposition to the project or in defense of it, and an account of the experiences which the abbé met with in his talks and addresses in various parts of Europe. Its chief interest lies, perhaps, not in the principal topic, though nowhere can one find in more condensed form arguments for and against a congress of religions of which Christianity forms a part. The main subject which attracts the reader is the revelation made of the spirit and attitude of members of the Roman Catholic hierarchy toward each other. Continental Catholicism is shown up in no pleasant light—the envy, bitterness, hatred, and double-dealing appearing in the documents gathered here and in the frank comments and explanations of the compiler of these documents. Since this book was written, the abbé Charbonnel has left the Roman

<sup>1</sup> For obvious reasons the editors in this case make an exception to their rule, and publish the review under a *nom de plume*.

church. He was moved to take this step by the chilly reception of this idea of a congress by the Roman church, and especially when the American cardinal Gibbons, who is quoted in this book as promising, in a personal conversation with the author, his support to the proposed congress, recently denied having made any such statements. An unprejudiced reader of this book can have only one opinion as to where the truth lies in this question of veracity.—G. S. GOODSPEED.

*L'idée spiritualiste.* Par Roisel. (Paris: Alcan, 1896; pp. 200.) This book belongs to the series called "Library of Contemporary Philosophy." No doubt it is abreast of the times, since it is a thesis directed against the rationality and ultimate value of the religion of the spirit. The author is an atomist of the order of Lucretius, and to him all ideas of God and a supernatural order are relics of ruined superstitions cherished by our savage ancestors when haunted by the fears of childhood. There is a parade of knowledge in support of these views, but an inability, profound and apparently unsuspected by the author himself, to distinguish between facts and theories and to judge evidence. Open to any page of the book, as, *e. g.*, p. 38—"The offering regarded as most agreeable to Jehovah and consequently the most efficacious was always that of children"—such is the author's fundamental basis of judgment for the religion of Israel. The conclusion is that, while this "*idée spiritualiste*" will for some time still serve as a refuge for human souls, yet the truth will shine forth ultimately and cause the "worship of nature," toward which we are making our way, to hold sway. This may be so, but its progress in all reasonable minds will be rather hindered than advanced by this feeble bombast masquerading under a deceptive title and dealing fast and loose with the facts. If the new religion, heralded by the author, can do no better than this, the world would do well to abide longer under the reign of the "*idée spiritualiste*."—G. S. GOODSPEED.

*Theodore and Wilfrith.* By Rev. G. F. Browne, D.D., Canon of St. Paul's, London. (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; New York: E. & J. B. Young & Co., 1897; pp. 223; 3s. 6d.) The author aims to show the "sturdy independence" of the English church as against Roman aggression during this early period. The observance of Easter was changed at Whitby by the English "while maintaining their independence of thought and action" (p. 22).

"The most important event in the development of the national church" was Wighard's appointment to the archbishopric, 664, "by

the election and consent of the holy church of the race of the English.' . . . We chose our own archbishops and bishops quite freely" (pp. 54-7). The first provincial council of the English church met in Hertford, 673, . . . "it is remarkable that throughout the action of this council no reference whatever is made to the opinion of Rome, . . . it was a national, self-governing action" (pp. 119-20). Wilfrith reproached his opponents, in 702, for resisting the papal decrees in his behalf, during twenty-two years. This, together with the fact that, from the moment he invoked papal aid, Wilfrith never recovered his position, shows conclusively the national assertion of independence (pp. 193, 226).

In his partisanship the author proves too much. The truth lies *between* the extreme Romanist and extreme English positions—the historic truth being that, at this time, the Church of England was English in a national, political sense, but was Roman, doctrinally.

The author's declaration of the present attitude of the Church of England is significant in view of recent Romanist utterances: "From a doctrinal point of view our agreement with the Orthodox *Greek* church on a large number of points on which we differ from the modern and mediæval Roman is very striking" (p. 179).—WARREN P. BEHAN.

*Histoire de la Première Croisade, tirée de l'Histoire des Croisades.* Par Michaud. Edited, with a historical introduction, map, and notes, by A. V. Houghton, B.A., etc. (London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd.; New York: The Macmillan Co., 1897; \$0.60.) As a specimen of fluent French this selection from Michaud's *History of the Crusades* is excellent, and, from the linguistic point of view, the editor has done his work well. But as a work on history no worse selection could have been made. Michaud's history is notoriously inexact and uncritical. The editor, however, has done nothing to separate between the true and the false in the narrative. This selection, if read in the schools, will only prolong the life of that legendary account of the first crusade which, for the last fifty years, scholars have been laboring to destroy.—OLIVER J. THATCHER.

*Philip Melancthon*, the Wittenberg Professor and Theologian of the Reformation. By David J. Deane. (New York, Chicago, Toronto: Fleming H. Revell Co.; pp. 160, illustrated; \$0.75.) The work is a compilation from fuller works. No attempt is made at original treatment. The book was intended to supply the need for a popular biog-



raphy of Melanchthon. As such it is clear in style and fairly comprehensive in treatment. A strong feature is Melanchthon's relation to Luther.—E. A. HANLEY.

*Heroic Stature.* By Nathan Sheppard. (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1897; pp. 226, 12mo; \$1.) To the student and general reader alike this collection of addresses upon "The Human Martin Luther," "John Wesley," "Norman MacLeod," "Charles G. Finney," and "Hugh Latimer," men of "heroic stature," is a most fresh, stimulating, and instructive book. The author reveals under the new light of his own genius the manliness, the humanness of the heroes he mirrors, the human defects with the human excellencies, in a style that is terse, virile, and luminous. The pages are punctuated with delightful bits of moralizing; not set homilies, but winged arrows of suggestion that unerringly fly to their mark. It is an altogether unique piece of biographical writing.—WARREN P. BEHAN.

*Two Studies in the History of Doctrine.* Augustine and the Pelagian Controversy. The Development of the Doctrine of Infant Salvation. By Benjamin B. Warfield. (New York: The Christian Literature Co., 1897; pp. viii + 239; \$1.25.) These two papers are reprinted, the first from a translation of Augustine's anti-Pelagian treatises, and the second from a monthly magazine. The first is altered but little; the second is considerably enlarged.

The first paper is chiefly an analysis of the anti-Pelagian writings of Augustine. It tells the reader briefly what can be found in any one of these writings. The analysis is thorough, and constitutes an excellent introduction to the theological system of Augustine, the prominent features of which were defined and defended in the course of the Pelagian controversy. Dr. Warfield manifests a deep sympathy with the doctrines which he states, and sets them forth in a most advantageous light, as only a Calvinist is prepared to do.

The second paper, on the doctrine of infant salvation, contains much good material. But many readers will think that Dr. Warfield gives too favorable an interpretation to the declaration of the synod of Dort and of the Westminster confession concerning the salvation of infants. The theologians of Dort are not to be praised very highly for saying that "godly parents have no reason to doubt of the election and salvation of their children whom it pleaseth God to call out of this life in their infancy," and for forbearing to say, what they believed, that other parents have great reason to doubt. Nor is it easy to inter-

pret the declaration of the Westminster divines that "elect infants dying in infancy are regenerated and saved" as not designated to establish a contrast between the eternal destiny of "elect infants dying in infancy" and non-elect infants dying in infancy. Finally, it is difficult to understand how Dr. Warfield could write a history of the doctrine of infant salvation and scarcely even mention the teaching of the anti-pedobaptists on this subject, or the mighty influence which they have exerted throughout the Christian world in favor of the conviction that all infants dying in infancy, and thus escaping the stain of personal transgression, are received by God to his eternal peace through the atonement of his Son and the regenerating power of his Holy Spirit. — FRANKLIN JOHNSON.

*Leo XIII at the Bar of History.* A Discussion of the Papal Plan for Christian Unity. By R. H. McKim, D.D. (Washington: Gibson Bros., 1897; pp. iv+132; \$1.) Dr. McKim prints Pope Leo's encyclical on Christian unity, which was given to the press in June, 1896, and follows it with an open letter to his holiness, in which he points out that the variance of the Anglican church and the Church of Rome on questions of fundamental truth is so radical and far-reaching that reunion on the basis of the encyclical is impossible. The open letter is followed by numerous citations from the Fathers which demonstrate that papal claims are silenced and rejected at the bar of history. St. Peter was not the rock in the papal sense; nor had he any power of the keys not shared by the other apostles; nor was his a primacy of jurisdiction. St. Cyprian plainly taught the equality of bishops, and the Greek church has always taught the independence of national churches. The recently promulgated dogmas of the immaculate conception and papal infallibility are wholly unscriptural and unhistorical.

Dr. McKim has taken the "tremendous claims" of the pope before the "august tribunal" of history, and congratulates himself that he has "obtained a verdict against the vast pretensions of the papacy." He fervently longs for a union of the churches, but does not see how Anglicans can march with their "Roman Catholic brethren" as "fellow-soldiers under the banner of the cross," so long as the papacy clings to its "ecclesiastical absolutism." — ERI B. HULBERT.

*Grundzüge der Ethik.* Von Dr. Hermann Schwarz, Privatdocent an der Universität Halle. (Leipzig: Verlag von Siegbert Schnurpfel, 1897; pp. 136; M. 0.40.=Wissenschaftliche Volksbibliothek, Nos. 51-52.) This is a double number of a popular scientific library published

in the same size and style as the well-known *Universal-Bibliothek* of Reclam. The introduction discusses the general ethical situation and the problems of scientific ethics. These problems are found to be three in number: How can we become good ourselves and make others good? What is good and what is bad? What is the inner justification of our moral judgments and the source of our sense of duty? The work is divided into three parts according to these three cardinal problems: "Pedagogical Ethics," "Descriptive Ethics," and "Explanatory Ethics." The naturalistic theories of morals are criticised, and conscience, the moral feelings, and the duty-impulse are found to be original endowments in man. The book can be commended as a good brief introduction to the subject.—F. C. FRENCH.

*The Ethics of Gambling.* By W. Douglass MacKenzie, M.A. (Philadelphia: Henry Altemus, 1897; pp. 64.) Gambling is defined as a transaction in which, "as the result of a bet, property is transferred from one to another upon the occurrence of an event which to the two parties to the bet was a matter of complete chance, or as nearly so as their adjustment of conditions could make it." This is declared to involve the use of property in a non-moral way, to resign the use of reason in the act, and "to attempt to stand to my neighbor in a relation which is outside all thinkable moral relations." In this threefold denial of the rational and moral factor which ought to be present in all human relations is found the immorality of gambling. Gambling is then discriminated from certain speculative forms of business, and the fact is brought out that on the other hand certain types of commercial operations involve, not only the evil of gambling, but also the additional feature of "cheating at cards," which is excluded by the code of honor obtaining in gambling pure and simple. It is an interesting and suggestive essay.—J. H. TUTTS.

*Common-Sense Christianity.* By Alonzo Hall Quint. (Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1897; pp. 229; \$1.50.) For many years Dr. Quint was a regular contributor to the *Congregationalist*. His articles were greatly enjoyed by thousands of readers, and many of these sketches have now been put in permanent form in this volume. He wrote on many different subjects, but always with great incisiveness and vigor. These sketches show a trained mind, a warm heart, and a keen sense of humor. They abound in telling illustrations. As he wrote out of a long experience as a pastor, this volume will be of special value to the young minister.—LATHAN A. CRANDALL.

*A Larger Catechism of the Doctrines, History, and Polity of the Methodist Protestant Church.* By John Scott, D.D. (Pittsburgh: Methodist Protestant Board of Publication, 1897; pp. 287; cloth; \$1.25.) In the form of question and answer this volume sets forth the doctrines of the Scriptures as generally held by Methodists, the origin of Methodism in England, its organization in the United States, and the elementary principles of its polity. The clear, unequivocal statements of the author are strengthened by many quotations from acknowledged denominational authorities. We can commend the book to all who wish to learn the views of this great and influential body of Christians.—GALUSHA ANDERSON.

*The Ruling Elder at Work.* By Rev. J. Aspinwall Hodge, D.D., author of *What is Presbyterian Law?* (New York: A. D. F. Randolph Co., 1897; pp. viii + 215; cloth, \$0.75.) This book of 215 pages, with a carefully prepared index, presents in narrative form the entire polity of the Presbyterian church. A ruling elder gives his experiences in actual service. We have thus put before us, in an interesting story, the whole round of duties done by the session, the presbytery, the synod, and the general assembly. The powers of the individual church and of its different officers are fully set forth and explained. We see the whole Presbyterian ecclesiastical machinery in motion. In this artful way a dry subject is made attractive.—GALUSHA ANDERSON.

*Von Kind auf!* Christliche Reden an die liebe Jugend, den Kindern und ihren Freunden nach der Ordnung des Kirchenjahres gehalten von D. theol. P. Kaiser, Pfarrer an St. Matthäi in Leipzig. Zweite, wenig veränderte Auflage. Erstes Heft. (Halle a. S.: Richard Mühlmann's Verlagsbuchhandlung [Max Grosse], 1897; complete in five parts; M. 4.) We have in this little book of sixty-four pages twelve discourses which were delivered to children at Leipzig by the pastor of St. Matthew's during the season of Advent, on Christmas, New Year's, and on the four Sundays after Epiphany. Each discourse, except the last, has a prologue on some interesting subject. The sermon which follows is based on a text appropriate to the season. The style is clear and very simple, so that even little children must have understood the preacher; while the thought presented is in the main scriptural and important. There is much illustration from child-life and from history. To preach effectively to children is a difficult art; he that would learn it can find many valuable suggestions in these discourses.—GALUSHA ANDERSON.

## CURRENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

THE MOVEMENT OF RELIGIOUS THOUGHT IN SCOTLAND, 1843-1896.  
By R. M. WENLEY, PH.D.; *The New World*, September, 1897,  
pp. 467-85.

PROFESSOR WENLEY, of the University of Michigan, claims distinctiveness for Scottish religious thought. The movement of interest in the nineteenth century dates from 1843, the year of the "disruption," which is briefly characterized. The men of that time, whose works are now more talked of than read—Chalmers, Candlish, Patrick Fairbairn—stood for high Calvinistic orthodoxy. Even philosophy had to be orthodox; hence the exclusion of Ferrier from the chair of logic and metaphysics in Edinburgh, under the influence of Dr. John Cairns, of the United Presbyterian church. From 1843 to the middle of the sixties was a period of hidden preparation for the processes that the future was to bring to birth. Dr. Norman McLeod's famous speech on the Sabbath question in 1865 was the first overt indication of an altered religious temper. It revealed on the part of the genial editor of *Good Words* a breadth of sympathy and outlook which created a breach between him and the Evangelicals. From his time onward the established church in which he was a leading man became the recognized home of theological liberty, and the broad church party flourished within her borders. The dissenting churches—the Free Church and the United Presbyterian Church—remained comparatively conservative. In 1878 the famous Professor Robertson Smith case came above the horizon, and engrossed public attention. He was the champion of modern biblical criticism, and the agitation his views created eclipsed all other ecclesiastical movements for the time. Still the leaders of broad churchism kept well to the front, and philosophico-theological thought found able exponents in Tulloch, Cunningham, Story, and Milligan. A theological left wing also made its appearance in the national church, represented by the authors of *Scotch Sermons* (1880), and Dr. John Service, of whose volume of sermons, *Salvation Here and Hereafter*, a disproportionately long account is given. The *Scotch Sermons* also receive somewhat too prominent

mention. The main fact as to recent years is the shifting of the center of theological interest from the state church to the dissenting communions, as evinced by the circumstance that the writers who are the best known (full list given) are dissenters. The position of these writers as a whole is thus characterized: "An explicable revelation, but a revelation nevertheless, is the present master thought." It is indicated that the present trend of opinion and sympathy within the state church is toward high churchism and evangelic doctrine of the patristic type.

Professor Wenley is very competent for the task he undertakes. He is a Scotchman, and he has belonged both to the free church and to the established church. His sketch of the movement of religious thought in Scotland during the last fifty years is on the whole correct. Three remarks more or less critical I offer. First, too much importance is attached to Dr. Service and the authors of *Scotch Sermons*. Dr. Service was a clever man, pastor of a west-end church in Glasgow, who drew a number of the enlightened spirits to hear him. But he was chiefly a critic of current religion, not a man with a gospel. *Scotch Sermons* count for very little in Scotch religious thought. Second, in describing the present condition of the state church as to theology Dr. Wenley has overlooked the fact that an orthodox policy is influencing the situation. Men well known to be theological liberals support theological conservatism as the most prudent course for a state church in present circumstances. Lastly, in his list of theological writers belonging to dissenting communions he has classed together men of different theological tempers, without indicating the difference. This, however, may be justifiable in a brief survey, especially in view of the undoubted fact that amidst all diversities the men named, without exception, "witness for the supernatural nature of Christianity."

A. B. BRUCE.

GLASGOW, SCOTLAND.

LES FÊTES RELIGIEUSES AU MOYEN AGE. Par A. MAILHET; *Revue chrétienne*, June, 1897, pp. 425-39.

RELIGIOUS festivals played a great rôle in the life of the people during the Middle Age. The number of such festivals was constantly increased because they were holidays and, therefore, acceptable to the laboring classes. The church herself unbent at such times, and the clergy gave themselves up to jollity which often took on the most grotesque forms. These celebrations were often direct continuations of heathen festivals, such as the Roman saturnalia. During such festivals the clergy were free from all restraints and acted with the greatest abandon. They chose one of their number as leader of their buffooneries, and, under his direction, made grotesque processions and indulged in all the nonsense imaginable. Many events connected with sacred history were given a mimic representation. At Christmas

the birth of Christ was enacted in Dijon as follows: A manger was set up, in which a cow, an ass, a lamb, and a cock were represented. A monk, playing the part of the cock and imitating his call, cried out, "Christ is born." Another monk, imitating the lowing of the cow, asked, "Where?" A third monk, imitating the bleating of the lamb, said, "In Bethlehem;" while the fourth brayed out, "Let us go there."

In the festival of the Innocents the place of the priests was taken by laymen who parodied the service in the most laughable way. At Easter a donkey was decked out with fine robes, taken into the church, received with great honor, and a service full of nonsense read to him. All present then joined in a riotous dance in the nave of the church, the communion table was covered with food and wine, and the whole church turned into a place of debauchery.

Naturally such festivals were attended with all kinds of excesses. The clergy sometimes took advantage of the licence of the hour to injure their personal enemies or to break their vows. The author gives extracts from an unpublished account of the violent deeds of some of the clergy of Die in the years 1412-21 and follows them up with a highly colored picture of the reform which took place in Die under the preaching of Farel.

The article is distinctly polemic in tone. The Roman Catholic church must be abased, the Reformation glorified. The author implies that the Roman Catholic church was responsible for all these abuses, but, in fairness, something should have been said of the attempts which the church made to correct them. For instance, the council of Basel strictly prohibited all such mock services.

OLIVER J. THATCHER.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

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## THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE OLD CATHOLIC MOVEMENT.

By WILLIBALD BEYSCHLAG,  
University of Halle.

I HAVE been requested by the editors of this JOURNAL to give an account of the origin and progress of the Old Catholic movement, and gladly respond to the request, though with the feeling that it is easier to produce a volume than an article on this subject. For not only is the quarter century's history of Old Catholicism one of the most noteworthy chapters in the most recent history of the church, but the origin of the Old Catholic movement cannot be understood apart from the Vatican council, and this itself is but the closing scene of a struggle which pervades the whole history of the western Catholic church.

The name "Old Catholic," or, as the Swiss prefer to say, "Christian Catholic," stands opposed to Roman Catholic, and calls attention to a contradiction in this latter designation. For "catholic" means "universal," that is, commensurate with humanity. Roman, on the contrary, is a local and limiting designation. There was, in fact, a catholic church before Rome had any authority in it, the church of the earliest centuries; and by just so much as this stood nearer the origin of Christianity was it purer than at the later period when it took on the name of Roman Catholic. Then it was that a particular church, the local church of Rome, by means of usurpation and falsehood, arrogated



to itself the supremacy over this universal church, each of whose many members had originally an equal right in it. This supremacy Rome did not, indeed, succeed in establishing in the Orient, but she carried it through in the West. The bishops of Rome, urged on by an inextinguishable tradition of universal dominion, have raised themselves from the position of *primi inter pares* to that of lords over their equals, absolute monarchs of the church. They have at the same time transformed the church, so that, instead of being the bearer of the Christian religion, she has become a theocratic world-empire, and so far as they have succeeded in this, they have so perverted Christianity that, instead of being a truth that makes free, it has become a system for reducing nations to the slavery of superstition. When in the thirteenth century this goal was about reached, there broke out in the Roman hierarchy a spirit so frightfully unjust and anti-Christian, of so disastrous consequences to the morals and thrift of the people, that a great reaction of the *catholic* against the *Roman* principle set in. The great councils of the fifteenth century attempted to take the constitution of the church out of the hands of the papal monarchy, and, on the basis of the equal rights of the bishops, to restore it to the early ecumenical councils, and, with the help of the universities and national state administrations, to reform the church in its head and members. But although they succeeded for the time in subjecting the papacy to their principle of right and reform, still the papal power succeeded in fully nullifying that Old Catholic effort and immediately thereafter carried to the extreme the abuse of its usurped supremacy. The consequence was that the frustrated Catholic reform gave place to the Protestant Reformation, which boldly laid hold of the original idea of truth and freedom, and, in order to make sure of it, broke with the whole previous historic development of the church.

This break was not originally designed by the reformers. They intended a conservative reform of the whole western church, not a disruption of the Catholic unity. But the hopeless condition of the papacy, the political trickery of the time, and the fact that the Romance nations were not yet ready to

accept the principles of the gospel, caused western Christendom to divide itself into two camps radically different from each other. Whether they were to remain so forever, whether the war was to end in the annihilation of one of the parties, or whether they were at some time to come together, be reconciled to each other, and again form one flock under the one Shepherd, remained a question for the future of church history. Scarcely had the Roman Catholic church reorganized itself on the basis of the Tridentine creed and gained the strength for new victories, when two tendencies of significance for the settlement of this question of the future manifested themselves. The *one* was the papal-Jesuitical, consistently anti-evangelical spirit, directed to the single end of achieving the dominion of the world by superstition and a despotism over conscience; the *other* relatively evangelical, the spirit of reform, aiming at the culture of a spiritual Christianity. While the former reigned without opposition in Italy and Spain, the latter attained in the cultured France of the seventeenth century, under the protection of the Gallican liberties, in which the type of episcopal organization advocated in the reform councils still existed, a promising development, especially in the school of Port Royal, that of the so-called Jansenists. But with the help of the papacy, which already in any *question du fait* was conducting itself as if infallible, the Jesuits succeeded in suppressing this free and more pious Catholicism, and in preparing the way, by the triumph of the Roman over the catholic principle, for French atheism and the French Revolution. Towards the end of the eighteenth century the reformed Catholicism which had been suppressed in France was revived in Catholic Germany, a country which, though not actually participating in the Reformation, had been largely influenced by the spirit of enlightenment and humanity that characterized the great movement. Its representatives are found in the spiritual electors of the empire, who revived the episcopal ideas of the council of Basel, in the emperor Joseph, who reformed the Catholic monasteries and studies, and granted tolerance to the Protestants; it even finds, in a favored moment of the world's history, a representative on the papal throne,

who, filled with the nobler spirit of the time, pronounced the death-sentence of the Jesuit order.

When we think of these currents within the Catholicism of little more than a century ago, they seem to us like a tale of ancient times. The French Revolution, that volcanic outburst of the mere worldly instinct of liberty, destroyed all thoughts of spiritual freedom in the Catholic world and prepared the way for a spirit of servility, such as was unknown even to the dark Middle Ages.

True, as Germany rose out of the ruins of the Napoleonic epoch, she had a religious tendency that promised an entirely different ecclesiastical future. Here in the land of the Reformation's birth, the land to which Providence had specially assigned the task of reconciling all confessional differences, the Napoleonic wars had caused in both confessions an ethical elevation in religion, a longing for a return to the genuine Christianity of the heart. For this new life new outer forms were sought, and there was an effort to rise above the old differences, not only those between the Lutheran and Reformed, but those between Protestants and Catholics, to a true brotherly fellowship. If our blinded governments had but known how to appreciate and foster this spirit, Germany would have been in a condition to be led, and that without the suppression of confessional distinctions, to that internal unity from which, notwithstanding our brilliantly achieved external unity, we are as far removed as from the fixed stars. Instead of this, the great powers hastily rehabilitated the papacy—the papacy which, by restoring at once the Jesuit order, proved its incorrigibility—and by concordats prepared the way for ultramontanizing Catholic Germany. First of all, unconscious of what they did, they thought to please a foreign power, then in the agonies of death, in the hope that it might help a little towards extinguishing the troublesome liberalism. And when it was observed to what extent things had gone, as in the difficulties at Cologne in 1838, a blundering attempt was made to settle the matter by violent measures. Still further, when deserved defeat followed, and a line of bishops friendly to the state had been displaced and their places

filled by radical ultramontanists, it was found more convenient to stop the mouths of these champions of the papacy by concessions, since they had already the support of the masses, than to carry on a conflict with them. The philosophizing tendencies of science among the Catholics, which gave the clergy a broader and freer horizon, the bishops were allowed to oppose at their pleasure. On the other hand, the fanaticizing and stultifying devices, such as the pilgrimage to the holy coat of Treves and its like, were sanctioned as means of working upon the popular mind. And scarcely was the revolution of 1848, with its wild attempt for liberty, over, when the Jesuits, with the permission of the government, traversed Germany as missionaries. A freer reform tendency maintained itself, however, in the German university-theology of the Catholics, under the lead of Döllinger, the most learned man that the Roman Catholic church has ever had in Germany. Orthodox Catholic, even to a certain extent ultramontane and anti-Protestant as this tendency was, it nevertheless cherished and fostered an ideal Catholicism which gave a spiritual significance to the dogmas and rites, gave play to freedom of thought, and aimed at a Catholic reform by which the strongest objections of the Protestants were to be met and the way left open for a reunion of the confessions. But the programme of the Jesuits, who had long watched with suspicion this German theology, was of an opposite kind. It looked not to reconciliation, but to stupefying, to spiritual bondage; and that they might be free to effect this, reformed Catholicism must once for all be extirpated. The Jesuits appreciated, as I infer, from the point of view of their persistent unchangeable opposition, the prodigious consequences of the Reformation, the power of the spirit of freedom which it had set free among the Catholic nations also, and they said to themselves that the Roman church could regain its power over this unbridled occidental world only by an absolute dictatorship, which should control the thoughts and conscience, and thus also morals and social life. The establishment of such a dictatorship they sought and obtained by the Vatican council, an event the meaning and scope of which few understood at the time, and few understand now, but one

which in the history of the world and of the church is, not less than the council of Trent, an epoch-making event.

Of course, if the end must always sanctify the means, it has done so in this instance. The personal infallibility of the pope, when he speaks as the church's teacher, was nothing more than a so-called "pious thought" fostered by the Jesuits. It could find no support in the Sacred Scriptures, or from tradition. Church history most emphatically disproves it. And now Döllinger, whose experience in the sixties had more and more freed him from his ultramontaniam, came forward and in his *Janus* annihilated the dogma by the proofs he brought from *ex-cathedra* decisions of papal fallibility.<sup>1</sup> The larger part of the Catholic church did not believe in papal infallibility, and when Protestant theologians reproached the church with this superstition, the Roman Catholic theologians branded their reproaches as calumnies. It was a bold attempt, this effort to make so absurd an opinion the foundation of the church, and to secure its official recognition by an ecumenical council. The Jesuits, however, succeeded in accomplishing it, though of course not by the methods of the Holy Spirit. In order thoroughly to appreciate the true character of this Jesuitical artifice, one should read the monumental works of two men who to a degree equaled by few were eyewitnesses of the events. I refer to the *Geschichte des vaticanischen Concils*, by Professor Friedrich, the theological adlatus of Cardinal Hohenlohe at the council, and the *Geschichte des Altkatholicismus*, by Professor Dr. von Schulte, the eminent expounder of ecclesiastical law and friend of Cardinal Prince von Schwarzenberg. The old fantastic Pius IX, a man without the least theological culture, had been inspired by the Jesuits with a sense of his own personal infallibility, and between them the erection of this into a dogma had been determined upon before the council met. But in order to make it appear that it was demanded by the voice of the church, a petition for

<sup>1</sup> This *Janus*, after Döllinger's death, and at his desire, was published in a new edition by Professor Friedrich, with the passages supplied from church history in support of its positions. It is entitled *The Papacy*, by Döllinger, Munich, 1892, and is the most fearful bill of indictment written against the papacy since the days of Luther.

it coming from the council was engineered. In this council the representatives of the great majority of the western Catholics, the German, French, and Austrian bishops, formed the minority; the great majority were either Italians, always papistic in their views, and representing numerous diminutive dioceses, or but titular bishops without dioceses, whose expenses, as Cardinal Schwarzenberg said, "the pope was obliged to pay entire, even to their very hose," so that they voted blindly at his bidding. Now this minority was, indeed, ultramontane and destitute enough of character, but they understood the matter well enough to perceive that the proposed dogma was contrary to truth and tradition and to apprehend dangerous consequences, especially the extinction of all independent episcopal authority. They opposed it, therefore, feebly to be sure, but upon irrefutable grounds. The manner in which this opposition was treated sustains the judgment of Döllinger that of all the professed ecumenical councils only one has been like the Vatican, and that was the "robber synod." An order of business which an archbishop called "a cursed congeries of pitfalls" precluded all free discussion. If the opposition desired to have a memoir printed, the printing houses of Rome were forbidden to serve them. A Bible by which to test the new dogma seems not to have been at hand, for Bishop Dupanloup borrowed one of the Protestant chaplain of the German legation. If anyone answered the pope with an appeal to tradition, he replied: "I am the tradition." When the proud bishop of Mainz, Baron von Ketteler, on his knees begged the pope to desist from formulating the fatal dogma of his own infallibility, he answered that he would see what was to be done; he had not yet read the draft relating to it. When under the glowing heat of a Roman summer some bishops of the opposition begged for an adjournment of the council, he exclaimed: "May they all perish" (*crepino tutti*). But the opposing bishops, like slaves, contented themselves with mere lamentations over all such insults. On the first ballot eighty-eight voted no, sixty-two voted yea only conditionally. Thus the decree of the council lacked that moral unanimity which had ever been demanded.

Instead, however, of repeating the same vote on the second ballot and protesting against erecting a falsehood into an article of faith, the gentlemen preferred to take their departure with the ambiguous declaration that their veneration for the pope would not permit them to repeat their negative vote.

So the Vatican decrees were passed on the 18th of July, 1870, with only two negative votes, and this took place, as is well known, amid the lightning and thunder of a rising tempest which so darkened the hall in which the session was held that candles had to be lighted. "We declare it to be an article of faith, by God revealed, that the Roman pope, when he speaks from his chair of authority (*ex cathedra*), that is, when in the exercise of his office as shepherd and teacher of all Christians, and in virtue of his supreme apostolic authority, he determines a doctrine, relating to faith and morals, to be maintained by the whole Christian church, he possesses, by virtue of the support divinely promised him in St. Peter, that infallibility with which the divine Redeemer desired to invest his church in deciding any doctrine relating to faith and morals; and that, therefore, such decisions of the Roman pope are in themselves and without any concurrence of the church, unchangeable. If anyone shall oppose this our decision, which God forbid, let him be accursed" (*anathema sit*). Thus was the pope at any time in office put in the place of the church itself as respects the discovery and utterance of the truth, and the position of Catholicism in dogma was perverted into an absolute Romanism. Whereas it had hitherto been the Catholic view that we should believe that which has been believed in the church "always, everywhere, and by all" (Vincentius Lerinensis), and whereas the problem of theology had been to ascertain from the Scriptures and tradition what in every doubtful case this universal Christian belief was, now to be a "Catholic" was to believe what a pope had at any time said *ex cathedra*, and the only remaining question of theology was whether a pope had ever said this or that *ex cathedra*. The mass of things to be believed rose to the immeasurable and the intolerable. Not only could a pope henceforth at any time manufacture new articles of faith, as Döllinger

said, just as Pius IX in advance made the immaculate conception such, but even quite nonsensical things, such as the witchcraft bull of Innocent VIII, with its abyss of superstition, or the bull "Unam Sanctam" of Boniface VIII, with its pretensions to annihilate all personal freedom and all political independence, had actually become articles of faith, binding upon the conscience. A more unlimited despotism over the consciences of all Catholics cannot be conceived, and if one could absolutely dominate the consciences of two hundred millions of believers, he would, beyond question, be the lord of the world. In order that no resistance might, with any appearance of legitimacy arise, at least in the Roman Catholic church, there was a provision for the definite extinction of the episcopal office, in the declaration that the bishop of Rome was the universal bishop of the church, with powers unlimited, thus reducing the other bishops to the rank of his simple vicars. "Whoever says" — for such is the import of a relevant passage of the Vatican decree — "that the Roman pope has simply the official oversight and direction, but not the full and supreme juridical authority, over the entire church, not only in matters of faith and morals, but also in matters which relate to the discipline and administration of the church as spread over the whole earth, or that he possesses only the more important portion, but not the entire fullness, of this supreme authority, or that this his authority is not a legitimate or immediate one, whether over all and each of the churches, or over all and each of the pastors and believers — let him be accursed."

Such is the history of the events that prepared the way for the Old Catholic movement. The question now was whether the Catholic church everywhere was already so deeply sunken in spiritual slavery and indifference to truth in religion as to submit to this subversion of its doctrine and constitution. At least on the soil of German culture, in Germany and German Switzerland, the events in Rome, in spite of the Franco-German war, which immediately followed and held men's spirits in breathless tension, produced a great excitement. But from disapproval and the utterance of indignation to resistance, and from resistance to



positive measures adequate to secure redress, was a long step and one difficult to take. Even before a decision had been reached in Rome, eminent Catholic scholars, such as Döllinger, von Schulte, and Reinkens, had endeavored, in their several circles, to organize a protest; but they had met with such weakness and despondency in their theological colleagues that a Nuremberg declaration, prepared by Döllinger and subscribed with thirty-five good names, was, after all, not published. Only on condition that the bishops led the way with their protest would the most of the theologians agree to follow; otherwise not. But the bishops set the most pitiable example of lack of conscience and self-respect. Before their departure for Rome they had, in a joint pastoral letter, given this assurance to the flocks intrusted to their care: "Never can an ecumenical council declare a new doctrine which is not contained in the Holy Scriptures, or based on apostolic tradition; nor can such a council ever promulgate doctrines which are in conflict with the rights of the state and the state authorities, or unnecessarily out of harmony with the circumstances and needs of the time. The purpose of the council can, indeed, be no other than to place the old and original truth in a clearer light. Equally groundless and wholly unjustified is also the suspicion that freedom of discussion will be abridged by the council." Now, after the opposite of all this had taken place, as they knew from their own experience, they acted as if they had never given such assurance. Nay, they did not even keep the promise which they had given one another on their departure from Rome, that they would do nothing until after mutual counsel in Germany. One by one they betrayed each other and the cause. Perhaps some of them persuaded themselves that now, after the council's decision, they believed that which they had before found impossible of belief. But not all were so naively stupid as Melchers, archbishop of Cologne, of whom the good Professor Reusch said that, if the pope should tell him that the Holy Trinity consisted of four persons, he would believe even that. The miserable evasions by which the majority sought to cloak their submission, the pitiable attempts to give the Vatican dogma some other sense, which was neither another sense, nor any sense at all,

showed clearly the nature of their alleged faith. Not one of them rose to the height of resigning his office as one which he could not hold consistently with his honor; rather, in order to retain their official honors, they sacrificed personal honor. But the climax of ignominy was reached only when these ecclesiastical princes began to demand of their theologians the same change of faith which they themselves had made, and to force their entire clergy to submit to an article of faith which was not believed. One German bishop at least, the Würtemberg Bishop Hefele of Rottenburg, seemed disposed to be an exception. He was the most learned of the German bishops, and knew only too well the history of that Pope Honorius who, in the monothelitic controversy, was condemned by his own successors as a heretic, this case alone sufficing to cancel the whole fable of papal infallibility. "What I have to do," wrote this man after his return from the council, "is to me perfectly clear. I shall *never* accept the new dogma without the limitations demanded by us, and shall deny the validity and freedom of the council." And again: "I can in Rottenburg as little as in Rome conceal from myself that the new dogma is without a true and genuine biblical and traditional support, and that the church is incalculably injured, and has, indeed, never received a blow more severe and deadly than on the 18th of July of the present year." And again: "It will not be for want of will on the part of the hierarchy if the stake is not reëstablished within the nineteenth century. . . . It grieves me to say that I have lived many years in a profound illusion; I have thought I was serving the Catholic church, while I was in fact serving the caricature which Romanism and Jesuitism had made of it. It was in Rome that I first learned that what is there customarily practiced bears but the appearance and name of Christianity; it is but the shell; the kernel has vanished, all is externalized. What cares Rome for the conscience of the people, if only its ambition for dominion is gratified?" (Von Schulte, *Geschichte des Altkatholicismus*, pp 222-8). But even a bishop possessed of this knowledge and experience finally proved false to them, not because he changed his belief, but, as he himself admits, because, in his opinion, "a

schism had no chance of success," and because "the condition of a suspended and excommunicated bishop seemed to him intolerable." Instead of betaking himself to God, who causes the upright to prosper, he had recourse to the Württemberg government to know whether it would protect him if he remained firm. The latter, as faint-hearted as himself, answered that it desired peace in the land, and that he should submit. He did submit and sacrificed his conscience, only retaining sense of shame enough not to enforce this demand upon others. He once warned a pastor in a confidential way that it was now more perilous to doubt the papal infallibility than the divine Trinity; but this was all.

Of course, next to the bishops, it would have been the business of the German governments to reject the new dogma—for it sanctioned, among other things, the papal syllabus of 1864, and the syllabus in effect condemned essential principles of modern state life. Indeed, it was the clear duty of the government to reject the whole papal doctrine of the relation of church and state, of which Rauscher, the archbishop of Vienna, justly said that it stamps every Catholic as a born enemy of the state. But here, also, there was wanting in part a perception of the significance of these things, and in part a spirit of determination. As the council drew near, the Bavarian premier, Prince Hohenlohe (now imperial chancellor), called attention to the dangers which threatened the life of the state, and suggested measures for warding them off. These suggestions, however, Prince Bismarck, whose strong point had never been the estimate of intangible forces, refused to entertain. Even when the bishops returned from Rome, and a positive offer of state protection might perhaps have strengthened their spinal columns, he did nothing, and an irrevocable opportunity to make the young German empire free from Rome, and to preserve it from incalculable internal confusion and damage, was lost. Elsewhere, under the show of doing something, less than nothing was effected. In Austria the minister of public worship represented to the emperor that the new dogma was in the highest measure dangerous to the state, and that notice should be given of the termination of the existing con-

cordat. This was done, and then, in the approved Austrian style, the government proceeded as if the Vatican decree was not only not dangerous to the state, but in harmony with state laws, and its opposers were the dangerous party. In Würtemberg the new dogma was solemnly denied all validity as a law of the state—at the very moment when, by the enforced submission of Bishop Hefele, its actual effects were imposed upon the people and the state. In Bavaria, where the waves of public agitation rose highest, the publication of the Vatican decrees was forbidden, and certain pastors who refused to accept them were left undisturbed in their office; but when the bishops, notwithstanding the prohibition, published it, they remained not only unpunished, but unhindered in making it impossible for those pastors to hold their places. Further, when these same bishops began to persecute, the Prussian government was not clear as to what should be done. The minister of public worship, to be sure, protected Dr. Wollmann, a teacher of religion in the schools, and the professors at Breslau and Bonn who opposed the dogma, against the consequences of episcopal excommunication; but at the same time the president of the Rhine Province was permitted to warn a highly esteemed pastor, who held a position in the gift of the state, and who had the support of his parish; and, when the latter did not heed the warning, he was deprived of office and bread—a death-blow to the whole clerical opposition in Prussia. The Swiss confederation as such was not at all concerned in this matter; that single cantons afterward took it up and far excelled the great neighboring states in courage will be noticed later on.

Against the violence of the pope and the unfaithfulness of the bishops, the governments, both Catholic and Protestant, left it to private men, the laity, to maintain the rights and honor of Old Catholicism. As early as three weeks after the close of the council more than a thousand respectable Rhenish Catholics united at Königswinter in the declaration “that they did not acknowledge the decrees in regard to the absolute power and personal infallibility of the pope as the decisions of an ecumenical council, but rather rejected them as contradicting the tra-

ditional faith of the church." Shortly before this forty-three professors and teachers of the University of Munich, not members of the theological faculty, drew up a similar declaration, and this was followed in April, 1871, by the Munich "museum address," with eighteen thousand signers, which went to the government, its purpose being "to prevent the adoption in church and school of the new dogma and to revise the relation of church and state." A counter address, prepared by the archbishop of Munich, received scarcely half as many signatures and was rejected even by half the clergy. But respectable and significant as was this lay movement, what could laymen who wished to remain Catholics undertake without spiritual leaders? All eyes turned first to the venerable Dr. Döllinger. To his archbishop's demand that he submit he had put forth a truly classical letter of declination, in which he offered to argue the question of the new dogma before any theological tribunal; but he at the same time declared that, as a Christian, a theologian, a historian, a citizen of the state and of the German empire, he was unable, until better advised, to accept a doctrine so untrue and so pernicious. He had under him as provost five churches and eighteen clergymen, of whom sixteen were with him in opinion. Had he, after the excommunication which followed his refusal to submit, continued to exercise his office, he would have had on his side half of Munich and half of Bavaria, together with the king, who held firmly with him; and a Catholic church free from Rome would have been formed. But great as Döllinger was as a scholar and as a witness for the truth, and great as were his services in these directions down to his death in his ninetieth year—a man of action, a reformer he was not. Timid in the presence of popular assemblies and agitations, he withdrew into his study and advised his friends to limit themselves to a passive resistance, a counsel which, in the course of a year, would have brought the opposition to an end. Other men, more practical, more vigorous in action, had to come to the front, and fortunately there were such at hand: Michelis, Reinkens, and von Schulte, to whom were added, from Switzerland, Munzinger and Herzog. Michelis, professor of theology in the academy at Brauns-

berg, physically and spiritually a Westphalian giant, occupying the orthodox Catholic point of view, and at the same time a man of comprehensive philosophic and scientific culture, had hurled against the pope's declaration of infallibility the reproach that he had apostatized from the genuine Catholic faith. He did not shrink before the stonings received from the Romish rabble in the journeys which he undertook for the agitation of the subject, and at the next general convention of the Roman Catholics of Germany he appeared as the sole representative of the opposition, challenged anyone to debate with him upon the new dogma, but found no one to accept the challenge. Reinkens, professor of church history in the University of Breslau, a man richly endowed by nature and culture, combining in his character courage and amiability of manner, had stood, during the council itself, in the front rank of the German opposition. It was now *his* resistless eloquence above all, sustained by the energetic earnestness and fire of a religious conscience, which gathered thousands in Germany and Switzerland to the standard of a vigorous opposition. Hand in hand with the opponents of the dogma among the theologians, moreover, went the foremost canonist of Catholic Germany, Dr. von Schulte, professor of canon law in Prague, and up to that time confidential counselor of the prince-bishop, Cardinal Schwarzenberg. He gave up the brilliant career which the papal church opened before him for the service of suppressed truth and became the canonist of German Old Catholicism, for which he framed its excellent constitution and won the recognition of the Prussian government. In Switzerland only four friends of the new movement had come out in writing against the dogma which the seven bishops had brought back with them from Rome. Of the four, when the matter became serious, only one, Eduard Herzog, the young professor of New Testament interpretation at Lucerne, stood his ground. This man, as he had now no standing in Lucerne, removed to Germany and became pastor of the Old Catholic congregation just being formed in Crefeld. Then, when at length the Franco-Prussian war, which had absorbed public attention, was over, *one* man, but he one who was honored far and wide as a champion of the national church idea, Munzinger,

professor of law at Bern, raised the standard of protest, called Herzog back to his home, and secured in Reinkens an itinerant lecturer who awakened the minds of the people.

The problem which now demanded solution by the leaders of the movement—the actual building up of the church—was far more difficult than the creation of a thousand-voiced protest. Confronted by the necessity of forming a distinct organization by the side of the papal church ruled from the Vatican, they had to face the question, After what pattern shall it be built? No doubt there were many in the dissenting ranks who had long been in their real convictions entirely out of sympathy with the doctrine and practice of the Roman Catholic church, and who were deeply influenced by the ideas of modern culture; these would have been best pleased with a radical reformed church which, in its criticism and modifications of the actually existing order, would have gone even beyond historic Protestantism; but such a reformed church would, in the religious confusion of our time, scarcely have escaped the fate of "German Catholicism," that soap-bubble which in the fifth decade of this century had rapidly assumed great dimensions and as quickly burst, because it rejected all that was positive, together with all historic tradition. Others, whose minds were by education more firmly attached to the church doctrine and life, and who were merely offended by the Vatican innovation, were looking for an ecclesiastical organization which should differ from the papal church only by the exclusion of the new dogma. But such a Tridentinism, a papism without a pope, would have been simply a tower without an apex, and would have resulted in a church without power of self-development, without freedom, and with no proper adjustment to the conditions of the time. Fortunately, the leaders of the movement were able to steer between Scylla and Charybdis, and it is this fact that gives to Old Catholicism its distinctive character, recognized as yet, to be sure, by few Protestants, and its significance for the future. These men, pious Catholics from conviction, desired to remain what they were. For this very reason genuine Catholicism, not the papal and Jesuitical, but that ideal and reform-Catholicism which

they had long cherished in their souls, was the pattern after which they built; irrevocably outlawed in the papal church, it was now to take form outside of that body. In this sense the Munich congress, made up of more than three hundred delegates from Germany, Austria, and Switzerland, with numerous guests from all the Christian lands of the earth, as early as September, 1871, made out a distinct programme. It made this declaration: "We hold firmly to the Old Catholic faith, as attested by the Scriptures and tradition, as also to the Old Catholic worship." On this basis the newly created dogmas of Pius IX, including that of the *conceptio immaculata* of Mary, were expressly rejected, and it was also added that an ecumenical council cannot even by unanimous vote settle anything as an article of faith which does not already exist in the faith-consciousness of the Catholic people and is not susceptible of being shown by the aid of theological science to be in harmony with the original faith of the church. In like manner, having determined to hold firmly to the old church constitution, every attempt to the contrary was rejected; such as "forcibly depriving the bishops of the independent direction of the affairs of their several churches." Further they declared: "We aim, with the coöperation of theological and canonical science, at a reform of the church which, conceived in the spirit of the ancient church, shall remove the existing defects and abuses, and in particular meet the just wishes of the Catholic people for constitutionally regulated participation in church affairs." In the name of this reform-principle they expressed the hope that a reunion with the eastern church and a gradual understanding with the church of the Reformation might be brought about; demanded for the clergy a more liberal and scientific culture, and a position more secure against hierarchical despotism; declared against the hostility of the church to the state life, civil liberty, and liberal culture; and, finally, pronounced the death-sentence against the Jesuit order as the pernicious destroyer of the church and of morals.

The Cologne congress of the autumn of 1872, attended by all the notable participators in the movement—three hundred and fifty German and Swiss delegates—and by seventy-two



prominent guests from other confessions, went still further in a practical direction. Here, under Döllinger's lead, took place those interconfessional conferences with a view to union which affirmed the dogmatic agreement of all the great sections of the church. Catholic doctrine was defined to be the common Christian doctrine, the *quod semper, ubique et ab omnibus creditum est*, and the old ecumenical councils, but not that of Trent, were acknowledged as the authentic interpreters of the same. The leaders of the Old Catholicism especially declared "that the apocryphal books of the Old Testament have not the same canonical authority as those of the Hebrew canon; that no translation of the Bible can claim a higher authority than the original; that the reading of the Holy Scriptures in the vernacular cannot justly be forbidden; that it is in general more appropriate that the liturgy should be in the language understood by the people; that the means and condition of justification is the faith which works by love, not faith without love; that salvation cannot be merited, and that the doctrines of a transfer of the superfluous righteousness of the saints is especially untenable; that the doctrine of seven sacraments is the result of a theological speculation dating only from the twelfth century; that the invocation of the saints is not a duty necessary to salvation; that genuine tradition is the uninterrupted transmission, partly oral, partly written, of the doctrines as first delivered by Christ and the apostles; that the celebration of the eucharist is not a continual repetition or renewal of the atoning sacrifice which Christ once for all offered upon the cross, but that its sacrificial character consists in its being a perpetual memorial of the sacrifice, an exhibition upon earth, making the offering of Christ for the salvation of the redeemed as if present here, as, according to the epistle to the Hebrews (Heb., chap. 9), it is perpetually made by him in heaven; that it is also a sacred sacrificial meal in which believers who receive the body and blood of the Lord have fellowship with each other." The doctrine of transubstantiation was declared to be a scholastic speculation in regard to the mystery of the Lord's Supper, and therefore not binding.

Under the lead of Dr. von Schulte the determinative features

of the Old Catholic church order were fixed. Its leading point of view was the same as that given a few days later in a memorial addressed to the Prussian government. "Undeniably," it says, "the greatest evil, the germ of all corruption in the Roman Catholic church, lies in the fact that the *congregation* is destroyed, that the church is identified with the clergy, and in the end with the pope. Out of this has sprung the theory of blind obedience, of the superiority of an uneducated to an educated laity, and of the desirability of a clergy having a minimum of preparation; finally, the ultramontane spirit which, especially in Germany, has been for eight hundred years inimical to the state and the hatred of the Roman curia for all state independence." The outlines of the new church order were fixed in antithesis to all this. The bishop is to have the rights which common ecclesiastical law prescribes for his office; but with him shall be associated a synod of the clergy and laity of the congregations, supreme in matters of legislation and discipline. He is to be the presiding officer of the synod, but elected by it. He is to hold the state laws inviolate, and his pastoral letters are to be communicated in advance to the state authorities. All hindrances to marriage which are not recognized in the state laws and the demand that children of mixed marriages shall be educated as Catholics are given up. He is to consecrate no priest who is not a full citizen of the state and of blameless morals, having also completed a course of study in a German gymnasium and university, and passed his examinations; and he is to appoint no pastor who has not been chosen by the congregation and acknowledged by the government as *persona grata*. He shall raise no taxes for dispensations and appointments.

Upon these fundamental principles the movement which, in opposition to the Roman and Vatican innovations, has taken the name "Old Catholic," began to take form ecclesiastically. There have been formed in Prussia, Bavaria, and Baden numerous Old Catholic societies; these have sought to obtain the joint use of Catholic or evangelical churches, and have from time to time held service under the lead of the clergy who have remained true. The stronger of these have endeavored to obtain

pastors of their own, which, however, has been very difficult, because but few pastors had resisted the "hunger-dogma," so called because it was the chief motive for submission, and even of these few, not all possessed the necessary qualifications and were morally unobjectionable. In general, as soon as the step is to be taken from a mere protesting league (*Protestverein*) to a regular organized congregation, difficulties of mountain height rise before these scattered little bands, and these they cannot alone surmount. It was necessary that as soon as possible a church government should be established and a bishop chosen. But how could a legitimate bishop be obtained, since, according to the Catholic conception, such a one could be consecrated only by another legitimate bishop? Here the peculiarly situated Catholic church of Utrecht gave its help. In Holland, from the times when the pope and the Jesuits suppressed Jansenism, a body of a few thousands of the persecuted had remained firm to their position, having an archbishop and two suffragans, excommunicated indeed, but still in legitimate succession, and these Dutch Old Catholics, as born enemies of the papal infallibility, had from the beginning felt themselves attracted by the German movement. Their archbishop, Loos, had in 1872 helped the German dissidents out with their confirmation and was willing to consecrate their bishop; there was, however, still another condition of the consecration to be settled, that is, the state recognition. In America this would not have been found necessary; but under our German constitution a neglect of the state would have meant a renunciation of the legal standing and right of support which the Roman Catholic church enjoys. Old Catholicism, without recognition by the state, would have been, in the eyes of the people, a sect, and in regard to this Dr. von Schulte judged rightly when he said: "In the sight of God that would, indeed, be a matter of indifference; but to presuppose, on the part of the masses, a point of view which is possible only for a spiritually elevated man, with the enlightenment of a deep inward piety, is out of the question in a community brought up in bondage to the domination of the Roman conception of the church." Accordingly he applied to the Prus-

sian government, at that time represented by Prince Bismarck and Dr. Falk, and through them secured the royal recognition, as a Catholic, of the bishop to be elected, as also a grant of 48,000 marks for the expenses of the bishop and his administration. When this had been accomplished, the delegates of the congregations, both clerical and lay, proceeded in the manner of the ancient church to the election of a bishop, which took place in the chapel of the city hall in Cologne on the 4th of June, 1873. They were nearly unanimous in the choice of Professor D. Reinkens, of Bonn, the best man that could have been chosen. As Archbishop Loos had just died, Bishop Heykamp, of Deventer, laid hands upon the bishop-elect. Following Prussia, Baden and Hesse also gave their recognition for their respective countries, while Bavaria, on the pretext that its constitution did not know a bishop residing outside of its territory, declined. With the election of a bishop the founding of the Old Catholic church of the German empire was complete.

In Switzerland things took a somewhat different course, since here, in addition to the movement which had its start with Munzinger, several cantonal governments took up the matter. Lachat, bishop of Basel, to whom the Catholic cantons of Bern, Basel, Solothurn, Aargau, Thurgau, and Lucerne were subject, published the Vatican decrees without the consent of the cantonal governments, and excommunicated two pastors who had rejected them, and when the withdrawal of this action was demanded by the majority of these cantons, he refused in a defiant manner, and these cantons declared him deposed, so that he was recognized only in Lucerne. The pastors of the French-speaking part of Bern—those in the Jura mountains—so violently protested against the removal of Lachat that nothing remained but to dismiss them also and give the positions to any from abroad who announced themselves as candidates. These were mostly men of doubtful character who, as appointees of a cantonal government in conflict with the pope, simply passed for Old Catholics, without really being such. At the same time also the canton of Geneva came into conflict with the papal curia, because the pope wished to send to Geneva Mermillod,

the ultramontane zealot and later adjunct to the bishop of Lausanne, as independent vicar apostolic, whom the government, however, refused to receive. In his stead there came to Geneva the French reformer Hyacinthe Loyson, who had withdrawn from the papal church. He introduced reform measures much more sweeping than those of the German Old Catholics, which, however, did not fully satisfy the desires of the cantonal government, since they provided no connection with a larger body. In the meantime Munzinger, with the help of Reinkens and Herzog, had carried the Old Catholic movement in German Switzerland so far that the idea of a church organization could be entertained; but when in April, 1873, he was removed by a premature death, there arose the danger of a break with the traditional Catholic constitution. The dissenters, offended partly by the conduct of Lachat and the Roman bishops generally, and partly following their Swiss democratic bias, were little inclined to the election of an Old Catholic bishop, and favored a mere confederation of self-governing congregations, which would, to be sure, have been an entire abandonment of the ground of historic Catholicism. Dr. Herzog, then professor in Bern, had, as a stubborn defender of the Old Catholic principle, a difficult position; he was, however, aided by the fact that Geneva demanded for its Catholic congregations an episcopal authority, and so, when at length, on the 7th of June, 1876, a bishop was elected here also, the choice fell by a large majority upon Herzog himself. But the episcopal office here was of much more limited authority than in Germany. The government was in the hands of a synod, of which the majority of the members and the president were laymen, and the bishop was recognized as such only in the standing committee of the synod. The whole grant which the cantons allowed him was but 5,000 francs a year, as it was supposed that he would still hold the place of a professor, or pastor. Yet, even under such conditions, the excellent personal qualities of the man chosen enabled him to develop an ample and beneficent activity.

We come now to the development of the Old Catholic church as thus founded. We learn the sense and spirit of the new

episcopate from some passages of the pastoral letter of Bishop Reinkens written on entering upon his office. "It would be," he says, "an illusion to think that it is the business of the episcopal office to represent the divine attributes on earth in virtue of a perpetuity of miracle in the person of the bishop. The episcopal office has attached to it no personal privilege for the benefit of a few choice souls, but a *service for the believers*. What then is my official duty? This: to publish abroad what God has revealed to the humble; to preach from the housetops that which he has made known to his disciples in secret. And what is that? It is not a criminal code; much less is it a death-sentence, spoken in the form of a curse; for the indictment of humanity was nailed to the cross, and with the blood of him who has judged no man, but has given his life for us, it is blotted out. It is the gospel, the joyful message, not the terror, but the joy of the human race; that truth, which, while it makes them free, can only in freedom spread abroad its light, for in freedom only the light of peace can shine. *Christ* is this truth. . . . Two mighty enemies oppose the discharge of my duty; these are ecclesiastical materialism, and indifference, both of them begotten and nourished to their present magnitude by the pernicious Romanism of the western church. . . . Further, there stand as hindrances at the right and left of our way the halting ones (*Halben*), some calling to us, 'You go a little too far for us,' and others, 'You go hardly far enough for us.' To these calls I answer: 'We shall go as far as the spirit of Jesus Christ shall lead, and no farther.' . . . On our banner is inscribed on the one side, 'Other foundation can no man lay than that which is laid, which is Jesus Christ' (1 Cor. 3: 12), and on the other, 'Whatever is not done from conviction is sin' (Rom. 14: 23)."

So it was not a Roman, but a truly evangelic Catholicism which received the shepherd's staff—the same in Bern as in Bonn—and the whole form and organization of the new church upon which the two bishops, despite the fact that the authority was divided with the synod, exerted the decisive influence, received this evangelic impress. Most of all is this true of the

character of the instruction given in preaching and teaching. The preaching of the biblical gospel, according to the interpretation given to it in the pastoral letter quoted from above, was all the more influential from the fact that the two bishops set the example in their preaching. Both were eminent preachers of the gospel, not dogmatists, but preachers of the simple biblical truths in vivid and practical style. The doctrinal principle, *quod semper, ubique et ab omnibus creditum est*, while allowing great dogmatic freedom, excluded all critical neology. It held to the common essence of the faith, without holding the preacher to a dogmatic law of the letter. Bishop Reinkens especially did not deny that, even in case of an Old Catholic dogma, which was fixed by an ecumenical council, and which none but an ecumenical council has the right to revise, a distinction is to be made between the contents of divine and eternal truth, and the mere human and temporary theological form, the latter often constructed with the aid of Aristotelian categories. A new catechism introduced the youth to a knowledge of the evangelical Catholic truth. This teaches that in the New Testament the doctrine of Christ, as the apostles have delivered it, is contained in essential completeness; that even the church, in her assemblies, when she desired to establish the "always, everywhere, and by all believed," had to go first to this source, and only when the Holy Scriptures did not with sufficient clearness decide a contested question, was compelled to accept the aid of tradition for the interpretation of Scripture. The church in this catechism is defined to be the "community of believers," and to the question as to what we receive in the Holy Supper it answers simply, "we receive in the Holy Supper the Savior himself in the forms of bread and wine, in order thus to become partakers of his atoning sacrifice upon the cross and to enter into the most intimate union as well with the Savior as with each other." Divine worship has preserved its Old Catholic form, which, indeed, a portion of the church of the Reformation has retained, but the congregation has been given an active part. The congregation takes part in the liturgy, both in speaking and in singing; the German, and chiefly the evangelical church hymnody,

which in the Roman Catholic church has been as far as possible suppressed, is restored to use. The use of the mother tongue has been greatly extended, although in the mass the Latin, in this case preferred by the people, has been more or less retained. The remainder of the liturgy, the prayers, and Scripture selections are read in German, and in order more freely to introduce the Holy Scriptures there have been added to the old prescribed gospels and epistles a new selection for alternate use. A whole series of explanations and definitions guard against the superstitious abuse of the mass. "The Old Catholics are to be taught that in the celebration of the holy mass in the first place the entire church, and especially those present, are to be prayed for, and that the communion is the best means of becoming partaker of the grace given through the celebration." The remembrance of the dead in prayer is not forbidden, but is restricted to private prayer, each for his own dead. All mass stipends and stole dues are abolished. The system of holidays is revised and simplified throughout on a biblical basis. "We do not celebrate three holy kings, but the epiphany of the Lord; not the bodily ascent of Mary, but the day of her death;" "Good Friday is of course to be celebrated and sanctified by a cessation of labor." And so everywhere the Roman Catholic superstition is guarded against. "Indulgences" are abolished. In regard to fasts and abstinence the synod of 1874 gave a genuine evangelical exposition, not dismissing the subject, but declining to legislate upon the extent and kind of fasting as being a matter lying beyond its competence. Auricular confession, the chief agency of the Roman church for enslaving the conscience, is reformed in accordance with liberty of conscience. "Personal self-accusation without repentance, without faith in the redeeming work of Christ, and without a desire for his grace, is worthless." Whoever will receive the communion has, according to direction of the apostle, to examine *himself* beforehand. On the other hand, there is no general obligation to go to the confessional (*das Buss sacrament zu empfangen*) before the communion. A religious obligation to special confession exists only in the case of those acts of sin through which one becomes conscious of hav-



ing forfeited the divine grace. "It is not the purpose of confession that one should through it seek counsel in relation to his temptations, obligations, circumstances, and decisions; believers are to be taught to act according to their own consciences, and, when they are in need of advice, to apply for it to those naturally best able to impart it, especially to parents, husbands, wives, brothers, sisters, and friends." Thus voluntary private confession takes the place of compulsory auricular confession. But provision was also made for a general devotional service preparatory to the Lord's Supper. Finally, marriage was made the subject of important reforms. No clergyman may officiate in a marriage until the demands of the civil law are satisfied. Then the church benediction, to seek which is made a religious duty, is everywhere bestowed, except in marriages with non-Christians, and in marriages of divorced persons while the other party is still living. "In the case of mixed marriages there is to be no stipulation of special rights in behalf of one party regarding the education of the children." One of the questions practically most difficult for the newly organized Old Catholicism was that of the marriage of the priesthood. Hyacinthe Loyson had solved it independently by his own marriage, and the Old Catholic clergy of French Switzerland followed his example. In German Switzerland it was deemed sufficient to declare that the married or unmarried condition of the clergy was of no significance as respects the validity of their official services, and about half of the clergy remained unmarried. Still more reserved was the action in Germany. While theoretically there was unity of conviction that the forced celibacy of the clergy was un-Christian, and while the cultured laity, having in mind the corruption of the priesthood caused by it, advocated the repeal of the law of celibacy, the most of the priesthood opposed such action on account of the popular feeling and the insinuations of their opponents. Finally, in 1878, the German synod by a large majority determined to leave the priests free in the matter, subject, however, to the concurrence of the individual congregations. A considerable part of the clergy, in view of their slender financial resources, have made no use of

this liberty; nevertheless, the action of the synod has contributed essentially to the elevation of the clergy, giving them each the character of the citizen and the man instead of that of the parson.

Of all these reforms, effected in the beginning at annual and later at biennial synods, only the question of celibacy has caused even a transient agitation. In general the conservative and liberal tendencies have acted so on the line of reason as to limit themselves to that which was necessary, and accustom the congregations to the new state of things. So, for instance, the giving of the cup to the laity, which took place here and there in Switzerland, was in Germany reserved to the future, since the congregations did not ask for it. On the whole, the new church order, as von Schulte drew it up, proved itself a very happy medium between freedom and authority. To the bishop alone belong confirmation and ordination, and he appoints pastors provisionally, and after six months a free election by the congregation decides whether his appointments shall be permanent. He exercises the spiritual oversight to the extent of suspension from office; deposition from office can take place only by the action of the synod. The congregations govern themselves through their boards of direction and representation, and the standing of the pastors rests upon a moral, not upon a hierarchical basis. It occurred once that an ambitious pastor attempted to rebel against the rule of the bishop and the synodical committee, using means of a very doubtful character. He was patiently borne with for a long time, but when this could be done no longer, the matter was brought before the synod, he was unanimously removed, and in a short time his successor had won back the irritated congregation. In spite of this excellent administration, the difficulties to be surmounted in the management of the Old Catholic church were extraordinarily great. As to the external founding and support of the congregations, there were, indeed, in Prussia and Baden laws enacted for the Old Catholics, securing to those who declared themselves to be adherents of the reform, where they made up a considerable part of the parish, a joint use of the Catholic church and a corresponding share of the parish

income. But not only was it necessary, first of all, to secure the recognition of these claims on the part of the government, but such was the enormous majority of the adherents of the Roman church that next to nothing was received towards the pastor's support. The portion of the 48,000 marks granted by Prussia to the bishop which remained over for the assistance of the congregations, and the 18,000, later 24,000, which Baden appropriated for parochial needs, were far from sufficient to carry on the pastoral work, so that in these two lands, and much more in Bavaria, where the Old Catholics received nothing at all either from church endowments or state resources, the congregations were obliged to take upon themselves heavy financial burdens. A second and still greater need was the lack of able clergymen, but few, as already observed, having ventured to reject the Vatican dogma. The Old Catholics were as yet unable to offer a secure, much less an abundant, support. And of the few who had passed over to them, it is clear, as in the time of the Reformation, many were incapable of overcoming the defects of the Roman Catholic education for the priesthood. Many priests, to be sure, secretly offered themselves to the Old Catholic bishops, but most of them had to be rejected on account of stains in their past lives, and even of those who after a conscientious examination were accepted many proved disappointing. Many a rising Old Catholic congregation was wrecked in the first decade by its pastor's weakness of character and want of tact. Let it be further added that the congregations also could not have been of the ideal kind, but bore the distinct traces of their previous servitude to Rome; that with a nucleus of pious people of firm character there were not wanting elements that were unprepared for the new freedom, and turned it into a license unbecoming the church. Such is a picture of the inner distresses which strained to the utmost the spiritual force and love of the able members of the body.

And now to all this was added the fearful persecution of the "deserters" by the Roman Catholic church, in which the persecutors outnumbered the persecuted a hundred to one, besides controlling unlimited resources and employing methods in part

hitherto unheard of, a persecution in which, it must be confessed also, the Old Catholics received no appreciable aid from their Protestant brethren. German Protestantism, absorbed in the establishment of the new empire and in the material interests which ruled the time, crippled by the wide-spread ignorance and indifference in ecclesiastical matters, and, indeed, selfishly occupied with its own internal questions, paid little attention to the movement, which, even for Protestantism itself, was so full of meaning. The Old Catholics, when they requested it, were, indeed, allowed the joint use of the churches, but this was done mostly with the thought that the dissenters from the Roman church would have done better to become Protestants; as if they, as honest, pious Catholics, could forthwith have done this, and as if the internal condition of Protestantism could possibly have appeared so inviting to them as to induce them to abandon for it the great mission which they believed themselves able to accomplish within the realm of Catholicism. With all the greater energy did Rome advance against them. First of all, of course, the confessional was set in motion against them. By filling with terror and fanatical zeal the minds of the wives, daughters, and relatives of those who had signed the protests, they brought not a few of them to the unhappy position of that professor of law at Bonn who soon declared that he should have to withdraw his signature to prevent his being made insane by intolerable domestic dissension. Another means used was the boycott, which, through the numerous lay fraternities and sororities, could be set in operation with great effect against business and laboring people. What could the isolated Old Catholic, dependent for his daily bread upon Roman Catholics, do when his patronage was withdrawn? The ruin of the leaders of the movement, and especially the bishop, a man of most unblemished reputation and character, was attempted by the ordinary means of insinuations against their chastity, and these calumnies became so severe that the Old Catholic journals were obliged to declare that, if they did not cease, retaliatory measures would be taken and the public would now be served with facts. Then there was quiet. But they had at least the power to make the Old Catho-

lics as a body an object of horror to the faithful adherents of Romanism. They were solemnly excommunicated, characterized as the "wretched sons of perdition," who were not even to be greeted—the expression is an exaggeration of the biblical characterization of Judas Iscariot—and their public worship was declared sacrilegious. In order to make this judgment more emphatic, something quite new was invented; that is, that the Catholic churches were, by joint use of the Old Catholics, so desecrated as to be unfit for the Roman Catholic worship. By an edict of the papal nuncio at Munich, the Roman Catholics were obliged to leave those churches of which the state laws had granted the joint use of the Old Catholics, and in many places to occupy miserable temporary buildings. The people were the more effectually frightened from attendance at the Old Catholic services, and filled with indignation and abhorrence towards them, as these now appeared as robbers of their churches. In vain was it pointed out that in many places the Roman worship was conducted in the same churches with that of the Protestants. In vain did the learned Old Catholic, Professor Reusch, prove that the papal church interdict was in contradiction with canonical law. It was obeyed by the Catholic people of the lower classes and made fanatics of them, and through them produced an intimidating effect even upon the attitude of the Protestant governments.

This fierce warfare on the part of Romanism would have been endurable if the state had distributed its light and air at least equally between the powerful majority and the small minority. This it has not done, even in Baden and in powerful Protestant Prussia, not to speak of such states as Bavaria and Austria, where the governments stood, and still stand, in the secret service of ultramontaniam. Prussia did, indeed, just at that time open a bitter war against the Roman Catholic church in her territory, the so-called *Culturkampf*, but it was no war in the interests of Old Catholicism, and quite as little to its advantage; indeed quite the contrary. The *Culturkampf* was the belated and unsuccessful attempt to force bishops and priests, upon whom the papal omnipotence and supremacy had just been

imposed as an article of faith, to the recognition of a state authority which had its origin in the supremacy of the state over the church, and in the political freedom of conscience on the part of Roman Catholics. In vain did the Old Catholics utter their warnings against such a forlorn attempt, and yet they were the first to suffer from it. The state sought its support, not in Old Catholicism, but in a state-Catholicism invented by itself, that is, in the party of those thick heads who fancied that they could yield their consciences to be enslaved by an infallible pope and at the same time be free and law-abiding citizens of a free state. As a consequence, public interest in Old Catholicism abated. Still more; by means of the violent attacks of the state upon the Roman church the ignominious change of faith of the bishops and priests was forgotten, the people learned to honor again as martyrs those whom they had just now despised as renegades, and brave confessors of the Old Catholic faith appeared in contrast with them as protégés of the persecuting state administration. Thus perhaps nothing has done more to hinder the popular spread of Old Catholicism than the opening of the *Culturkampf* just at the moment when everything was in the making. But the Prussian state did not, even at the time when it was in bitterest war with the Roman church, fulfill the obligations of simple justice to Old Catholicism, although the latter was most loyally rendering to Cæsar what was Cæsar's, but failed to keep its promise, though, to be sure, originally rather from a want of the firmness necessary to execute a good purpose than from really bad intention.

When Dr. von Schulte, in January, 1873, was in negotiation with Prince Bismarck, he was told: "I hold the Old Catholics to be the only Catholics, to whom really everything belongs. I have hitherto prevented any smallest thing happening that could militate against this position. If the government will not carry out this view, it must at least give you what you need." In like manner Dr. Falk expressed himself, and, as the least to be granted, promised "equal rights." If the government had at the right moment assumed the position first indicated, treated the adherents of the pre-Vatican church as those Catholics

with whom alone legal relations existed, and had left the church which had been changed in the Vatican interest to negotiate for a new relation to the state, it would have escaped the whole *Culturkampf*. And if it had even held to the second view, that of equality of rights, its course would of necessity have been quite different from that actually pursued. It would have been obliged to support the Old Catholic bishop as liberally as the Roman bishops; it would have been bound to relinquish to the Old Catholics one at least of the Catholic theological faculties, and to assign to them at once a sufficient part of the church buildings, and of the general and local church funds. And, above all, it was bound to inform the Catholics of the country that they must decide to which of the parties they desired to belong. When, however, the Old Catholics requested this, and asked that in each parish where there were Old Catholics everyone should announce himself, the Prussian privy counselors found it quite impossible, and only laid upon the Old Catholics the duty of registering themselves as such. In this way the Old Catholics were, from the beginning, reduced to a vanishing minority; for, of course, the timid, the wavering, the ignorant, and the worldly remained at home, and so aided in swelling immensely the Vatican majority. From this reduction of the number of the Old Catholic minority there resulted also a corresponding diminution of their claims upon the state. The bishop's grant of 48,000 marks was less than the lowest amount granted to a Roman Catholic bishop, and the greater half of this, designated for the aid of the congregations, was not placed in the hands of the bishop, but administered directly by the minister of public worship, by which method the councilors of this department have in ten years kept from the needy congregations 31,358 marks! The theological faculty at Bonn, with but a single exception, passed over to the Old Catholics; but instead of being given over wholly, or at least in half, to Old Catholicism, on the death of any Old Catholic member the place thus vacated was filled by an adherent of the Vatican, and yet the legislation of this same state requires of the Old Catholics also that their clergy shall have pursued their studies at a Prus-

sian university. If the Old Catholics, after having made the greatest sacrifices for the sake of their own church, nevertheless in any instance found themselves unable to form such a congregation as would be recognized by the state—and this was in most instances the case—they were compelled to continue paying taxes to the Roman Catholic church, which, with the greatest pleasure, collected from these excommunicated “sons of perdition” their money, this not having been excommunicated. When the Old Catholics pleaded for exemption from this injustice, they were told that their only way of escape was by the organization of a church. If, after complying with all the conditions, they asked for recognition, all possible administrative difficulties were placed in their way, and the decision was often delayed for years. Not but that the government, up to the Canossa crisis of 1878, was well disposed, but the execution of the Old Catholic law was placed in the hands of the provincial presidents, who were intrusted with the duty of examining and deciding upon each separate case, and these gentlemen were, with few exceptions, so little favorable to Old Catholicism that they may, without exaggeration, be said to have done all they could to strangle it with governmental red tape. The Old Catholics did not fit into an administrative mold which was made for only two confessions; moreover, the administration feared the fanaticism of the Roman Catholic majority of the population, desiring as far as possible to please them. Furthermore, suggestions emanating from ultramontane sources were, even in the midst of the *Culturkampf*, constantly and unceasingly circulated. And in a state whose watchword is *suum cuique* occurred things which would not be deemed possible were they not proved by documentary evidence, which may be seen in von Schulte's *History of German Old Catholicism*.

These acts of state chicanery related specially to the law which allowed to the Old Catholics the joint use of the Catholic churches. Instead of protecting them against the arbitrary papal interdict which closed such churches to Roman worship, the state administration aided in the execution of the arbitrary papal act, attempting in every way to prevent the Old Catho-



lics from entering these churches, or else to exclude them after they had entered them. Nor was the government content to limit itself to reasonable attempts at mediation, for which the Old Catholics were always ready, but sometimes adopted the policy of directly seeking the ruin of their congregations. In Crefeld the provincial government at Düsseldorf, in five years of vacillation, brought it about that the Old Catholic congregation, recognized by the state, and having a church belonging to it by provision of law, was not only not put in possession of it, but the sum of 90,000 marks insincerely offered by the Roman Catholics for its release to them, after having been accepted by the Old Catholics, was finally reduced to 30,000 marks. Likewise in Wiesbaden the presidents of administration and police by their combined efforts succeeded in expelling from the church the Old Catholics, to whom it had been legally opened, and the police demanded the list of members and betrayed the same to the Roman Catholic clergy to be used for their work of conversion, fixed for the expulsion of the Old Catholics the day of the festival of ascension, and permitted an extraordinary procession. These examples were followed in Baden, where at first it was honestly intended to execute the Old Catholic law, but after the conclusion of the Prussian *Culturkampf* in the inglorious Canossa pilgrimage of 1878, there arose an unworthy spirit of adulation towards the papacy. In Karlsruhe a congregation of 1,300 souls obtained recognition only on the condition, imposed at the outset, that it should renounce its claim to the use of the Catholic church. In Freiburg the university church, which the university had assigned to the Old Catholics, was, after years of use by them, taken from them by the government. In Saeckingen, on the pretense that their numbers were diminished, though the opposite was proved, the parish church was taken from them, and they were exiled to a hurriedly fitted up and damp chapel. Here and there country congregations, treated with such acts of violence, which of course made a deep impression on the people, were actually broken up. Nor has this treatment of the Old Catholics by the state, which has been pursued for years, and may justly be

regarded as administrative persecution, been limited to the matter of the church edifices. It has extended through the entire state administration. I will only call attention to the pressure which was brought to bear upon Old Catholicism in the matter of school administration. The Old Catholics saw their children in the Catholic public schools treated in such a manner that, when it was possible, they established private schools at their own cost. Then they had, still in addition to these, the burdens of the Roman Catholic public schools to bear. In the higher institutions of learning the evangelical and Roman Catholic teachers are paid by the state, the Old Catholic are not, although the authorities have demanded that they provide one such teacher. Among the gymnasium professors the Old Catholic movement had found especial approval; but it was soon observed that no Old Catholic was made gymnasium principal (*Gymnasial-Director*); so that those who desired to rise higher in their career were induced for this reason to renounce their confession. From all the foundations and benefices in Bonn for students of Catholic theology not a single Old Catholic has ever received anything whatever. And if all this took place in the green tree, under Protestant governments such as those of Prussia and Baden, what was to be expected in the dry, that is, in Bavaria? In Munich Dr. Friedrich, the only Old Catholic professor of theology besides Döllinger, was transferred against his will to the philosophical faculty; but the venerable Döllinger was so feared by the government that it not only left him personally unmolested, but also his associates in the faith. But he had scarcely closed his eyes when the heir-apparent declared in his speech from the throne, delivered in the upper house, that he wished to put an end to Old Catholicism, and a law was accordingly passed denying the name and standing of Catholic to the Old Catholics and stamping them as a sect with a right only to private exercise of their religion. Thus it is evident that the German governments to which reference has been made have well served the interests of the infallible papacy.

Of course, under such double pressure from the Roman church and the state, the latter subservient to the former, the

Old Catholic cause not only could not spread to any considerable extent for a time, but the church declined numerically. Thousands who in their first zeal had signed the anti-Vatican protest were lost to the movement when it became clear that unless they withdrew they must suffer a lifelong martyrdom; the papal church, ceaseless in its efforts, reduced many to subjection; there are, perhaps, still more who, wearied of their material and moral sacrifices, have quietly taken refuge in the Protestant church. In the first years after the election of the bishop there were estimated to be about seventy thousand Old Catholics in the German empire; at present only from forty to fifty thousand are to be found; in Bavaria, especially, most of the congregations have ceased to exist. The ultramontanists have triumphed. In the very beginning of the movement a Cologne Jesuit, speaking from the pulpit, comforted his anxious hearers with the assurance: "The Old Catholics will not succeed, they have no *money*;" and now it has become fashionable in ultramontane and congenial circles to declare Old Catholicism dead. This, however, is not true. Although there is no longer any hope that the Catholic reform movement will at an early day take on great dimensions, nevertheless it has never stood still, and in its internal development has notably advanced. In quietly contemplating the ways of God, which are almost always circuitous, it is evident that often too sudden growth in externals has been at the expense of inner strengthening. A winnowing was, perhaps, necessary in order to separate all the chaff from the precious grain, and I am convinced that in Prussia, where such force has been employed against it, the movement has not only proved its power to live, but has made real progress. Though many have dropped off from the congregations, there has nevertheless been in a great number of them a constant filling of these gaps, and, of course, from among those who now know what they take upon themselves by this step. In every congregation which has over it an able pastor there is a quiet and constant growth. Ever-increasing numbers of societies have formed themselves into regular congregations, and as such have been recognized by the state. An

obvious sign of life, and at the same time a guaranty for the future, is seen in the number of church edifices now owned by them, thus liberating the congregations that own them from their insecure and limited accommodation as guests in Roman Catholic or Protestant churches. With great sacrifices on their own part and the faithful aid of their brethren in the faith, with some added support from Protestants, the congregations of Munich and Passau in Bavaria, Crefeld, Saarbrücken, and Kattowitz in Prussia, Hessloch in Hesse, and Karlsruhe in Baden, have built churches for themselves, and others are doing the same. A further and more important progressive work is the reconstruction of the Old Catholic clergy. The frequent painful experiences with the clergy received from the papacy made evident the necessity of educating their own men for the future supply of their clerical ranks, and as the state offered no assistance in this work, the bishop undertook it himself. He founded, in Bonn, a seminary for students of theology, which he hoped would, with the help afforded by the presence of the university, develop into an academic establishment for theological studies, and in a few years he had the satisfaction of seeing the school so far endowed by free contributions that it was recognized by the state. In addition to these purely ecclesiastical enterprises, the Old Catholics have developed also a large activity on the part of their congregations in the direction of efforts for social amelioration, in which the aggressive life of Catholicism expresses itself more freely and more purely than in other directions. In order to protect themselves against the propagandism of the "Sisters of Charity," they have founded several deaconess-houses. They have in addition established for the benefit of pastors and their families a burial fund, a pension system, and a fund for widows and orphans; also a number of scholarships for theological students, and a publication society for the dissemination of Old Catholic literature. In the separate congregations there are flourishing societies of women and of young people, sociables, choral societies, lectures, and congregational entertainments. Although the congregations are made up of all ranks, and the rich are but sparsely represented

in them, liberality in giving has shown itself to a very remarkable degree. The 15,000 Prussian Old Catholics alone had, according to von Schulte, up to the year 1883 contributed half a million marks for church purposes; those of Bavaria, Hesse, and Baden had made corresponding contributions, and since that time a still larger amount has been added. They have not only untiringly taxed themselves for building churches, and given the bishop a beautiful edifice and more than a hundred thousand marks for his seminary at Bonn, but also sustain all the benevolent funds mentioned above, and beside all this a central fund from which the bishop may aid poor and distressed congregations. Finally, the Old Catholics from the beginning to this day have developed a wonderful literary activity, and have thus proved themselves to be an intellectual force of the present time. They publish in Germany two journals, a noted and learned one, the excellent *Deutscher Mercur*, of Munich, and a popular one, the *Altkatholische Volksblatt*, of Bonn. Further, there is published an excellent woman's journal, the contributions being all by women. Besides these in Germany, there are the Swiss, Dutch, French, and Italian organs, and the *International Theological Review*, edited in Bern. A succession of classical works, which contain material of great importance for us Protestants also, have since 1873 been sent forth by the leaders of the movement, von Döllinger, von Schulte, Reusch, Reinke, Langen, and others, together with a profusion of liturgical, polemic, practical, or popular pamphlets, and able men of the younger generation have risen up to follow in the literary footsteps of the great leaders, who are gradually dying off. It is ridiculous to think of a community which has shown such abundant signs of life as extinct. Recently those who have pronounced the body dead have had less to say. The legislatures and newspapers scarcely notice Old Catholicism, so that its condition has gradually become more peaceful and comfortable. In Protestant circles respect and sympathy for it are on the increase. Ill-treatment at the hands of the government seems in Prussia, at least, to have ceased. Even the Romanists have accepted it as an existing fact. When Bishop Reinkens died, two years

ago, the election and recognition of his successor, the suffragan bishop, Dr. Weber, were effected without difficulty.

So much of Germany, the motherland of the Reformation, and ever to remain the land of its leadership. But outside of Germany also there is a progressing development of the movement to be noticed. To speak first of Switzerland, Old Catholicism has there passed through similar experiences; but also through seeming defeats it has been encouragingly strengthened. The cantonal governments have assumed very different attitudes towards the Catholic reform movement. The ultramontane cantons still refuse it all recognition, as does Bavaria in Germany. In the mixed cantons the *Culturkampf*, opened by the removal of Bishop Lachat, lost itself in the sand, as in Germany, and the original partisanship of radical politicians in favor of the Catholic reform gave place, as with us in Germany, to a coquetry with Romanism which had its origin in shortsightedness and weakness of character. The violent act of Bern in giving freedom from Rome to the French Jura congregations, when the internal conditions for such a step were not present in them as in German Switzerland, of course came to naught. At the end of the first term of office for which the pastors, gathered from every quarter, had been elected, Leo XIII granted his adherents what Pius IX had forbidden—that is, that they should acknowledge the ecclesiastical authority of Bern—and in consequence ultramontane pastors were elected to almost all these congregations, so that there remained to Old Catholicism in the canton of Bern only four congregations. Still, this episode in the history of Bern was of advantage to Old Catholicism, in that it retained the theological faculty which in the meantime had been founded there. In Geneva also the attempt to recognize but one Catholic church is approaching defeat, so that at present the mixed cantons generally have living side by side adherents of both Catholic confessions, who settle matters between them on a basis of majority and minority in the respective localities. The ultramontane cantons do not, to be sure, feel themselves bound to exercise this justice, and the national authorities likewise forget that the protection of liberty of conscience is intrusted to them. In spite of this change for the worse in polit-

ical condition, the "Christian Catholic church of Switzerland" has made good progress. Instead of the lost twenty-nine congregations in the Bernese Jura, which had been only apparently "Christian Catholics," they have since 1880 formed thirteen new congregations of actual adherents. The reform cause has won the most signal victory in Lucerne, where, in spite of the external enmity, unhindered by the ultramontane government of Bern, which even took away from the "Christian Catholics" the church which had been assigned to them by the city authorities, they have formed a vigorous congregation of seven or eight hundred souls, which has also succeeded in building a beautiful church. The internal differences in Swiss Old Catholicism, which had their origin in experiments with the liturgy, were happily adjusted by the synod of 1880, and the form of service which was the outcome of the Old Catholic congress of 1894 was, as I can testify, exceedingly well prepared and edifying. As to the external progress of the reformed church, the report shows that, in 1876, 2,982 children received religious instruction; in 1880, 3,987, of which 3,000 belonged to German Switzerland; in 1895, 4,501. The entire number is estimated at more than 40,000. At the Easter communion of the "Christian Catholic" church many Roman Catholics participate.

In Austria, also, Old Catholicism, in the face of the greatest obstacles, internal and external, has made fair progress. The lack of seriousness and the religious indifference in Austria are as great as the political and social power of Romanism. The first persons in Vienna to place themselves at the head of the protest movement were better adapted to embarrass than to advance it. It was not until the vigorous Pastor Milosch Czech placed himself at the head of the Old Catholics of Vienna that a substantial congregation was formed, and this at present numbers somewhat more than two thousand souls. Besides this, there exists in Ried, in Upper Austria, a vigorous congregation of five hundred souls, which, when the old church once assigned to it was taken down on the pretext of street improvement, built with the aid of others of its faith a small church for itself. The attitude of the government towards Old Catholicism is as unfriendly

as can be conceived. Although the state did not recognize the Vatican decrees, the Old Catholics have been denied the legal character of Catholics, and robbed of all claim upon the church property and all the support from the state which all the other confessions enjoy. All administrative and police measures are, indeed, made use of in order to embarrass them, as, for instance, the expulsion of a priest from the city, and that contrary to law, though there was no ground of objection to him except his great influence. In spite of all this, in German north Bohemia a flourishing flock of Old Catholics has been formed, while the struggle for existence on the part of the German nationality in the empire, with its tendency to Slavic preponderance, shows itself here as at the same time a struggle for emancipation from the Roman hierarchy. From Warnsdorf, where the government could not refuse recognition to an Old Catholic congregation, a whole system of branch churches has been formed, embracing not less than ten thousand souls. They own several churches built by themselves, and would long ago have formed a considerable number of congregations if the government had not attached to the recognition of them impossible conditions. As these brave people, chiefly farmers and factory laborers, have not the means to endow a bishop of their own for Austria, and foreign bishops are not permitted to officiate in that empire, the Vienna pastor, Czech, has been chosen provisionally as episcopal administrator, and has recently settled in Warnsdorf, the center of the north Bohemian movement. The situation in Italy is more tolerant and free, but there is lacking among the Latin nations, as Bishop Herzog declares, that deeper religious sentiment and that higher culture which draw the German Catholics to truth and liberty in matters of religion. And yet the Old Catholic reform has made a beginning even in Italy, and, indeed, starting from the immediate environment of the pope. Count Campello, a canon of St. Peter's and a scion of an old Roman noble family, became in his mature years acquainted with the Holy Scriptures, which, in the course of his education for the higher service of the papal church, he had never seen, and was so affected by them that he threw away his honors and his income



in order to become the bearer of the gospel to his people. Filled with the conviction that if the gospel was to become the religion of the people in Italy, it must remain in the popular Catholic form, he became the founder of an evangelical, national Catholic church, which was organized in 1891 and chose him as its bishop. In Umbria, where he began his missionary work, as well as in western Riviera, he has succeeded in founding congregations. Enthusiastic young fellow-laborers, educated under Bishop Herzog in Bern, assist him, and the extreme measures which the neighboring Roman bishops employed to keep the people away from his services evince the attractive power which he exerts. In France the highly gifted Hyacinthe Loyson made some sporadic impressions, but had no skill in organizing, and did not succeed in creating any congregational life. Finally he left the field to the Dutch Old Catholics, and they then founded a congregation in Paris, from which missions spread into the provinces. It is reported from Spain that an Old Catholic bishop, Cabrero by name, has his six congregations in that land of fanatical intolerance, and is protected by the English. From Ceylon also there are reported three Portuguese congregations and an Old Catholic bishop. There are from eight to ten thousand Old Catholics in the United States, with a bishop and seven pastors, and still more numerous congregations in Mexico. All these facts afford clear evidence that the Old Catholic reform has taken root in the Christianity of the whole world, though it is yet in its feeble infancy.

The claim of Old Catholicism to be ecumenical in character rather than national or local, however, rests not only upon the fact that it has representatives in various nations and parts of the earth, but also upon its cultivation of friendly relations with other Christian confessions; thus in contrast with the Church of Rome, which anathematizes all Christian bodies not in obedience to her, Old Catholicism maintains the true catholic idea. In Germany a fraternal relation has been developed between the Old Catholics and the more liberal-minded Protestants, and this is constantly increasing. The present bishop, Dr. Weber, has several times attended the annual meetings of the Evangelical

Alliance, and in local meetings of the same has delivered many addresses. Protestant friends have, in turn, taken part in Old Catholic festivals, and have sought to aid the Old Catholic cause. The Old Catholics have also sought federation with other churches having an episcopal organization. They have not aimed, indeed, at fusion, for they hold to the independence of the several national churches, but at the recognition that they all belong to the one ecumenical church which rests upon the dogmatic and episcopal foundation of the early church, and can, therefore, practice communion with each other. These negotiations have, however, thus far led to no tangible result. Nor do I think that such a result would be of any great value, for there are among the Anglicans those who emphatically desire to be "catholic," and are at the same time wholly out of sympathy with the Old Catholics. The English Ritualists are on the way *to* Rome; the Old Catholics on the way *from* Rome. As for the Russian and Greek church, an active intercourse cannot take place with ecclesiastical bodies which are dead, that is, mere dogmatic mummies. Such intercourse is possible only with single living members of these churches, and this takes place in a most stimulating and helpful way in the Old Catholic international congresses, which are held alternate years, as also in the *International Theological Review*, for which arrangements are made at each biennial congress. On the other hand, there exists a veritable "union" of the Old Catholics of Germany, Switzerland, and Holland, and if the church of Utrecht has been able to render important services to the German Old Catholics, the gain has been greater on her own side, since, by contact with the German reform movement, this old church has been redeemed from stagnation and deadness, and drawn again into the living stream of the Christian church's onward movement. An important documentary proof of this spirit and of the fellowship which is in course of development between the Old Catholics of Holland and German Switzerland is found in the common pastoral letter which their five bishops issued in the year 1889 in testimony of full ecclesiastical fellowship, and which briefly defines the conservatively catholic and still evan-

gelically free and broad-minded position of Old Catholicism. This common pastoral letter sets out from the canon of the *quod semper, ubique et ab omnibus creditum est*, and confesses to the ecumenic symbols and synods of the ancient church ; but it rejects in addition to the Vatican decree the dogma of the immaculate conception promulgated in 1854 by Pius IX, as also all the dogmatic decrees of the popes, so far as they stand in opposition to the doctrine of the ancient church. Of the Tridentine council it says : " We do *not* accept its decisions in relation to discipline, and accept its dogmatic decisions only in so far as they agree with the doctrine of the ancient church." In regard to the Lord's Supper, the interpretations given in the German Old Catholic catechism and mentioned above, which also agree essentially with the Augsburg confession, are repeated. In conclusion they add : " We hope that the efforts of the theologians will succeed, by firmly holding to the faith of the undivided church, in attaining to an agreement on the points in respect to which differences have arisen since the schism of the church. We exhort our clergy to emphasize in preaching and teaching, *as of first importance, the essential doctrines of the faith, which the various confessions hold in common* ; in discussion of other subjects on which differences still exist carefully to avoid all violations of truth and love, and to guide the members of our congregations, both by precept and example, in their relations to those of other faiths, to conduct themselves according to the spirit of Jesus Christ, the Redeemer of us all. By a faithful holding to the doctrine of Jesus Christ, by rejecting all errors mixed with it by men, all ecclesiastical abuses and hierarchical strivings, we believe we shall most effectually counteract the unbelief and the religious indifference which are the worst evil of our time."

The verdict in regard to Old Catholicism to be reached on the basis of these facts will, of course, vary according to the particular ecclesiastical point of view from which they are regarded ; but a just one can be attained only by rising somewhat above one's own confessional position. In this way the writer explained in detail and justified his own position in his

*Denk- und Schutzschrift*,<sup>1</sup> written fifteen years ago, and may express himself here the more briefly. Doubtless the Protestantism of the Reformation has gone back more thoroughly and consistently to the original doctrine of Jesus and his apostles than has Old Catholicism; and that any part of the treasure of evangelical knowledge relating to the Christian system which it has inherited should be given up and thus lost to the further development of the church is not to be thought of. On the other side, Protestantism in its progress has not developed a great church in the best sense catholic, but in the one-sided pursuit of dogmatic interests has split itself up into a number of denominations which realize but feebly the original Christian ideal of the one flock of Christ, and the question is forced upon us whether in that part of Christianity which resisted the Reformation movement there may not have been the remnants of Christian life and force which, once released from association with Romish corruption, might furnish beneficent elements which would render the Protestantism of the future more symmetrical and complete. It is true that Tridentine Catholicism up to and through the Vatican council has followed a course of development in which the untrue and un-Christian have more and more gained the upper hand, so that no negotiation with it can be thought of without treason to the principles of the Reformation and to Christianity. But it is the more significant that at the same time that part of the church which is innocent of participation in these corruptions, the original and universal church, has rescued itself from this relation, and, though only in the shape of a small model, has assumed the form of a church. So much the more does this model of an evangelical Catholic church, with the possibility of its becoming a church of freedom, appear providential, since on the one hand Protestantism, in its impulse to liberty, has so split itself up, and on the other hand Romanism has carried its enforcement of unity to the point of strangling all freedom of conscience. The present increase of the power of the infallible pope cannot and will not continue. It is the divine law of his-

<sup>1</sup> *Der Altkatholicismus, eine Denk- und Schutzschrift an das evangelische Deutschland*, 3te Auflage, Halle, E. Strien.

tory that developments which do not spring out of the truth fall into ruin at the very moment when they are about to place the keystone of triumph in the structure. A prodigious reaction against the advance of the Romish-Jesuit enslaving of the mind is at hand. Whether the crisis shall not simply destroy, but also restore, will depend upon the faithfulness of non-Roman Catholic Christendom. Then the moment will have come when the Old Catholic reform-church, small though it is today, will be able to enlarge itself so as to become an ark of refuge for all the pious souls who groan under the yoke of the papacy. Then, also, the time will have come for Protestantism to remember that in the thought and will of God evangelic and Catholic are not mutually contradictory terms, but conceptions each of which tends to approach and to complement the other. To everyone who looks upon Old Catholicism as in this or in any sense a God-given germ of a better future belongs the duty of protecting it with all his power against those who would destroy it.

## THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF JESUS.

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THE disposition, so manifest in modern historians of the life of Jesus, to scrutinize our records of his teaching for indirect evidence of his unknown personal history, and most of all to search diligently for any gleam of reflected light cast back into that all-important period when his Messianic consciousness was ripening toward its bloom, is one which commends itself equally from the religious and scientific point of view. If conducted with due reverence, no research can be so rich in helpful return to the devout spirit. If conducted with due regard to the canons of logic and evidence, no critical inquiry can be more reasonably hopeful of illuminating results in the highest sphere of history. For if, as all experience teaches, a living experience of truth be the indispensable condition of power and effectiveness in setting it forth, we must account for the unique power and vitality of the sayings of Jesus by the fact that he speaks out of the fullness of the deepest experience of a living, growing, struggling human spirit.\* His living truths are his own flesh and blood, born, like every truth we can call really our own, in the birth-throes of mental and spiritual wrestling. Even without the express testimony of the evangelist to the fact of Jesus' mental and spiritual growth (Luke 2:52), we might infer from the intensity and soul-felt ardor of many a recorded utterance that here, if ever, Lowell's words find worthy application:

Every word that he speaks has been fierily furnace'd  
In the blast of a soul that has struggled in earnest.

The gospel record is not wanting in instances of fiery ordeals out of which the Son of Man comes forth transfigured and glorified, from the temptations of the wilderness to the agony of Gethsemane. Nor is it lacking either, for those whose gaze is

\* Cf. Luke 6:45.

bent on that which must lie beneath the surface, in sayings which still glow with the heat of the soul-conflict out of which they issue. On the morrow after that first thrilling sabbath in Capernaum, when the cure of the demoniac in the synagogue had startled the whole city into the consciousness of the prophet in their midst, with his endowment of mighty powers of healing, and had brought them by thousands to Peter's door, we find Jesus settling—so wisely—the first great question of his public ministry: whether to follow this tempting path of the healer, the miracle worker, thronged everywhere by wondering, exultant crowds; or to deny himself, save on special occasion, to the multitudes which sought relief for their physical ailments. It was in the solitude of prayer in the gray twilight outside the city that this decision was reached. "In the morning, a great while before day, he rose up and went out, and departed into a desert place, and there prayed." The answer to the exultant urgency of "Simon and them that were with him" with their "All are seeking thee"—the quiet, inexorable: "Let us go elsewhere into the next towns, that I may preach there also, for that is the end for which I came forth"—had come to him while they were still dreaming of the triumphs of the sabbath past and the greater wonders that should come on the morrow.<sup>2</sup>

But there are outward experiences of Jesus, as well as these lonely vigils and nights of prayer in the wilderness or on the mountain top, which we cannot but feel are reflected in his teaching. One incident in particular, which the gospels naturally pass over with the lightest touch candor would permit, was of a character to cut more nearly to the quick than any mere privation or suffering at the hands of foes. It was not long after the beginning of Jesus' career as a public preacher in Galilee that he sat teaching a great throng in Peter's house in Capernaum. Then came his mother and his brethren, and standing without sent word to ask him to come forth to them, "desiring to lay hold on him; for they said, he is beside himself." The alternative was to consent to an interruption of his ministry by force—an interruption which, in spite of the care manifestly taken to

<sup>2</sup> Mark 1:32-38.

avoid a scene, must be both humiliating and destructive of his influence; or else a severing of the ties of home and kindred. Can we imagine any other decision than that which follows? "He answered: 'Who is my mother and my brethren?' And looking round on them which sat round about him he said, 'Behold my mother and my brethren! For whosoever shall do the will of God, the same is my brother and sister and mother.'"<sup>3</sup> It was a renunciation of earthly kindred for such as God might give him in their place. But he surely did not deny himself to his mother and his brethren without a pang. Nor can we think this costliest earthly sacrifice of his own was absent from his mind when he turned to the multitudes ready with a light heart to follow him to Jerusalem, and said: "If any man cometh unto me and doth not hate his own father and mother and wife and children, and brethren and sisters, yea and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple."<sup>4</sup> Still more certainly must we think of Jesus' own experience as the ground for his confident assurance to those who claimed to have left all and followed him: "Verily I say unto you, there is no man that hath left house, or brethren, or sisters, or mother, or father, or children, or lands for my sake and the gospel's sake, but he shall receive a hundred fold now in this time, houses and brethren and sisters and mothers and children and lands, with persecutions; and in the world to come eternal life."<sup>5</sup>

It would not be difficult to find in other sayings probable traces of Jesus' feeling of homelessness, mitigated only by the limitless hospitality of strangers who heard the word of God and did it.<sup>6</sup> Even more instructive would it be if we knew the wrestlings of soul out of which come to us his sweeping declarations concerning the omnipotence of faith, the absolute, unlimited resources of prayer. In such things his words have

<sup>3</sup> Mark 3: 20, 21, 31-35.

<sup>4</sup> Luke 14: 26.

<sup>5</sup> Mark 10: 29, 30. Is there significance in the order "home, brethren, sisters, mother" in both verses, and the entire omission of "father" in vs. 30? Cf. 6: 3.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Matt. 8: 20 = Luke 9: 58, and Matt. 19: 12, where celibacy undertaken "for the kingdom of heaven's sake" may be thought of in connection with others besides John the Baptist.



the ring, not merely of one who knows, but of one who knows how he knows and has won his pearl of truth at great price.

Such side-lights upon the inner history of Jesus, inferred from occasional sayings, are all too little appreciated. But we have in mind for our present consideration what fairly deserves to be called the "autobiography" of Jesus, as being a direct narrative of his own inner experience, and covering the whole significance of his Messianic career. Unless the drift of all our best modern criticism be wrong, and the united judgment of such scholars as B. Weiss, Wendt, and Beyschlag completely at fault, the gospels preserve to us in their oldest elements not merely an allusion by Jesus to his own inner history—this we certainly have in Mark 3:27—but a positive autobiographic discourse from Jesus' own lips, veiled and symbolical in form, as we might expect from the nature of the subject, but rich as one of the parables themselves in meaning. We have, in short, not merely the allusion to the fact, but Jesus' own account of it in the story of the temptation, that struggle in which the Son of Man had proved himself able to enter into the house of the strong man armed, the Prince of this world, bind him, and set his bondslaves free. If this be so, Jesus himself has placed in our hands the key to his Messianic consciousness—a master-key to the deepest problems of the New Testament.

It is true that in proposing the exploitation of the story of the baptism and temptation as the true storehouse of knowledge for an understanding of Jesus' self-consciousness, we are advancing nothing new. Doubtless we can add little to the profound chapter of Beyschlag entitled "The Messianic Call."<sup>7</sup> Here the fundamental truth is grasped with unerring precision: the story of the vision at Jordan and the temptation in the wilderness are rightly made "the beginning of the gospel of Jesus the Christ the Son of God" because they set forth (1) how Jesus came to believe himself the Messiah; (2) how he framed his conception of the Messiah of God by rejecting the false type of Messiahship according to men.<sup>8</sup> In two respects, however, there

<sup>7</sup> *Leben Jesu*, 1885, Vol. I, pp. 209-43.

<sup>8</sup> We owe much to the careful and sympathetic study of B. Weiss, whose *Leben*

may be seen to be reason for reconsideration of the narrative; first, for a better understanding of its historical setting; second, for a more consistent view of the subject Jesus seems to be treating in it, viz., the origin of his Messianic self-consciousness.

Unfortunately it is not allowable even today to take the story of the baptismal vision and the temptation in the symbolic sense which one of Jesus' intimate hearers might naturally give it, until at least a part of the work already well done by such scholars as those above referred to is done over again. At the utmost the current modern conception of the baptismal vision has reached the point of view of Theodoret: *ὁπτασία ἦν, οὐ φύσις, τὸ φαινόμενον, — οὐ φύσις ἦν τὸ δεικνύμενον, ἀλλὰ πνευματικὴ θεωρία*. It has barely concluded that the heavens which split in twain are not a visible and tangible dome, floor of the dwelling of God, and that it is better with the oriental source (and

*Jesus* must be read side by side with Beyschlag's; but in this instance it must be apparent to the careful reader that Beyschlag is right in recognizing the moment of the baptismal vision as that in which, for the first time, and with overwhelming force, the conviction burst upon Jesus of his personal call to the Messiahship. The attempt of Weiss to carry back this conviction to some unknown time in Jesus' boyhood, and to regard the baptismal vision as a mere corroboration of a conviction reached by slow degrees in quiet ripening of thoughtful conviction; or as the mere divine summons to begin his work—in reality the imprisonment of John fulfilled this office—takes away the most vital significance of both narratives. The baptismal vision is then no longer the calling *from God*, without which no amount of conscious sinlessness or sense of unique fellowship with God would have permitted Jesus to harbor for a moment the thought of his personal Messiahship, or to welcome the belief of others. Antedating thus the Messianic consciousness makes Jesus do precisely what he would certainly not have done, and what Heb. 5:5 expressly says he did not—"glorify himself to be made a high priest." And not only so, but it takes away all psychological significance from the temptation. If Jesus had long since determined his Messianic calling in his own mind, why this overwhelming revulsion of feeling? Why the necessity for repudiating a host of unworthy conceptions of the Messiahship? On the contrary, the very story of the baptismal vision itself appears to us the absolute contradiction of Weiss' extraordinary dictum (p. 281): "Er [Jesus] wusste von keinem Moment, wo geschichtlich die Erwählung Gottes sich an ihm vollzogen hatte, wo die Liebe Gottes sich ihm zugewandt." If there be any force whatever in the striking aorist *εὐδόκησα*, it is precisely this "historical moment" to which it points. This historical moment, however, in which Jesus became aware that the choice of God had fallen upon him as "the Beloved" of Isa. 42:1-4, does not, of course, exclude such unconscious preparation on his part as the early choice of celibacy "for the kingdom of heaven's sake," Matt. 19:12.

Mark?) to take in a subjective sense the description: "And straightway, coming up out of the water, *he* saw the heavens rent asunder, and the Spirit as a dove descending upon him: and a voice came out of the heavens, *Thou* art my beloved Son, in thee I am well pleased,"<sup>9</sup> rather than with Luke, the matter-of-fact Gentile and occidental, to understand an outward phenomenon: "the heaven *was opened*, and the holy Ghost *descended in a bodily form*, as a dove upon him."<sup>10</sup> Current interpretation has no inkling as yet of the important fact that the preaching and teaching of Jesus and the apostles was "of Jews, to Jews, among Jews," to whom the vision, the voice from heaven (the *בן קל* of the Talmud), the personification of the evil Power as "Satan," and of the agencies of God as "angels," were stereotyped forms of thought, current symbols too familiar to need explanation, symbols which to Gentiles like Luke, and to a Gentile church of the second generation, are already beginning to take on a concrete form and so becoming unintelligible.

So in regard to the temptation; the utmost we may be permitted to assume is that the crudely literal interpretation of the mediæval theology is on the wane. Men have at last decided not to think of the tempter in the wilderness as a visible devil, nor of the exceeding high mountain from whence are to be seen "all the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them" as an actual mountain, nor of the taking of Jesus to the pinnacle of the temple in company of Satan as an actual bodily carrying off by the devil. It is too difficult to form the mental conception of a personal Satan, a mountain of the character described, a bodily presence (for how else could it be a trial to cast oneself down?) in company with Satan on the *πτερύγιον* of the temple, before all Israel assembled in the temple court (else what use in the miracle?), which should yet leave no trace in the memory of the people. We should like to believe that another reflection may also have contributed to the downfall of the old literal view, viz., that it is unworthy our thought of the Redeemer to conceive him as liable willingly or unwillingly to be rapt away

<sup>9</sup> Mark 1:10, 11.

<sup>10</sup> Luke 3:21, 22.

by Satan, and still more unworthy to think of him as actually tempted by such bare-faced iniquity and folly.<sup>11</sup>

But how, then, should we account for the dominance of the vision theory, which in our day has come to take the place of the mediæval crudity, and which regards Jesus as having been exposed to just these temptations in just these forms; only not in the body, but in some trance, or ecstatic, abnormal condition? Such a theory has surely no great respect for either his physical, mental, or moral constitution. It is just as unnatural as its predecessor, just as much out of relation to psychological laws as the former to physical, and it certainly has no support whatever in the text, which knows of no trance or vision either here or elsewhere in the life of Jesus, though the New Testament writers on occasion are not chary of visions.<sup>12</sup>

Rather than suppose that such visions could spontaneously arise in the soul of Jesus, or on the other hand be sent upon him for no apparent reason by God, it were surely better to accept the mythological interpretation of Holtzmann *et al.*: the temptations are the attempt of a Christian of the second generation to fill up the vacant "forty days" of Mark 1:13 on the basis of Israel's temptations in the wilderness, or (Pfleiderer) on the basis of the tempting demands made upon Jesus during his public career.

<sup>11</sup> We willingly recognize that the order of Luke is the most infelicitous of all his attempts to restore that lost attribute of the early gospel sources (Luke 1:3; cf. the Papias fragment). Matthew's order is certainly more original in placing the temptation in which Satan reveals his identity last; for how could Jesus withhold his final *ἵναρε σαρὰν* and submit to further solicitation, after his companion's identity was known? Luke, the occidental literalist, has doubtless put the temptation at the temple last from geographical considerations. But, even with the order of Matthew, can the Son of God be "tempted" to worship the devil? Were a loaf of bread, an Icarus flight like that of Simon Magus (*Constit. Apost.*, ii, 14; vi, 9) before the gaping multitude in the temple court, and "the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them," inducements to the mind of Jesus? The mediæval theory in its purity could avoid this difficulty by attributing very childish stupidity to the devil—which it was always ready enough to do. But what shall we say to its modern successor, the so-called vision theory (see above), which suggests that *these* were the types of delusive enticement which spontaneously sprang up in the pure and spiritual mind of Jesus, or were infused there by some supernatural power?

<sup>12</sup> The rationalistic explanations: an emissary of the Sanhedrim, or other human tempter, are hardly worth refuting.

But there are greater objections to the mythical theory than the lack of adequate motive in the Jewish Messianic expectations or in the luxuriant ideas of the early church (Beyschlag), objections greater than the implied necessity for surrendering the whole story of the wilderness sojourn as unhistorical (Weiss). One need only ask: (1) How far back toward the origins of the synoptic tradition must a narrative be dated which is presupposed by Mark 1:13, and which Matthew and Luke have taken in almost identical form from a common source? (2) What chance of acceptance in the church at that period—certainly within the lifetime of eyewitnesses—would a *fictitious* narrative have, which dealt with *such* a subject in so extraordinary a way? A candid answer will show that on purely historico-critical grounds the mythical theory is untenable. On the contrary, the very boldness of its subject, the very singularity of its form, so characteristically and unmistakably Jewish, finally the profound truthfulness of its representation of the mind of Christ—unless we wholly mistake its meaning—are proofs of its derivation from the earliest and highest of all authorities.

On the other hand it would be useless to deny that there are also objections to the theory of an autobiographic discourse—objections thus far unsolved. Only, so far as known to the present writer, these objections are all such as may be included in one of two groups: *a*) such as flow from failure to distinctly realize the historical occasion, objections which need not have arisen if our leading authorities, instead of leaving us with the bare statement that the ultimate source must be “some discourse of Jesus,” had proceeded to tell us, as with the means at their command they might have done, what discourse, and why, and when, and how; *b*) such as flow from misunderstanding of the character and connection of this discourse. These, in our judgment, might have been obviated if our critical authorities had not themselves been misled by an over-refinement of critical keenness.

Wendt, in spite of a strong inclination to derive this narrative (the temptation), just on account of its pregnant, figurative garb, from personal later communication by Jesus to his dis-

ciples,<sup>13</sup> nevertheless has not included it in his restoration of the "Logia," although it certainly meets his very simple canon (discursive matter common to Matthew and Luke not found in Mark). His reason is that "in this work [the 'Logia'] only such sayings of Jesus and historical scenes would seem to have been described as the author himself had witnessed."<sup>14</sup> But if he had reflected that the only possible time in which Jesus could have uttered such a discourse was toward the end of his ministry, after the question of his Messiahship, and the sense in which it should be understood, had been broached to the Twelve—this the pivotal question of the temptation, as Wendt himself recognizes—he would have found no difficulty in placing it in such a historical setting that the apostle Matthew could himself be an ear-witness. True, it does not now occupy such a position; neither is it in its present form a discourse. But that is only because, seeing it to be autobiographical, Mark naturally placed his reference to it at that point in his chronological account where the event would fall in the story of Jesus' life, rather than the time of narration; and Matthew<sup>15</sup> and Luke, following suit, altered the discourse into narrative form and placed it in chronological order, just as we should expect them to do with autobiographic material.

If anything is to be reckoned an assured result of modern criticism, accepted by all our authorities, it is that Mark is right, as against certain disputed appearances of the other gospels, in representing the confession of Peter at Cæsarea Philippi<sup>16</sup> as the first unambiguous accepted recognition of Jesus as Messiah by others, or claim to the title and office on his own part. On any other supposition Jesus' solemn welcome of Peter's great intuition, as an inspiration from heaven not revealed to him by flesh and blood, his reciprocal recognition of Peter as the first "stone" of the great edifice yet to be reared, the "new temple" made without hands, his bestowal upon him as the "first confessor" of the symbol of the keys of the kingdom, and the power of "binding

<sup>13</sup> *Lehre Jesu*, Vol. II, p. 71.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 210.

<sup>15</sup> The evangelist, not the apostle, author of the "Logia."

<sup>16</sup> Mark 8 : 27-33 = Matt. 16 : 13-23 = Luke 9 : 18-22.

and loosing" in the new community yet to be founded on the doctrine of his Messiahship, are incomprehensible. The solemn charge to the Twelve "that they should tell no man that he was the Christ" is incredible if there had been a previous communication of the fact to others. It had been, on the contrary, a secret locked in Jesus' own breast, till now in the strict privacy of remote Cæsarea Philippi he took the Twelve into his confidence and told them both who the Messiah is, and what the career that lies before him. It remained with this exception a secret, until Jesus, having made his preparations, announced to all Israel assembled at the Passover by one symbolic act both the fact and the character of his Messianic claims, fulfilling of set purpose the prophecy:

Zion, behold, thy King cometh unto thee ;  
He is meek and lowly and bringeth salvation,  
Riding upon an ass, and upon a colt the foal of an ass.<sup>17</sup>

Not merely is the supposition of any intimation of Jesus' Messiahship prior to Peter's confession inconsistent with Jesus' own words, and with the talk of the people as reported to him by the Twelve ; it is incredible on purely historical grounds that Jesus should have cast such a firebrand among his inflammable Galilean hearers as to suggest by a single avoidable word his Messianic claims, until at least his preaching had served to thoroughly disabuse their minds of the current political conception. We may even say that if he had not observed this

<sup>17</sup> The question whether or not Jesus could have used the title Son of Man prior to Cæsarea Philippi is of subordinate importance. If he did so, it was ambiguous (John 12 : 34 ; cf. Matt. 16 : 13), and, in spite of Dan. 7 : 13 ("a son of man") and the possible Messianic use in Enoch, could have meant no more to Jesus' hearers than an enigmatic functionary charged in some way with bringing in the kingdom of God. It is notorious that until the last Jesus' preaching of the kingdom is impersonal. The Johannine discourses are a problem by themselves. *Per contra*, the notion that Jesus did not himself arrive at the conviction that he personally was God's chosen Messiah until some time during the public ministry not merely relegates the whole story of the baptismal vision to the sphere of romance, but contradicts the authoritative "But I say unto you" of the Sermon on the Mount. Moreover, it attributes to Jesus a course of initial precipitancy and subsequent perplexity which would inevitably lead to vacillation and final despair, the very opposite qualities from those which really mark him out from the beginning : a steady, progressive, struggling, but ultimately victorious faith in his Messianic calling, as from God and destined to be vindicated by God, in the final outcome.

obvious precaution, the catastrophe which actually followed in less than a week after the publication of his claim would have been precipitated immediately. We can hardly emphasize too strongly the importance and the certainty of this datum of historical criticism: Jesus did not make himself known as the Messiah until his public ministry in Galilee had been brought to a forced conclusion.<sup>18</sup>

The inference from this critical datum as to the story of the temptation is unavoidable. If from Jesus at all — and who else could report the scenes of that desert solitude, scenes from the inner chambers of Jesus' own deepest experience? — its narration belongs to the closing weeks of the ministry, during or after the journey up to the last Passover. For the reiterated refrain of the tempter is this: "*If thou art the Son of God, do thus and so.*"

But it is not merely possible to fix with certainty a *terminus a quo* before which the story of the temptation *cannot* have been related. It is possible, by reasoning which, though in part *a priori*, may well seem almost equally conclusive, to determine the very occasion on which the autobiographic discourse was

<sup>18</sup> Emphasis upon this fact is the more important because an eager desire to rescue at all hazards the historicity of the Johannine discourses has led otherwise excellent authorities to blink a part of its significance. One can hardly assume with Beyschlag *et al.* that Peter's confession was merely a recognition of Jesus as the Messiah *in a new sense*, beyond that of John 1:41 f., and still do justice to the historical situation. Even if with certain conservative authorities we should adopt the improbable view that Jesus' early ministry was largely occupied with efforts to repress a conviction that he was the Messiah, of course in the pre-Christian sense, to which the testimony of John, or of the events, had given rise, still the result is the same for our contention: Jesus could not have used language *encouraging* to this conviction before Cæsarea Philippi. There is, however, a single exception — but one which emphatically proves the rule. The enigmatical form of the question and answer in the incident of Luke 7:18–23 suggests that both John and Jesus were exchanging messages which the bystanders, the disciples, and even the bearers of the message, would not understand in a Messianic sense. *Per contra*, it would also appear that John the Baptist on this point was, to a certain extent, in the confidence of Jesus, though whether by impartation of John to Jesus, as maintained by Weiss and Beyschlag, or of Jesus to John, according to our contention, must be determined later. At any rate it is clear from both question and answer that Jesus' interpretation of his Messianic calling was a stumbling-block to John; for, though greatest of the prophets, he was less than the least in the kingdom.



uttered, and by this determination to remove coincidentally all that class of objections to the symbolic interpretation which rest upon the singularity of the utterance, whether in form or content.

It is indeed true, as must occur to us at once when this interpretation is proposed, that any narration of his personal experience would be a feature altogether unique in our record of the life of Jesus. His teaching is anything but egotistic. True, in the fourth gospel, and some exceptional passages in the synoptic tradition, he makes himself the subject of his discourse; but never personally. Even in the fourth gospel it is always officially, by virtue of his Messianic office and claims, and as the Chosen of God that he sets himself before his hearers. Can we then imagine such a thing as an autobiographic discourse, a revelation of his own inner and private experience to the disciples? Yes; but on one occasion only, and under such circumstances only as made such a revelation of the sacred mysteries of his own inner consciousness a moral necessity. Even then the revelation will hardly have been in tangible, concrete form, but rather veiled in such symbolic imagery as befits the intimate sacredness of the subject, and such as the oriental teacher knows so well how to employ and his hearer to interpret. It may, perhaps, have been impersonal in form, as when Paul, driven to reveal the secrets of his inner life, writes of himself: "I know a man in Christ fourteen years ago caught up into paradise . . . on behalf of such an one will I glory, but on mine own behalf will I not glory." But when, if ever, *occurred* that unique occasion in the life of Jesus which could impel him by moral constraint to lay open to the Twelve the story of his Messianic consciousness, how he received it, how he defended it from assault? We answer: At Cæsarea Philippi. For he who lays claim to the Messianic office must, in justice to his hearers, make known both on what ground he has come to believe himself called of God to this supremely exalted station, and also in what sense he understands his mission. This obligation Jesus neither could nor would avoid. Nothing was more indispensable to the Twelve than to obtain such an insight into

his Messianic consciousness in its origin and nature as he alone could give them. Nothing was more in harmony with his wishes than to satisfy this inevitable want from the moment it was felt, by a narrative of his Messianic call, and of how, in his own experience, he had met the objections which, with the first inkling of his exalted claims, would be suggested to their minds. But it is not likely that he would recur to this subject in his public teaching, or mention it again even in private after having once laid bare his secret to the Twelve. That is the answer to the objection that Jesus nowhere else speaks of his personal experience. On the unique occasion when he does speak of it he would be more apt to use the symbolism and imagery of exalted prophetic discourse, "to speak in riddles," as the disciples elsewhere term it,<sup>19</sup> than to use the language of ordinary intercourse, or even of popular teaching. That is the answer to the objection that the form and imagery are unusual.<sup>20</sup>

Just as surely as it was impossible for one whose conception of the Messiah was so exalted and so religious as that of Jesus assuredly was, to arrogate to himself this office apart from some experience so overpowering that he must needs take it as the call of God—and no one seems better able to make this clear than B. Weiss himself, who yet rejects the obvious inference as to the baptismal vision—just so surely is it impossible that such a one should ask others to believe him the Chosen of God, and not relate to them in the same breath how it had been divinely made known to him; as Paul, from the moment that he knows his apostleship to be impugned, immediately tells the story of his

<sup>19</sup> John 16: 29.

<sup>20</sup> The form of the temptation story is by no means so unique as is commonly supposed. Jesus employs the same in speaking of the temptation of Simon and the Twelve: "Simon, Simon, behold Satan hath obtained leave to take you and sift you as wheat" (Luke 22: 31) is a bold adoption of the imagery of Job. "I beheld Satan as lightning fallen from heaven" (Luke 10: 18) is no more and no less worthy of literal interpretation than the symbolism of the temptation story. As for the rebuke to Peter: "Get thee behind me Satan, thou art a stumbling-block unto me, for thou mindest not the things that be of God, but the things of men" (Matt. 16: 33), the reader will have already divined the special relation into which we bring it with the autobiographic discourse. These should suffice to prove that the symbolism of the temptation story is at least not inconceivable in the mouth of Jesus. As for that of the baptismal vision, see pp. 544 ff.

"call."<sup>21</sup> This is our *a priori* ground for the conviction that the autobiographic discourse on which our accounts of both the baptism and temptation are founded was delivered at Cæsarea Philippi in the connection of Matt. 16: 13-23.

But fortunately we are not without confirmation *a posteriori* in the phenomena of the text itself. Of the synoptic accounts Matthew's is by far the fullest, and yet seems to add nothing to that of Mark, or the still briefer story of Luke, which does not rightly belong in this connection. It is otherwise with the saying as to the requirement of unreserved loyalty on the part of every disciple (Mark 8: 34-38 = Matt. 16: 24-26 = Luke 9: 23-26). There is an obvious break here, the saying being addressed to "the multitude, together with his disciples." The multitude, at Cæsarea Philippi! Matthew and Luke feel the incongruity and alter, the one to τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ, the other to πρὸς πάντας. Moreover, both Matthew and Luke duplicate the sayings, manifestly from another source, in a different connection, and even the fourth gospel inserts it later (*cf.* Matt. 10: 32 f., 39; Luke 12: 8 f.; 17: 33; John 12: 25 f.). What, then, if, in place of this dislocated material, we insert our autobiographic discourse? What will be the context? Before it the strangely harsh answer to Peter's well-meant expostulation—quite too harsh in the absence of anything more to explain and soften—"Get thee behind me, Satan, thou art a stumbling-block unto me; for thou mindest not the things of God, but the things of men." After it the vivid contrast to the career of humiliation which the Son of Man takes as the true interpretation of his earthly Messianic calling: "For the Son of Man shall come in the glory of his Father, with his angels; and then shall he render unto every man according to his deeds. Verily I say unto you, there be some of them that stand here which shall in no wise taste of death, till they see the Son of Man coming in his kingdom."<sup>22</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Gal. 1: 11, 12.

<sup>22</sup> The form of Matt. 16: 21-28 is most nearly original, needing only the removal of the portion corresponding to Mark 8: 34, 35, duplicated in Matt. 10: 39; John 8: 38. Mark has again mingled in a saying which the parallels—Matt. 10: 32 f. = Luke 12: 8. f.—prove to belong elsewhere. Vs. 26, with its significant affinity with the third

Even the fourth gospel seems to have a further hint of confirmation. For this gospel also has its account of the revelation of the secret of the Messiahship. Only, since it belongs in the author's plan to bring forward Jesus as the Messiah from the very first (20:31), all this is related at the very outset, at the baptism of John, before the beginning of Jesus' ministry. Here, too, the story begins with the confession of Simon (coupled with that of Andrew, Philip, and Nathanael), and the bestowal of the symbolic name Peter, and ends, like the synoptic account, with the assurance that they, his hearers, shall witness the glorification of the Messiah. But is it pure fancy if we see a kind of reminiscence of the omitted story of the baptismal vision in the form of the promise here: "Ye shall see the heaven opened, and the angels of God ascending and descending upon the Son of Man"?<sup>23</sup> At the very least we get an instructive parallel for such symbolic utterances as this: "He saw heaven opened, and the Spirit as a dove descending upon him."

But our restoration of the lost context of the autobiography is not quite complete. There is one belated fragment which we must restore to its own. For certain obvious reasons, such as we might naturally expect to affect a compiler uncertain as to the "order,"<sup>24</sup> Mark introduces, immediately after the saying about seeing the Son of Man in glory, the story of the transfiguration. Equally obvious, but still more superficial reasons would suggest the bringing of it in immediately before the question of the disciples: "How then say the scribes that Elias must first come?" Matthew and Luke as usual follow suit implicitly. But of all possible occasions when the disciples might have brought up this objection, what one more really improbable than immediately after they have seen Elias with their own eyes? And over and above this, what relevance has the objection, "Elias must *first* come"? Before what? Certainly not "before scenes of transfiguration take place," but "before Messias." But this is as much temptation ("gain the whole world"), will then follow directly upon it. It may have furnished the occasion for Mark's introducing before it the kindred but intrusive saying "to the multitude."

<sup>23</sup> John 1:35-51.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. the Papias fragment on Mark.

as to say that the subject of conversation is still the same as in 16:13-28 (= Mark 8:27-9:1 = Luke 9:18-27), before the intrusion of the new event, and that the latter is absolutely ignored. In other words, Jesus is still speaking of his Messianic call. The disciples, since Peter's false and worldly interpretation of the Messianic career has met such sharp rebuke, and since they have received an explanation of the true Messianic career *κατὰ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ*, have now but a single further question to ask, and this not as an objection, but as a difficulty to be explained: What, then, of the expected previous coming of Elias? How say the scribes that Elias must first come? How significantly does the answer of Jesus lead back to the unwelcome prediction that had shocked the hope of Peter: "Elijah indeed cometh and restoreth all things (Mal. 4:5, 6); but I say unto you that Elijah is come already, and they knew him not, but did unto him whatsoever they listed. *Even so shall the Son of Man also suffer of them.* Then understood the disciples that he spake unto them of John the Baptist."<sup>25</sup>

We have here in truth the very passage needed to make the setting of the autobiographic discourse complete. The story of Matt. 16:13-17:13 should be read consecutively, omitting only 16:24 f. and 17:1-9; and inserting in place of the former the story, related in Jesus' own words, of his Messianic call. In its own context this autobiography of Jesus will seem neither strange in subject nor incongruous in form.

Having then found reason to reject the two views of the temptation which stand at the opposite poles of interpretation, and having refuted some objections against the view that the temptation story is an autobiographic discourse of Jesus, we have next to consider a second and more comprehensive problem: Granting that in the privacy of Cæsarea Philippi Jesus may have given to the Twelve an insight into his own feeling as to true and false Messianic ideals, what have we that remains of that discourse, and what information does it convey as to the origin and nature of his Messianic consciousness? Its absolutely paramount

<sup>25</sup> Matt. 17:10-13. The sayings (Matt. 11:10, 14; Luke 7:24) cannot, of course, precede this. Were they uttered on the same occasion?

importance, if such a discourse can be discovered and interpreted, there will be none to dispute. We appealed but now to the improbability *a priori* that Jesus should have withheld from his intimates on such an occasion as Cæsarea Philippi an account, shorter or longer, plainer or more enigmatic, of the Messianic call and his interpretation of it. If the disciples had, as we have claimed, the *right* to expect this of him, we, their followers, have a still more obvious claim on them to transmit intact this vital "mystery of the kingdom." Have they done so? And, if so, why this question as to the whereabouts of the story?

It should scarcely be needful to remind the reader that a generation later than Paul and John and Mark something else had come in to take the place of the Messianic call as the "beginning of the gospel of Jesus the Christ the Son of God;" a story of his birth which, whether historically trustworthy or not, was certainly not heard from the lips of Jesus; for so far from resting his Messianic claims on questions of birth or pedigree, whether Davidic or plebeian, miraculous or commonplace, he has lifted himself to a totally different level by his question to the scribes: "The Christ, whose Son is he?"<sup>26</sup> But since the time when the idyllic birth-scenes of our first and third gospels first captivated the mind of the church, these have ever tended with well-nigh irresistible power to distract from what in the earlier time, and even, we may be sure, in the thought of the first and third evangelists themselves, was the real beginning of the Messiahship. For surely it is not the purpose of these chapters, these gospels before the gospels, to describe a part of Jesus' *conscious* Messianic career, but only to oppose to the Adoptianism of the latter part of the first century the true doctrine that Jesus did not *become* the Son of God, full of the Holy Ghost, at his baptism; but was really so (although unconsciously) from the beginning.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Matt. 22 : 41-45.

<sup>27</sup> The fourth gospel meets the same heresy in a profounder way by appeal to the Pauline (not to say orthodox Jewish) doctrine of preëxistence. The purpose both of the infancy chapters of Matthew and Luke and the prologue of John is to meet these germs of a Cerinthian Gnostic theory. Docetic Gnosticism of this type laid hold of the striking contrast between the absolute obscurity of the life of Jesus before his baptism, and the sudden blaze of glory thereafter, as a convenient point of attachment for

Therefore let us not lay the blame on our evangelists, least of all on Mark, the earliest and simplest, if this key to the mind of Christ seems to us not to have been hung plainly enough before our eyes. What constituted "the beginning of the gospel of Jesus the Christ, the Son of God," in the oldest of our gospels, is not doubtful. It was the story of the baptismal vision and the temptation in the wilderness.

But was the story of the baptismal vision then a part of the autobiographic discourse? We have no hesitation whatever in affirming, despite the arguments of Weiss and Beyschlag combined, that this story was from the beginning, and must ever from the nature of the case have been, inseparable from that of the temptations. Great as is our debt to these scholars and critics, in attempting, as they do, to derive the story of the baptismal vision from intimations of John the Baptist, while they carry back the story of the temptation to Jesus as its ultimate source, they certainly introduce a great and needless confusion.

One may be pardoned for the suspicion that an eagerness to defend the historicity of the fourth gospel has sometimes obscured critical insight. How irresistible is the impression of an actual experience of Jesus, as we read the eloquent description of Beyschlag: "In the moment of baptism the consciousness of his Messianic calling was awakened by a meeting and

its teaching of the descent of the spiritual æon Christ upon the fleshly man Jesus, on occasion of his baptism, retiring from him again at his passion, or shortly before. The apostle John we know to have antagonized Cerinthus. The difference between the mode of denial adopted by the Jewish Christian narratives of Matthew and Luke (*i. e.*, of course, the Palestinian — not Judaistic — *sources* employed by our first and third evangelists) and the mode of the fourth gospel, is the difference between the Jewish and the Hellenistic (or Alexandrian) mode of reasoning; the former tells a story, the latter philosophizes. It is well for the church that it has both these forms of protest put forth — one in Ephesus, the other two in Palestine — by Christians of the first century, against making the baptismal vision the actual beginning of the indwelling of God in man. The primitive church well knew that the story was never meant by its author to bear any such sense of spiritual transfusion. It would be still better if the church would now refrain from the other extreme, and cease to empty the story of the baptismal vision and temptation of the sense which rightly belongs to it, implanted in it, as we are aiming to demonstrate, by Jesus himself. In its true sense, it is the occasion when Jesus became *consciously* the Son of God, and in the ensuing conflict of soul reached his own determination of the meaning and the truth of the revelation.

contact of his inmost being with the heavenly Father, and burst into existence: then with the feeling of an incomparable vocation, as with Saul when he became king, as with Luther when he came to know himself as the reformer chosen of God, powers and gifts till now unsuspected, such as the god-sent calling demanded for its carrying through, were naturally aroused within him."<sup>28</sup> Surely this means the baptismal vision of Jesus! This is—to use the figure applied but a line or two before—the opening under the sunbeam from heaven of the bud of Jesus' pure nature, as yet unconscious of its own perfection, into the blossom of a self-realizing Messianic consciousness. The author himself seems to be conscious that he is dealing here with the inmost experience of Jesus' soul. He seems to see him as he stands consecrating himself in the waters of that baptism which was to set apart a new and purer Israel than that which in the waters of the Red Sea had been "baptized unto Moses," till, coming up out of the water, "straightway he saw the heavens rent asunder, and the Spirit as a dove descending upon him: and a voice came out of the heavens, Thou art my beloved Son, in thee I am well pleased."<sup>29</sup> But no, says Beyschlag; this is not the experience of Jesus, which appears thus sublimely pictured in the oldest of our gospels. *This is the experience of John the Baptist!* We are not, indeed, with Weiss, to conceive of the Messianic consciousness as originating earlier, or, indeed, at any other time than exactly this moment; but, inasmuch as the fourth gospel represents John the Baptist as the recipient of this vision, and as, furthermore, the vision is a phenomenon strange to the character of Jesus, and unlike the form of his communion with the Father, we must stand by Weiss in his precarious effort to find in the later version of Matthew traces of the synoptic account in harmony with John 1:32-34. But oh, how slender the thread of argument! Let us have it in full: "The representation of the oldest source is no longer absolutely pure in our first gospel, for it is shown by the comparison of parallel texts that the first half of vs. 16 is introduced from Mark. By this means the

<sup>28</sup> BEYSLAG, *Leben Jesu*, Vol. I, pp. 223-4.

<sup>29</sup> Mark 1:10, 11. As to the aorist εὐδοκῆσα see pp. 530-31, note 8.



recipient of the vision is changed, although the vision itself still speaks of Jesus; but the voice from heaven in vs. 17 shows distinctly that in the original representation mention was made of a vision, not to Him, but to John. In it the consummation of the baptism was in the words: Then he suffered Him, *i. e.*, to be baptized (3:15), so that there followed immediately the vision which on the same occasion was granted to John."<sup>30</sup>

The very utmost that could result from Weiss' argument for the removal of vs. 16a, even if granted, would be a possible ambiguity of the *αὐτῷ* (16b omitted, be it observed, by some of the best authorities), so that no more could be inferred from it than that some person ignorant of the facts might be led by it to falsely infer that in the representation of the "oldest source" John was the recipient of the vision. That the "original representation" may have labored under the disadvantage of this lack of definiteness in the personal pronoun, and so have given rise to the error of John 1:32-34, we are quite prepared to admit, if necessary.<sup>31</sup> More Weiss' argument does not prove, even if granted. But on what ground does it rest? Absolutely its only support is the change of the *bath qol* (the "voice from heaven") of Mark from the interpellative to the demonstrative form. The *οὗτός ἐστιν* for *σὺ εἶ* must bear the whole weight of the inference. But what compels us to suppose that the voice from heaven is then addressed to John? Why may we not suppose that the evangelist conceives the story externally, as Luke does, and regards the heavenly voice as addressed to the bystanders, as in the transfiguration story? Why may we not suppose, still more readily, that the first evangelist is here pursuing the course so habitual with him of making Mark's scriptural quotations agree more exactly with the original, adopting the demonstrative form of the passage on which it certainly is based, *viz.*, Isa. 42:1-4 (quoted in Matt. 12:18-21), under the further influence, we will say, of the *bath qol* in the transfiguration story?

<sup>30</sup> B. WEISS, *Life of Christ*, Transl., T. & T. Clark, Vol. I, p. 324, note.

<sup>31</sup> Such ambiguity of the personal pronoun is characteristic of Aramaic, but that the author of the (Aramaic) original source had different persons in mind as subjects in 15b and 16b is shown by 4:1, where the Spirit (the same which descends in 3:16) leads Jesus — not John — into the wilderness.

There is certainly more than one explanation of the *οὗτός ἐστιν* more probable than the supposition that Mark and Luke are wrong, and John the Baptist was the recipient of the vision.

Whatever our explanation of John 1:33 f., it is a psychological impossibility to suppose the vision in the mind of one man and both its antecedents and consequences in the mind of another. John was a prophet, and doubtless may have had visions, though, aside from the vision in question, we know of no more in his case than in his great disciple's. But we may safely say that if John the Baptist had visions of the "greater one who cometh, winnowing-fan in hand, to purge his floor, baptizing not with water but with fire,"<sup>32</sup> their elements were hardly of this type, the opening skies, the brooding dove, the voice of loving fatherhood filling out with a divine fullness of new meaning the words of Messianic prediction :

Behold my servant whom I have chosen ;  
 My beloved, in whom my soul is well pleased.  
 I will put my Spirit upon him,  
 And he shall declare judgment to the Gentiles.  
 He shall not strive, nor cry aloud ;  
 Neither shall anyone hear his voice in the streets.  
 A bruised reed shall he not break,  
 And smoking flax shall he not quench,  
 Till he send forth judgment unto victory.  
 And in his name shall the Gentiles hope.<sup>33</sup>

In spite of John 1:29, it was not John the Baptist who resorted to the second Isaiah and the image of the suffering Servant of Jehovah for his favorite type of Messiah's career, but rather one who so defined his calling from the time when he stood up to read in the synagogue at Nazareth<sup>34</sup> and who drew

<sup>32</sup> The introduction of "the Holy Ghost," a baptism of still larger grace than the present, into John's representation of the Messiah coming to judgment, seems to give a more Christian coloring to his preaching than seems really probable. Read Luke 3:7-9, 16 f., omitting in vs. 16 the words "the Holy Ghost and," and observe the improved connection, the baptism of repentance *vs.* the baptism of judgment. According to Acts 1:5 it is Jesus who thus distinguishes Christian from Johannine baptism, and we agree with this author. Nevertheless, the point is not vital.

<sup>33</sup> Isa. 42:1-4, as quoted in Matt. 12:18-21.

<sup>34</sup> Luke 4:16-22, using Isa. 61:1 f.

closer and closer to the thought of the Great Exile as Calvary drew nearer and more inevitable.

Not merely are the antecedents of the vision present in the mind of Jesus and absent from that of John the Baptist; the consequences point as conspicuously to the same result. It is Jesus, not John, who is overwhelmed at the revelation and "irresistibly impelled" toward the solitude where his conflict of soul may be fought out without distraction.<sup>35</sup> It is Jesus who, the conflict once decided and the heavenly voice accepted as in truth a revelation from God, stands thereafter in a faith which not even the agony of Gethsemane nor the breaking heart of Calvary can shake, the faith that God will vindicate and give the victory even through death to his Son and Messiah. It is John who is "stumbled in him" and who doubts whether, after all, Israel must not "look for another" redeemer.

True, we admit a confidential relation between the two as possible, or even probable. If the vision had been John's, he would not have kept it from Jesus, and Jesus could not have received such a communication from his revered teacher and "prophet" unperturbed. But could he rest *such* a faith on anything less than a divine revelation? Could Jesus believe that God would deliver his Messianic call at second hand, through vision vouchsafed to another? John, on the other hand, had he really been the recipient of the vision, must have not only been permanently convinced of its certainty, but must have understood its content, in which case his later stumbling is inconceivable.

But since the point is so vital, we cannot rest satisfied with arguments drawn from the psychological necessities of the case, but must briefly indicate how both the historical and literary unities corroborate our view.

Historically we are reduced to the same confusion by supposing the story of the baptismal vision to have emanated from John the Baptist, as when we suppose the temptation story, or any of those sayings which distinctly declare Jesus to be the Messiah,

<sup>35</sup> Mark 1:12 τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτὸν ἐκβάλλει. Matthew mitigates the strong expression to ἀνέχθη; Luke 1

to have preceded Cæsarea Philippi. Of the baptismal vision, at any rate, it is impossible to say that it does not present Jesus as "the Christ the Son of the living God" in *the fullest and highest sense* claimed for Peter's confession. Is it possible, then, to assume as historical the representation that John the Baptist related to various individuals, including directly and indirectly Andrew, John, and Peter, this account of the divine calling of Jesus, specially revealed to him from heaven; and at the same time to hold that Jesus, at least a year afterward, on the ground of an identical declaration by Peter, commended his superhuman insight in the solemn pronouncement: "Flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is-in Heaven"?—But it is needless to repeat our historical argument against the possibility of placing the temptation discourse earlier than Cæsarea Philippi. What applies to that applies with tenfold force to the story of the Messianic call. It is impossible that this secret should have been breathed by human lips, until Jesus himself revealed it to the Twelve on that momentous occasion. The one exception is that which doubtless gave rise to the representation of the fourth gospel, certainly unhistorical in its present form, though just as certainly a genuine Johannine tradition: Jesus himself, perhaps, made known to John, after he had returned from the wilderness, what he afterward made known to the Twelve; but John, whatever mysterious and enigmatic words he may afterward have spoken concerning Jesus, most certainly respected his secret.

We have one further argument by which to prove that Jesus, and not John, is the ultimate source of the story of the baptismal vision. It is that from literary relation, and it must serve at the same time both to set forth our interpretation of the autobiographic discourse as a whole, and to refute the one objection yet unanswered, viz.: that vision is not characteristic of Jesus, nor appropriate to his type of mind, so far as we know it.

Beyschlag has very properly and forcefully criticised the interpretation B. Weiss had given in his *Leben Jesu* of the temptations, as destroying their coherence and the inner unity of the subject. But this is but a mote as compared with the beam which

blinds the eye of him who cannot see the inner unity and necessary coherence of all three temptations with the baptismal vision. It is doing violence, no doubt, to cut the thread of connection which binds together the three temptations as so many false ideals of Messiah, Christs *κατὰ τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων*, and makes them mere fortuitous evil suggestions.<sup>36</sup> But it is surely no less violent to cut the thread of thought-connection between the story of the baptismal visions and that of the temptations by deriving one from an utterance of the Baptist and the other from a late discourse of Jesus.

Our historical argument, if granted, would make it plain that the occasion when the story of the baptismal vision was related cannot be earlier than the great one at Cæsarea Philippi. It would thus be brought objectively to take its place side by side with its present companion-piece. But our opponents would separate them widely. Let us ask then subjectively: How would the temptations, with their recurrent "If thou art the Son of God," be intelligible in the absence of the shortly preceding revelation from heaven, "Thou art my beloved Son, upon thee my choice hath fallen"?<sup>37</sup>

Both internal and external evidence demands the inclusion, as part of the original content of the autobiographic discourse, of the whole account of Jesus' relations with the Baptist up to the time when, after his return from the wilderness, he comes into his earliest relations with any of the Twelve in the tradition of the fourth gospel. How, then, are we to understand the events of this vital period of his history, related, it would seem, by none other than Jesus himself?

We are told that "this view [Jesus as the recipient of the vision] . . . introduces into the life of Jesus visionary situations which were found even by Keim not to correspond with the calm, clear quality of his spiritual life."<sup>38</sup> We answer: They who urge this objection mistake the question in debate. The question is not, Did Jesus ever *have* such visionary experiences?

<sup>36</sup> So BEYSCHLAG, *Leben Jesu*, Vol. I, p. 227, note \*, against B. Weiss.

<sup>37</sup> For this translation of the aorist *εὐδόκησα* see note 8, on pp. 530-31, and cf. Isa. 42:1.

<sup>38</sup> B. WEISS, *Life of Christ*, Vol. I, p. 328, note.

but, Did Jesus ever refer to his subjective experiences *in the language of vision*? This is quite a different matter. To the latter question there can be but one answer: This method, so familiar in his day, so preëminently the favorite method since the great prophets had made it a literary figure, for the representation of subjective experiences, was not strange either to Jesus or his disciples. The mere fact that Jesus related the experience of his Messianic call and the subsequent struggle of his soul under the forms of vision proves nothing whatever as to the psychological fact. We can no more infer from the saying, "He saw the heavens rent asunder, and the Spirit as a dove descending upon him," that Jesus had an actual vision of this character, than we can from his saying, "I saw Satan as lightning fallen from heaven," that he had that kind of vision. It does not follow from his using the stereotyped form of the *bath qol* ("voice from heaven"), so perfectly familiar and intelligible to his first auditors, that the divine revelation of his Messiahship came to him in abnormal condition of mind, any more than from his saying to Peter, "Flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven," it follows that Peter had heard the words in a trance. If Jesus related the story of his Messianic call in this form, as we suppose, what is implied by it, and *all* that is implied by it, is simply that it came to him "by revelation of God," and not from "flesh and blood," nor from the mere unaided reasonings of his own soul. That one essential fact is given; no more. It is the claim of a divine origin and not a human one for the foundation of his teaching. It is implied in his answer to a demand for his authority, wherein he coördinates his preaching with that of John as "from heaven."<sup>39</sup> It is the explanation of his teaching "with authority," and the prototype of Paul's similar vindication of his "gospel" that it is not *κατὰ ἄνθρωπον*.<sup>40</sup> As to the fact of "revelation" there is ample assurance; as to the mode there is something of reserve.

Are we then to understand that there was no baptismal vision at all in the case either of John or Jesus? That we are far from

<sup>39</sup> Mark 11: 29 f.

<sup>40</sup> Gal. 1: 11.

asserting. On the contrary, there certainly was a condition of supreme spiritual and mental exaltation. There *may* have been a corresponding physical reaction resulting in "vision." Indications of the narrative itself<sup>41</sup> confirm our natural inference that this conviction of his personal Messianic call when it finally burst upon Jesus must have shaken his nature to its very foundation. If there was any vice which would be to him by nature, by training, and by personal religious feeling peculiarly abhorrent, it would be the pharisaic vice of self-exaltation, the putting of oneself forward as more righteous, better informed, better qualified to judge and to lead than others. To Paul the characteristics which preëminently distinguish Christ are his "meekness and gentleness."<sup>42</sup> To humble oneself, to be meek and quiet, to be inconspicuous, not to strive and cry aloud and cause one's voice to be heard in the streets, but to show such gentleness as not even to break the bruised reed—these are the qualities which, to the natural temperament of Jesus and of the circle of "the meek and quiet in the land" in which he moved, constitute the true beauty of holiness. Nothing can be more significant than to see how completely this temperament pervades the epistle of "James the Lord's brother," with its abhorrence of the noisy, talkative, pretentious would-be teacher and judge of others. It must have been something little short of a mental and spiritual cataclysm when the conviction was borne in with divine power upon the soul of such as this Man of Nazareth that the Chosen of God, the Messiah of Israel, was none other than himself.

Of one other great and noble, yet truly humble soul of antiquity we have the record of a similar experience, as told also, originally, by himself. To Socrates the message of the Delphic oracle was no light matter, though sometimes he seems to treat it half-humorously. But when he accepts it, it is by "humbling himself." He knows his own ignorance—that is

<sup>41</sup> Mark 1:12. Those who have had experience of the physical shock of immersion, when, "coming up out of the water," the light of day again breaks upon the eye, will not merely appreciate the favorite allusion of Paul to baptism as a burial and resurrection, but may even find here a contributory straw of physical influence tending to increase the state of exaltation of the mind.

<sup>42</sup> 2 Cor. 10:1.

his "wisdom." The comparison is not adequate, and yet, it may help us to conceive how Jesus might feel toward a message he could not refuse, yet one which placed him upon such a pinnacle of supreme exaltation. It marks the very acme of his self-abnegation that, once thoroughly convinced that this call was indeed from God, he "humbled himself and became obedient unto death, yea even the death of the cross." We may be sure, then, that it was not without a mental, possibly even a physical, convulsion that this revolution in life was wrought. Others, had they been able to realize the depth and purity of his religious life, his penetration into the very heart of prophets and psalmists, his clear perception of the fatal flaws of the various unworthy ideals about him; had they known his penetration to the true nature of the ills of humanity and their divine cure, his apprehension of the essential nature of God as the giver, the Father whose purpose is always and only holy, beneficent love—others, had they been aware of this, might not have found it so strange a thought, despite all the conventional, external notions of the Messianic kingdom, that this quiet, unpretentious, noble Man of Nazareth should be the Chosen of God. But to him it was surprising, incredible, until in profoundest struggle of mind and soul he had become convinced of it, accepted it, submitted to it, as the call of God. In many natures such experiences take the form of vision. In the case of Paul it certainly was so, not once, but repeatedly. With men of this type, the mental data are present in the mind, premises and conclusion are steadily moving toward the point where, with the instantaneousness and precision of a calculating machine, they will suddenly fall into logical sequence and the result will be declared. Yet, meantime, the man himself is all unconscious of it. He may even be resisting it in mute struggle against the pricking goad, yet not so as to be consciously doing violence to conscience; till the decisive moment comes, the unstable equilibrium is destroyed, and in a soul- and body-shaking cataclysm the man becomes a new creature. Such, doubtless, was the temperament of Paul. But was it so with Jesus? We do not think it. There was, beyond question, the



same slow formation of the ideal, the gradual development on the one hand of the conception of the true kingdom of God and the true Messiah, on the other of the conception of his own personal career, culminating upon his association with John in a complete self-consecration in baptism to the cause of the kingdom. There was the gradual, unconscious approach of two converging lines of thought; there was the sudden, overwhelming result in the moment of coincidence, the instantaneous recognition that the two portraits—the Messiah of God and his own developed personality—are one and the same. Here, as in Paul's case, there was the same unknown quantity, the third and greatest element of the problem, the movement of that unseen power of which the tangible and earthly is but the shadow. But the experience of Jesus was not like Paul's. Aside from questions of temperament and psychological probability the story itself has indications of an idealizing touch. It is not the mere photograph of a single scene in Jesus' life, it is a portrait sketched with masterly hand by the artist himself.

Why have we in the half-dozen words of the "voice from heaven," as Jesus relates it, a complete picture of the Messianic son and servant of Isa. 42: 1-4? Is it because on the particular occasion when the call of God came to him it came to him in these identical words, the sharp-cut, clearly defined experience of a vision? Certainly not; but we have conveyed to us the exact idea—even better than by photographic reproduction from memory—of the great truth that then broke so overwhelmingly on Jesus' soul. And the words? They sketch for us, in the single stroke of the most incomparable word-artist who ever lived, the thought of Messiahhood—his Messiahhood now—as it had come to be in the soul of Jesus through many a silent year of preparation. The portrait is not that which the gospel according to the Hebrews attempts to substitute for this, the Messiahhood of the second psalm. It is the Messiahhood of Isa. 42: 1-4. And therewith we have Jesus' ideal of "the beloved,"<sup>43</sup> his unconscious portrait of himself.

Such, then, was the story of his Messianic call as related by

<sup>43</sup> Cf. with this *ὁ ἐγὼ υἱὸς μου ὁ ἀγαπητός*, the words of Eph. 1: 6.

Jesus to the Twelve at Cæsarea Philippi. We will not say that the experience was not more like vision than even the most intuitive thought, when in a moment the full consciousness of it had flashed upon him. We can only repeat, "it was from heaven and not of men;" but as to the exact form, or words, of that inscrutable experience, we have no right to press the language of the Master's report. We have no right to insist that his portraiture shall be other than ideal, as the form and language employed would seem to imply that it was.

But the Twelve had need of more at Cæsarea Philippi than merely to be told of his "high calling of God." They had just shown, through their spokesman Peter, a most deplorable disposition to conceive the Messiahship *κατὰ τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων*. He must go a step farther in his own experience and tell them how, in his own mind, he had met and overcome these unworthy ideals of Messiahship, and thus silence them once for all. For these conceptions of Messiah *κατὰ τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων*—Jesus did not now meet them for the first time. 'It was not a new objection to him when they cried out to him in the synagogue at Capernaum: "What then doest thou for a sign, that we may see and believe thee? what workest thou? Our fathers ate the manna in the wilderness; as it is written, He gave them bread out of heaven to eat."<sup>44</sup> It was not a novel experience to him when "the Pharisees came forth, tempting him, seeking of him a sign from heaven."<sup>45</sup> From the very moment when the idea of himself as the Messiah *κατὰ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ* came into his mind, it would of necessity have to do battle with the current, stereotyped ideas, the Messiahs *τὰ κατὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων*, which must inevitably take to themselves these very forms.

Granted that the current expectations of Messiah's career were more or less incongruous with the spiritual ideal which had been slowly ripening in the mind of Jesus, are we to suppose that he could now instantaneously throw off all the conceptions of his childhood and youth, the beliefs of his nation and of his most revered teachers, without a struggle? So long as he was not personally confronting the question in practical earnest,

<sup>44</sup> John 6:30 f.

<sup>45</sup> Mark 8:11.

What is Messiah to do? the two ideals could coexist in his mind without sense of incongruity. But the moment the Messianic programme is laid upon his shoulders, the question presses instantly and clamorously for solution. "Messiah will outdo the great miracle of Moses, he will spread a feast for Israel in the wilderness." That is one of the most universally present of the current Messianic conceptions to be found in the New Testament. It is the "feast of the great king," at which Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob sit down, not without a multitude, says Jesus, from east and west and north and south. It is the "marriage supper" at which the nuptials of Messiah and his bride are celebrated. Crudely and materially by some, symbolically by others, the thought had been dwelt upon and embellished for generations. It pervades all the thought of the day. Even the chief viand of the feast was prescribed; Messiah should feed Israel upon the flesh of leviathan,<sup>46</sup> and "blessed should he be who should eat bread in the kingdom of God."<sup>47</sup> Nay, it is imbedded even in the most beautiful of all the psalms. Israel's Good Shepherd, after he has led them through the valley of the shadow of death (the woes of Messiah), "prepares a table before them in the presence of their (defeated) enemies, he anoints their head with (festal) oil, their cup runneth over." What then of this high and sacred expectation? Are the poor still to go hungry as before, and God's Messiah to be helpless to provide for them? "If thou be the Son of God, command these stones of the wilderness<sup>48</sup> to become bread." Thus the tempter, seeking to silence the divine voice: "*Thou art my Son, my Chosen.*" But the answer is ready. He has, indeed, no power to turn the stones of the wilderness into bread; yet Israel's hope of a Messianic feast is not to be destroyed, but fulfilled. Only the famine it behooves the Son of God to assuage is "not a famine of bread, nor a thirst for water, but of hearing the words of the Lord."<sup>49</sup> "Blessed are they that hunger and

<sup>46</sup> See references in WEBER, *Lehren des Talmud*, p. 384.

<sup>47</sup> Luke 14:15.

<sup>48</sup> Luke's "this stone," of course, misses the point entirely. Realistic as usual, he conceives Jesus' own hunger as the motive.

<sup>49</sup> Am. 8:11.

thirst after righteousness, for they shall be filled." This is the feast God gives his Messiah to spread before Israel; "for it is written, Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God."<sup>50</sup> "Your fathers did eat the manna in the wilderness and they died. This is the bread which cometh down out of heaven that a man may eat thereof and not die. . . . The flesh profiteth nothing, the words that I speak unto you, they are spirit and they are life."<sup>51</sup> This Messianic expectation, therefore, is to have its fulfilment; only it must be in the higher, diviner sense.

But how, then, of Israel's favorite dream of her Messianic deliverer, upborne on angels' wings invulnerable, while from the temple mount he heads the hosts of God and turns to flight the armies of aliens? It is written of Messiah: "He shall give his angels charge over thee, to keep thee in all thy ways. In their hands they shall bear thee up, lest thou dash thy foot against a stone."<sup>52</sup> What folly to entertain dreams of Messiahship, when the first determined stroke of opposition must lay thee low! Messiah, when he cometh, will stand on the highest battlement of the temple, before all Israel assembled in its courts. Surrounded by the cohorts of heaven, he will plunge unharmed into the depths below, striking terror to the hearts of his enemies. Thus again the tempter, taunting him with his weakness: Art thou, defenseless one, the Son of God? Again the answer is ready: It is not for man to tempt God as Israel tempted him in the wilderness, demanding a sign of his presence and support before they would venture on him, and saying, "Is Jehovah with us or not?"<sup>53</sup> Man's place is to follow the path of duty, be it even to defeat and death, and let God supply such protection and support as to him shall seem needful. Yet let no doubting heart suppose the promise of angelic support is vain; for in the hour of direst extremity the Son hath but to "beseech his Father, and he shall even then send him more than twelve legions of angels."<sup>54</sup> Once more faith in the divine calling and

<sup>50</sup> Matt. 4:4, quoting Deut. 8:3.

<sup>51</sup> Matt. 4:6, quoting Ps. 91:11 f.

<sup>52</sup> John 6:49 f., 63.

<sup>54</sup> Matt. 26:53.

<sup>53</sup> Matt. 4:7, quoting Deut. 6:16; cf. Ex. 17:7.

divine support triumphs over the protest of human weakness. "It is an evil and adulterous generation that seeketh after a sign. There shall no sign be given unto it but the sign of the prophet Jonah; for even as Jonah — unattended by aught of miraculous authentication, and simply calling to repentance under threat of impending doom — was himself a sign to the Ninevites, even so shall the Son of Man be to this generation."<sup>55</sup>

But the real and most formidable objection is yet to come. Objections based on inadequate fulfillment of current Messianic expectations may possibly be removed by a spiritualizing interpretation of the prophecies on which they rest. But if the Man of Nazareth takes this voice in his heart as in truth the call of God, he must go out to face present realities both stern and hard. It is idle to offer to a people groaning under an oppressive foreign yoke, a mere moral kingdom of righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost. It surely will not be in their eyes a fulfillment of the divine promise of deliverance in which they have been nurtured for generations. Nor is their political expectation a mere unwarranted misinterpretation of prophecy which he must rectify if he is determined to enter such a Messianic career as opens here before him. Far from it. His antagonists are in a measure the prophets and psalmists themselves; nay, even John the Baptist, whom he reveres above any prophet. Here and there in the prophets he may find intimations, such as those he loves to dwell on in the second Isaiah, of a peaceful conquest of the world by the divine power of truth and goodness; but these are neither supported by experience, nor can it honestly be said that they represent the consensus of prophecy. On the contrary, dreams of conquest, as in the second psalm, a world-wide dominion of the throne of David, deliverance for the people of Jehovah, and everlasting, righteous dominion for their king — these form the burden of prophecy. Since the day of the Great Exile himself the "watchmen on the walls of Jerusalem had never held their peace day nor night: they that were the Lord's remembrancers had taken no rest and given him no rest till he should establish and till he should make Jerusalem a

<sup>55</sup> Luke 11:29 f.

praise in the earth. The Lord had sworn by his right hand, and by the arm of his strength: Surely I will no more give thy corn to be meat for thine enemies; and strangers shall not drink thy wine for which thou hast labored; but they that have garnered it shall eat it and praise the Lord; and they that have gathered it shall drink it in the courts of my sanctuary."<sup>56</sup> Will a man venture to say after that that Israel's expectation of political deliverance was not justified? Had they no right to expect that Messiah should sit upon the throne of David in Jerusalem and "the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them" be poured out at his feet? Could one thus easily bid them give up the hope of the New Jerusalem, in whose light the nations shall walk, and the kings of the earth bring their glory into it; whose gates shall in no wise be shut by day, because they shall bring the glory and honor of the nations into it?<sup>57</sup> Would Jesus give the lie to Israel's noblest and best, to such as Simeon, waiting for the consolation of Israel, and Zacharias the father of John? Would he silence that song of the "horn of salvation from the house of God's servant David as he spake by the mouth of his holy prophets which have been since the world began,

Salvation from our enemies, and from the hand of all that hate us;  
 To shew mercy towards our fathers,<sup>58</sup>  
 And to remember his holy covenant;  
 The oath which he sware unto Abraham our father,  
 To grant unto us that we being delivered out of the hand of our enemies  
 Should serve him without fear,  
 In holiness and righteousness before him all our days"?<sup>59</sup>

The teacher from Nazareth may undertake to set aside all this, but if so, it is as one who sets at defiance the judgment of the whole people of God—nay, who trifles with the hope of Israel, by offering them a Messiah shorn of all the glories of the Son of David, as destitute of "the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them" as his own Galilean home. That is the last and great temptation. Must not he who would be God's Messiah to Israel fulfill the promise "which he spake by the mouth of his holy prophets," which have been since the world

<sup>56</sup> Isa. 62: 6-9.

<sup>57</sup> Rev. 21: 24-26.

<sup>58</sup> *I. e.*, in the person of their children.

<sup>59</sup> Luke 1: 67-75.

began, the oath which he swore by his right hand, to grant them deliverance from their enemies, and dominion over the earth? But tremendous as is the force of the temptation, the faith of the Man of Nazareth is stronger. The very strength of the demand betrays its origin. This is not the kingdom of God that Israel craves—no, not though they claim it in the name of all the prophets since the world began and by the very oath of God. This is the kingdom of Satan, the prince of this world, lusting after the “kingdoms of the earth and the glory of them.” “They lust and have not; they kill and covet and cannot obtain; they fight and war; they have not, because they ask not. They ask and receive not, because they ask amiss, that they may spend it on their pleasures.”<sup>60</sup> Begone, Satan, thou hast betrayed thyself. Make to others than this Son of God the tempting offer of “thy kingdom.” As for him, he will humble himself and become obedient unto death—yea, even the death of the cross, that God in due time may exalt him.

Such is the autobiography of Jesus. It is but a sketch taken at the critical moment of his career, drawn with his own masterly penury of words; but it gives a glimpse in retrospect, and in prospect. Behind is the growing time of youth, with its ideals for the kingdom of God and for his own career. Before is the career he must follow as the Called and Chosen of God. He can foresee but in outline what it must be. One thing alone is clear; it must be “not after the things of men, but after the things of God.” His power, his wisdom, his knowledge must depend absolutely upon God. He “can do nothing of himself,” but for him who by absolute faith puts himself “with God, all things are possible.”

Again I say, we have not here a photograph, we cannot lay stress upon each several word, and say, just such and such were the very thoughts that came to the mind of Jesus, when in the mighty impulse of the Spirit he was “driven forth” into the wilderness. It is a portrait, the portrait of a master who puts volumes of meaning into a single stroke. Do we value it too highly in making it our very key to the mind of Christ?

<sup>60</sup>Jas. 4: 1-3.

## THE EQUIPMENT OF THE MODERN FOREIGN MISSIONARY.

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NOW THAT we are well advanced into the second century of the modern missionary movement, it might appear that a study of the requirements of the service were unneeded, that long since the necessities had been so gauged and the requirements so fully understood that the only thing left is to proceed upon lines already established. But each year brings its lessons by which we may profit. Just as the merchant yearly takes stock that he may know what lines of goods to buy and what commodities to avoid, the Christian world may profitably consider what sort of equipment enables men to do the best service for the Master in the foreign missionary field.

The writer has pondered often and earnestly the object-lessons presented to him on the mission fields which he has visited, in sight of which he labored — not as a missionary, but as a government official; able, therefore, to look on without partiality for the missionaries and their work; yet, as a Christian minister, having full sympathy with their purposes and aims. He is convinced that the problems of effective service are not fully solved. This is proved in general by the fact that legitimate expectations of success have not been fully realized. *Magna est veritas et prævalebit.* Why then, if Christianity is truth, has it not prevailed? Is it due entirely to the difficulties of the field, to what we may call the natural obstacles of the work? Or do the workers toil in the face of obstructions which they or the usual missionary agencies, or both, have, at least in part, interposed between themselves and success? Unquestionably the latter is the fact. And one of the chief obstructions in the way of success is the inadequate equipment of the workmen.

The wonderful development of the students' volunteer move-



ment furnishes an occasion to consider this equipment; for, ungracious as it may seem to say it, this movement has been responsible for dispatching to the foreign field men—devoted and earnest Christians, indeed, but—lacking in some of the essential requirements demanded in that arduous and difficult province.

What, then, are the principal qualities our boards should insist upon finding in the men they send to labor for Christ among the nations? It is, of course, to be noted that what follows applies mainly to the clerical, not the medical missionary.

1. Of course, in the first place stands a thoroughgoing and intelligent consecration of the worker to the service of God and man. By this is meant partly that the missionary must be "called of God," *i. e.*, he must not choose his work as a means of livelihood merely. The foregoing may seem an unnecessary statement, but is it? Let us see.

The era of suffering has, for the missionary, largely passed away. His position, looked at from the point of view of personal comfort and of opportunities of advancement in a material sense, is not only respectable, but for the most part pleasant. The boards realize that no mean auxiliary to the preaching of the word and the teaching of the truth is found in the practical demonstration of the temporal advantages Christianity has developed. They know that the pleasant interior and the comfort of the missionary's home appeal with strange force to the mind of the native of China or India or Africa, especially when he comes to understand how largely these are the product of the Christian religion. These same boards have discovered also that it is better economy to pay a fair and adequate salary to the man on the ground, that he may husband and preserve his physical powers, than to have him wear himself out prematurely by worrying along on an insufficient support and succumbing finally before his natural term of service is half spent. To do this is cheaper than to supply frequent relays of workers, each of whom has to be for a time a non-producer while he learns the language and fits for active participation in service. Moreover, the missionary has opened to him other and more remunerative lines of work. Transition from mission to diplomatic or high

educational service is not unknown. The master of the vernacular often finds a passage to employment esteemed by some at higher value than the gospel ministry.

All of this may have an alluring effect upon the candidate for appointment to a foreign field. He may see therein possibilities of pleasure and advancement which influence his decision. It is, therefore, fundamental that this candidate be thoroughly and intelligently consecrated to the proposed work. Notice, not merely thoroughly, but also intelligently. His desire must not be the evanescent result of an eloquent presentation of the needs of some particular field, the impulsive response of an emotional and affectionate nature, even though that nature be warmed by deep love for the Savior. It should be the settled, balanced, well-considered determination of developed maturity, making other work impossible to him because of the imperative mood in the voice that calls him ; a growth, not a precipitation ; a sturdy young oak, not the mushroom of a night. The would-be missionary should have studied the literature concerning the province he proposes to enter, learned the character of the work done and to be done, investigated the traits and possibilities of the people, become acquainted with the nature of their institutions, domestic, social, civil, and religious ; considered the drafts to be made on the forces of the worker there, estimated the trials he will have to meet, measured the difficulties to be vanquished, and reckoned conservatively his own powers to resist and overcome. He must find in this last the response of his being to the call he believes he has received from his God. If that response is not forthcoming, the supposed call is most probably only the result of his disordered imagination. This is the first need : a profound, thoroughgoing, intelligent consecration, based on the most implicit confidence in the cross as the power of God unto salvation for all mankind.

2. The consideration that comes next is naturally the physical well-being of the candidate for missionary service. We are reminded that the principal missionary territories are oriental. To the initiated the word "oriental" is sufficient. It at once calls up visions, on the one hand, of the very personification of

inertia, of conservatism incarnate in the populations of the East ; or, on the other hand, it suggests a fanaticism of religiosity intrenched in the densest ignorance ; or, once more, it brings to mind the grossness of savagery that is not a whit worse than the others, though it may be cruder. There is needed in the struggle against each of these forces not merely a sublime faith in God and a consequently whole-hearted consecration of his servant to his service, but also a foundation for these in a healthy, vigorous, well-nourished physique and in a calm, equable, hopeful temperament. Residents in the East can tell of the intense nervous strain exerted upon the sojourner in those lands. It is through inability to resist this strain that missionaries oftenest fail. And by the word "fail" there is not meant merely a breaking down in health that necessitates retirement or protracted rest. What is in mind is inability to do effective work while remaining on the field, a lack of self-control that magnifies each petty annoyance into a massive grievance, that sees slights where none were intended, and that paves the way for those miserable bickerings which are so often the disturbers of peace on the field and the despair of board secretaries at home. The preventive of much of this, and therefore a prime requisite in the missionary, is the *mens sana in corpore sano*. The missionary's digestion must be good, his mind healthy. Over the doors of mission boards should be written : "No dyspeptics need apply." Further, the preliminary examination should cover not merely physical qualities, it should include a test of the mental characteristics. That old examiner knew his business ! He told the candidate to come to the house at 3 in the morning (it was winter), kept him waiting till 8, then made him spell b-a-k-e-r and tell how many twice two are ! The candidate was rated at 100 in self-denial, punctuality, patience, self-control, and humility. It may be asserted confidently, if the story be not apocryphal, that the physical endowment of that candidate was not far from perfect. Such an endowment is what is necessary on the mission field.

But the examination should not stop with the candidate himself. If he is betrothed or wedded, his partner for life should share the examination. A feeble or irritable wife in an eastern

climate is an obstacle to effective work such as few can imagine. To the thrifty and careful housekeeper the incapacity of oriental servants is an annoyance beyond the possibilities of language to express. A housewife in health that is perfect both physically and mentally finds all her powers of equipoise called into play. But given a matron with a delicate constitution, and the pater-familias has soon a triple load: his legitimate work as a missionary, the oversight more or less complete of the household, and the care of his ailing wife. These labors are none the less wearing because they are all labors of love. Add to this that most missionary territories induce a subtle, indefinable decay of the nerves which ages men and women, especially the latter, in a manner unknown at home, and complete justification for the proposed innovation becomes apparent. The missionary *and his wife* should be physically able.

3. A third essential is distinct and marked linguistic ability. This qualification is a *sine qua non*. It is true that in many lands the hearers of the preachers are very tolerant of the ungrammatical and unidiomatic use of the language. Their thoughts sometimes run in such a channel as the following: "These foreigners speak very well, very well indeed, considering all things! But then, of course, we do not expect them to speak accurately." And so there is a marked feeling of superiority on the part of the native, arising from the inability of the missionary to use the native language fluently and idiomatically. This is a disadvantage. I have known missionaries of whom natives and foreigners more fortunate have said: "Mr. So-and-So will never learn to speak the language." Such men are a handicap in any mission. The ambassador of Christ should be able to hold his own in the use of the vernacular in any discussion that may arise, so far as purity and fluency are concerned.

But the objection arises: "How can we know that a man has this ability? We have to try the man first." The answer is in a suggestion of Rev. H. W. Pope, of New Haven. He says: "Let the missionary societies of the various denominations coöperate in establishing a home training school. It can be done at little expense. Have no denominationalism allowed in

the instruction. Make the missionary languages and the institutions of missionary lands the subject of study. Employ as teachers the returned missionaries who are pensioned and would be glad to be of use. Let those who are home on furlough turn in a few hours a day. Instruction could be given at a minimum of cost in the language and customs of any missionary field under the sun, for by combining the resources of the various boards there would always be found men competent for the service. *Then*, compel missionary candidates to spend at least six months on probation in this training school. After that the instructors could report upon the linguistic capabilities of the candidates. Aptitude for the language, if present, would have manifested itself. If not, money would be saved the board, and to the man the chagrin and disappointment of failure." This suggestion is feasible and economical. Why not attempt it?

4. Perhaps prior to the preceding specified requirement the broadest educational equipment should have been mentioned. No clerical missionary should be commissioned who is not an honored graduate of a reputable college and of a good theological seminary. Missionaries should be the pick of men. The missionary should be *master* of Greek and Hebrew and German—not merely proficient in them—especially if he is going to a country where a translation of the Scriptures into the vernacular is to be made or revised. Nothing but first-hand knowledge should be recognized here. The veteran Dr. Hepworth, of Japan, gave the basis for our reasoning here when he said to his native assistant in translating the Bible: "This book is to become *one of the classics of Japan*." What the Bible is to English literature it ought to become to the literature of the world. To accomplish this there is needed the broadest education, the finest culture, the most discerning literary taste.

In laying emphasis upon linguistic and literary ability in what has just been written, there has been no intention to pass by science and history. No learning comes amiss in missionary territory. The laborer there should know something of sanitary science. He should be prepared to take part in the scientific uplift of his people. There should be in his mind no thought of

antagonism between science and religion. He should know all truth as God's, and that neither science nor religion is an antagonist of that truth. In the past the scientific training of the devoted servant of God has enabled him to do yeoman service for the Master, and even fuller opportunities are opening for the future.

Another branch of knowledge especially useful in the far East is international law, and this might well be supplemented by an accurate understanding of the treaties between the government of the field of labor and other powers. Opportunities are often offered in the interplay of international politics which, seized at once, set wide open doors that will never be shut, yet, once allowed to escape, are never again even ajar.

5. Another qualification in the missionary is a large sympathy. This should manifest itself first for the people among whom and for whom he is to labor. The days have gone by when it could be maintained that Christianity alone contains truth. More scientific study of history and the new science of comparative religion have made such a contention no longer possible. Much has been learned of what Christian thought and terminology have taken up from the philosophical and religious systems of Semite and Aryan, of the debt due to Babylonian and Jew and Greek. We admit that God has not left himself without witness among any nation or tribe in any age. What people, for example, has more intensely appreciated the principle underlying the fifth commandment than have the Chinese? The Christian worker must be prepared, therefore, to find a perception of the truth—some portion of it—wherever he goes. And this for two reasons: first, because he must recognize facts; second, because he thereby obtains a leverage otherwise impossible. The missionary who believes that Christianity alone has truth, that all other religious systems have no truth, and who attempts to teach along those lines, imperils his own success. Necessarily so, for he fights facts, and he antagonizes more than is needful those he would convert. By recognizing whatever of his people's religion is true and real, the Christian laborer establishes a common basis on which he and they can stand from the

first, and from which he can advance them to a knowledge of the higher truths of Christianity.

For this reason comparative religion is a branch of study that should be taken into the curriculum of all our theological schools. It is a necessary part of the equipment of all ministers, but especially of those who go to the foreign field. It is valuable not only for the wide outlook it gives, but also because it evokes the sympathy of the student for those who are feeling after God if haply they may find him.

But, secondly, the sympathy of the Christian ambassador is needed not only for those for whom he works, but also for those with whom he is joined as yoke-fellow. It is not fashionable in writing on missions to touch upon the dissensions among the missionaries. These wretched affairs are usually covered up, and the world at large little suspects the feuds that rage among the workmen on the mission field. The present writer does not intend an *exposé*, but he will not ignore facts. This discord does exist; these feuds, sometimes personal, sometimes interdenominational, are sad realities. How much harm they do can never be told. It is true there are palliatory considerations. The peculiarly wasting effect of eastern climes upon the nervous system has already been referred to. The unceasing round of duties, with so little opportunity for change and diversion, contributes to the loss of self-control. Yet all of this but emphasizes the point just made, that the would-be missionary should be a person of the deepest sympathy — a sympathy that is born of humility, of an inability to receive a slight, to take offense at a momentary incivility, to persist in remembering an injury. Self-abnegation gives tone to the sympathy under consideration. The disposition to esteem others better than himself will ever beget a sympathy with one's coworkers which will prove a grand lubricator of missionary coöperation.

6. In the next place, the missionary should be above denominationalism. The present writer once heard a missionary on the field declare: "I came here to make (—well, we will say—) Congoterists." The generous rivalry of the different churches in all kinds of Christian work is not now under

stricture ; what is aimed at is the ungenerous, anti-Christian sentiment that puts denomination above Christ. This appears from two sources : first, in the policy of the home board ; second, in the work of the missionaries on the field. Here is no place to discuss that strife of the denominations which is causing an immense waste of money and effort ; but it must be noticed. This strife is in evidence at home. Any state furnishes abundant testimony. Little towns of less than a thousand inhabitants contain half a dozen churches of as many denominations, each church struggling along at a poor dying rate. There is not available adequate support for more than one strong church. The pastors of such churches are generally men not well equipped for ministerial service, for able men command better salaries than a church in a town of that sort usually affords. On the other hand, the people are not well nourished. So the strength of pastor and people, instead of being spent on genuine aggressive work against the enemy of mankind, is often wasted in interdenominational polemics. The result is—the engendering of intense bitterness of feeling among members of the body of Christ. This state of things is not confined to the home field ; it prevails among missionaries. The antagonisms of exclusive denominationalism are a frequent feature of life in mission settlements. These take shape often in the way of direct proselyting, sometimes in intrusion into a field of work already well and sufficiently occupied. Occasionally it is a matter of division of territory, or, again, the composition of a committee of revision or translation. Whole mission communities (and this not merely in China) have been flung into paroxysms of rage over the rendering into the vernacular of the name of the Deity. The convert is often stopped short in his progress on learning of these polemics. He has heard the gospel of love and is brought into an arena of conflict. “What does this mean ? Is this gospel of love a delusion ?” he asks. And no small portion of the polemics of Catholic missionaries is drawn from the feuds of Protestant sects.

Now let us state the facts frankly ! The blame for this state of things cannot be laid wholly at the feet of the missionaries.



*The fault is not seldom with the boards at home.* At least one of the most aggressive of missionary agencies dictates this policy to its departing workers!

If, contrary to this, one of the watchwords passed by the secretaries in charge to those leaving for foreign fields were "peace, concession, and brotherly love," the evil we deprecate would be much abated. "Christ above denomination" should be the password to missionary service.

7. Once more, the missionary should be profoundly impressed with the importance of using all agencies of the Christian life, and not merely the one means of grace in preaching, as instruments in Christian work. To illustrate: Not a few missionaries grow impatient and restive at being set to work teaching in the mission schools. Such men complain of the drudgery of mission life. They are in haste to appeal to men and women. They do not realize the training they are getting by contact with the younger generation. They forget the saying of the English cardinal: "Give me the children of England, and I'll soon have you a Catholic kingdom." They overlook the fact that the great numerical increase of Christians in Japan during the last fifteen years is the legitimate fruitage of the previous thirty years' teaching of Japanese children. It is time we recognize the truth that, humanly speaking, the world cannot be won for Christ in a generation. Herein the Catholic church is wiser than we have been. She builds churches and cloisters, it is true; but she erects and equips also schools and training agencies. Her work is not planned merely for the present, but for the distant future.

We do not here lose sight of the fact that when father and mother are converted, we may anticipate the fellowship of the children. We do not slight the service of the preached word. We do not forget that the school is a part of the recognized missionary machinery. But we would have increased emphasis laid on the pliancy of childhood's years, on the indelibility of instruction given then, the ineradicability of ideas implanted in early life. Parents in missionary lands are often only too willing to send their little ones where instruction is given gratui-

tously or cheaply, where these little ones may gain equipment for life's duties, even though that equipment is seasoned with a knowledge of a religion other than their own.

If the world is to be won, it must be by beginning with the children, staying with them, working upon them unceasingly. Too much stress cannot be put on this.

There is no necessity to speak of the work of translating the Bible and religious books and hymns. But why not extend this work? The young people of China can no more be fed forever on catechism than can the youth of our own land. If they have not leisure-hour reading of a Christian type, they are thrown back on the foolish, flimsy, often filthy stories of their own clime, the perusal of which sullies the purity inculcated in the schoolroom. Yet there are thousands of Christian tales which, converted into the vernacular of eastern lands, would furnish healthy and stimulating reading provocative of innocence and heroism. The wholesome tone of Frances Hodgson Burnett's writings, for instance, adapted by a wise translator and editor to the circumstances of child life in Japan, would impart a vigorous impulse to earnest effort for usefulness. Here is room for a wise and much needed extension of really missionary effort. Lofty ideals of usefulness, purer aims in life, an extension of the horizon of human growth and culture, would follow such work.

8. The last requisite for this service to be mentioned here is a determination to keep up with the advance of modern thought. Only recently an audience was disappointed to hear a returned missionary of eminence speak of one of his seminary classmates, a preacher of national reputation, great influence, and wide usefulness, as "a man wrecked by modern thought." What was the reason for this utterance? Simply that the missionary, engrossed in his own work, having shut himself off from the currents of thought, had been unresponsive to the quickening impulses of modern research, had not felt the flood of recent biblical and theological investigation, did not realize the permanent results reached and the advance made, and could not grasp the truth that increased light had been made available.

Hopelessly stranded on a shore that the receding current had long left barren, he imagined that the green verdure and ripening fruits of more mature thought were only a treacherous bog and miasmatic quagmire.

It is axiomatic that the best is none too good for converts to Christianity. It is also indisputable that the last quarter-century's intense study of the Bible and of God's truth has given us clearer perception of that Bible and that truth. Of all men in the world, the missionary can least afford to ignore all this, to fall behind the march of progress.

One of the accepted discoveries of recent times, at least in its practical bearing, is that we may not attempt to cast the oriental mind in an occidental mold. Consequently, one of the duties of the missionary is to watch the form Christianity assumes in the minds of his hearers. He may thus gain knowledge of the most effective method of presenting the message he carries. The mistake has been made of trying to force an occidentalized Christianity upon the Orient. This can never be done. If Christianity is a universal religion—and it is—its shape is multiform. Water is all the time  $H_2O$ , whether it is suspended in mist in the clouds, hangs in pearly globules as dew from grass or leaf, rushes furiously down the bed of the mountain torrent, bears up the mighty ship on ocean wave, flows quietly through iron cylinders under ground to quench a dusty city's thirst, or glistens in crystal goblet on the dinner table of the president. So Christian truth is still truth, whether it take form in the mind of John Hall, of New York, or in the heart of Yi Chun Hong, peasant of Seoul, Korea. But these two men will transmute it differently, though equally genuinely. Missionaries are often greatly concerned because Christianity is not apprehended exactly as they teach it. Before solicitude on this score can cease, the missionary must realize that the eastern mind is not constituted exactly as is his own. The life and death of self-denial endured by Jesus does not appeal in precisely the same way to the Japanese, with his tales and experience of the Samurai, as to a native of the United States. The Japanese can appreciate death after service done entirely for another as few

men can, because of the analogies in Japanese life. But the supreme motive undergoes some slight transformation in his mind. The missionary's opportunity in that country, for example, is to see that in the undertone of Japanese life there is a chord sympathetic with the harmony of Christ's life; but he must realize that the tune to which an old Samurai can most heartily sing "Nearer, My God, to Thee" is not Bethany, but an air of his own land. And the same is true of every nationality under the sun.

The foregoing, it seems to the writer, are some of the principal requirements of an efficient missionary corps. Others could be mentioned, and those here set forth are capable of extension and emphasis. A congress of the managers of the various denominational boards might be called for the weal of Christianity, and such a congress might determine the qualifications of the "Heralds of the Cross" to be sent to the foreign field. In this way much unworthy rivalry might be avoided in a better understanding of missionary methods, a most wise economy would be fostered, and results humanly speaking more commensurate with the outlay of toil and expense would be gained.

## ADOLF HARNACK'S HISTORY OF EARLY CHRISTIAN LITERATURE.

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TWENTY years and more ago, when Adolf Harnack was a rising Privatdocent at Leipzig, he spent a great deal of time in working over the second edition of Albrecht Ritschl's *Old-Catholic Church*, and he said frequently that he wished Ritschl, whom he did not yet know personally, would give him permission to edit a third edition. It is not likely that Ritschl would have hesitated to give him this permission, for Ritschl had then left the realm of general history and gone more to questions in the history of doctrine. A year or two later Harnack began to form plans for a history of early Christian literature. He declared that he should first go through all the profane literature of the immediately preceding period and of the period adjacent to the birth of Christ and the beginning of the Christian church, for he said that he must have a proper background, and such a background was not to be gained alone by the study of the Old Testament Scriptures, as so many seem to have thought, or merely by such a general review of the classical field as one acquires in the usual course of a good education. He said that before we can judge properly of a Christian letter, a Christian petition, a Christian apology, a Christian panegyric, a Christian narrative, a Christian chronicle, we must know how a similar document shaped itself at that time and in those lands and in the immediate vicinity, and in the countries that had a business, or a scientific (in terms of today), or a governmental connection with the countries in which the Christian writings arose. In the years that have since passed he has studied countless problems in the history of the early church. He has with a keen eye grasped eagerly every publication that touched upon the period, and that in whatever language it appeared. Book after book has been reviewed by him in the *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, and every scholar in the department of church history has read his reviews with interest, because it was always plain that he knew all about the whole surroundings of the point in question. Aside from his numerous other works, as for example his *History of Doctrine*, he

has published many a book and many an article in the series called *Texte und Untersuchungen* (*Texts and Researches*), and in the same series he has published a large number of essays by his pupils or by other workers in the field of early church literature. And as a member of the Academy of Sciences at Berlin he has repeatedly read in the meetings, and published in the proceedings of that body, interesting articles from his own pen or from the pen of his pupils. The plan of that academy to make an edition of the earlier Greek Fathers brought Harnack a step nearer to the *History of Early Christian Literature*. In order to gain a clear view of all that would be necessary for that edition, he suggested the preparation of a preliminary work upon the material that could come into consideration. The academy agreed, and the Prussian ministry granted the funds necessary for the assistant, Dr. Erwin Preuschen. This work appeared in the year 1893 in a volume of 1020 pages in two parts. The title is: "The Transmission and the Present State of the Early Christian Literature as far as Eusebius;" in other words: "How has the early Christian literature been handed down to us?" and "How much of it is now in our hands?" At the same time the huge volume received the promising general title: *History of the Early Christian Literature as far as Eusebius. Part First*. We call the attention of our readers especially to the preface to this volume, for in it Harnack gives a glimpse of the wide connections of the work and of the difficulties that beset its preparation. The enormous lists of writings, and of manuscripts, and of literature about them, are enough to frighten a timorous scholar. This collection only made the world of theologians more eager for the continuation of the publication. Were the mere description of the task so extended, how necessary and how difficult must be the task itself! The year 1897 brought the next volume, and in this volume the author tells us the plan of the whole work: "History of the Early Christian Literature." It is to comprise three parts. Part first is the huge book at which we have already glanced: "The Transmission and the Present State" (1893). The second part treats of the chronology, and the third part will contain: "The Characterization of the Literature and its Internal Development." The new volume is the first volume of the second part, "The Chronology and the Questions Connected with the Chronology for All Writings up to the Time of Irenæus;"<sup>1</sup> and it is to this volume that we must now address ourselves.

<sup>1</sup> The German titles of these two volumes are: *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur bis Eusebius*. Von ADOLF HARNACK. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhand-

The preface is of interest, and has the additional attraction that it has already been made the basis for a mistaken view of Harnack's position over against the questions of New Testament criticism. The author sets out upon the reasonable plan of always giving first the points that are chronologically certain and then advancing to the less certain points. He also has used as seldom as possible internal evidence for defining the date of writings, for he did not wish to prove the date from the contents and then in a vicious circle argue from the date in respect to the contents.

As for questions of New Testament literary criticism, he did not wish to run unnecessarily into the field of general introduction, and therefore he determined to omit all points in which the introductions of Weiss and of Jülicher take the same view that he does.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, Harnack clears the field for his work by refusing to offer a regular criticism of the work of the Tübingen school, which, though valuable, is now out of date, or to busy himself with the newest and groundless hypotheses of the latest Dutch school.

I have said above that this preface has given a handle to some readers thoroughly to misunderstand Harnack's position about some of the books of the New Testament. On p. viii he says that "in the whole New Testament there is probably only a single book that is in the strictest sense of the word to be called pseudonymous," namely 2 Peter. On the same page, lower down, we learn that "the number of writings that (like the pastoral epistles) were interpolated in the second century is very small." And still lower down we read that "that which was erroneously or falsely attributed to the apostles . . . is for the most part not older than the third century." Now all this looks very much like the traditional view of the New Testament writings. No one would suspect that the author intended on the following page to intimate (to use the Scotch term) that 1 Peter, James, Jude, and the Johannine writings in general do not belong to the authors to whom

lung. Erster Theil: *Die Ueberlieferung und der Bestand der altchristlichen Litteratur bis Eusebius*. Bearbeitet unter Mitwirkung von Lic. ERWIN PREUSCHEN. 1893. Pp. lxi+1021. M. 38. Zweiter Theil: *Die Chronologie*. Erster Band: *Die Chronologie der Litteratur bis Irenäus, nebst einleitenden Untersuchungen*. 1897. Pp. xvi+732. M. 25. Additions to Pt. I were published by Harnack in *Texte und Untersuchungen*, etc., Band XII., Heft 1. M. 4.

<sup>2</sup> For those who have not paid attention to Harnack's lecture-work it will be news that he has for many years given the closest attention to New Testament introduction. I remember that his first course of lectures, as a Privatdocent at Leipzig, was on that subject, and at Giessen, Marburg, and finally Berlin he has repeated this course again and again.

tradition assigns them. If 2 Peter is the only really pseudonymous book in the New Testament, how can 1 Peter be incorrectly designated as Petrine? Is it because 2 Peter begins "Simon Peter" and 1 Peter with "Peter an apostle"? And what is James, and what is Jude, other than a pseudonym, if they are incorrectly designated as from these authors? And why in the world are these epistles thrown into one line with the epistle to the Ephesians, which has a gap instead of a name? And why is Hebrews put in with them, with its totally different testimony as to its non-Pauline character? We must concede that Harnack gave people a good chance to misunderstand him.

The rest of the preface returns to Baur and gives a good view of the possibilities of doctrinal development within short spaces of time. It is a question whether or not Harnack allows these canons their full weight in his discussion of the questions in his own volume. So much for the preface. Let us go on to the volume itself.

The seven hundred pages of the volume consist of two books: I, "Introductory Essays;" II, the "Literature down to Irenæus." The introductory essays are of the greatest importance, for they present to us the best available chronological basis, not merely for the history of Christian literature, but as well for the history of the church in its most vital time. These 230 pages must remain for a long while a center of discussion for all those who know enough to appreciate the difficulties and the complications of the earliest period of the church. It is characteristic of Harnack and of his practical way of taking up questions that he does not enter into any long introductory discussion. The first of the four chapters of Book I places before us the definitions of time in the *Church History* of Eusebius, II-VII. The second discusses the dates for literary and doctrinal history in Eusebius' *Chronicle*. The third compares these two series of dates. And the fourth examines the oldest lists of bishops, and combines, of course, much that has been brought forward in the former three chapters.

The first chapter determines the very important point that the real thread of all the chronological data in the *Church History*, so far as they flow from Eusebius himself, is the list of the Roman emperors. Hitherto it has been the custom, in the cases in which Eusebius gives a doubtful date, to look all around for a hook on which to hang the statement, instead of simply connecting it with the emperor in question at the given place. Of course, there are cases in which this does not work, but these cases prove on examination to be modified because of some source that Eusebius has used at this point. Harnack goes over



the various dates and shows that not only those which give the names of the respective emperors, but also those that give a seemingly undecided, "at the time in question," or "in those times," really are to be attributed to the reigns of the emperors. The few cases that seem to be uncertain are clear when after the survey of the whole field we find that the emperors are the settled date-givers for Eusebius. Then Harnack takes up the dates which at first have the appearance of referring to persons. The discussion shows that these, too, are not intended to point to the persons directly, but that they really refer to the "times" of the emperor last mentioned, just as in those cases in which the word "times" is expressed. Starting out from the birth of Christ, Eusebius counted by means of the reigns of the emperors three hundred and five years down to the beginning of the Diocletian persecution. When then he had need to refer to any event for which he must give a date of his own, he placed it in the reign of the emperor in question, and that without trying in most cases to say whereabouts in the reign the thing happened. He was content to say it had happened in that reign. Even if he could have dated the event more clearly by means of the rule of a bishop, he did not do it. He kept to the civil date. The one point in which he tried to be precise was the determination of the date of the entrance of the bishops upon their office. To show how the thread of such dates runs through the work of Eusebius, Harnack goes over the dates in the fourth book. If anyone should be inclined to think these discussions of little avail, he need only turn to the footnote on p. 20 and see how Zahn, and in one case also Krüger, had been at sea just for want of such a determination. Harnack is by no means displeased with Eusebius because he has not tried to give everything an exact year. On the contrary, it is of necessity true that Eusebius could not date everything precisely, and if he had once gone upon the plan of hearing the grass of history grow and of saying exactly upon what day each thing had happened, we should have had a mass of dates which would have been largely imaginary, and which would have been harder to unravel than the inexact but perfectly honest dates that he has given to us.

The second and third chapters refer to the literary data and to those that are connected with the history of doctrine and touch upon the teachers or the heretics in the church. Chap. 2 counts up thirty-four passages in which Eusebius gives such notes in his *Chronicle*. In the case of all but two of these passages Harnack shows whence Eusebius probably got his information, in so far as the material is concerned,

the persons and things related aside from the dates. The question arises whether Eusebius had other chronological sources from which he took these dates. Upon examination it turns out that twenty of the dates are out of books or writings that Eusebius had at his command, such as Julius Africanus or the lists of bishops or letters, or are from the personal knowledge of Eusebius. In a similar manner it is possible to explain about seven of the dates that are left. And finally it is clear that the rest cannot have been drawn from any chronological work, but must have come from Eusebius' reading or from personal communication of some kind. Harnack closes this chapter with the remark that the *Chronicle* of Eusebius, valuable as it is for the history of Christian literature, cannot serve as a basis for that history, because it is too meager and because it points us chiefly to sources that we have in our hands. The third chapter brings the *Church History* of Eusebius into play in reference to the points mentioned in the second chapter, and is entitled, "The Relation of the Church History to the Chronicle of Eusebius (in the data concerning the literature and doctrine)." With his usual freedom Harnack begins by remarking that it is totally impossible to discover upon what principle Eusebius chose the material for the *Chronicle*. It is clear that when he wrote the *Chronicle* he had before his eyes the larger part of the excerpts which he afterward used in his *Church History*, and nevertheless he did not use nearly all of them. So much is certain, namely, that he passed over what we should call the history of the canon, that he did not pay any attention to the points which he could not furnish with dates, and that he omitted what he found in Origen and in Dionysius of Alexandria. The material of the *Chronicle* contains the thread of the *Church History* in almost the same order and often in much the same words. But there remain puzzles enough. There is not the least ground for the supposition that Eusebius had a chronography at command for his dates in church history, save for Basilides, Justin, Clement, and perhaps Irenæus. The conclusion is that the *Church History* runs only upon the thread of the reigns of the emperors, and that, except for the lists of the bishops and for a few special cases, it does not pay the least attention to the single years of the emperors. The *Chronicle*, on the other hand, gives the themes for the detailed narratives of the *Church History* as accurately as it can according to the single years of the emperors. This chapter closes with two short excursus, one upon the succession of the teachers of the church, in which special stress is laid upon Heinrici's treatment of these questions, and the other upon

the dates in Jerome's *De viris illustribus*, with its dependence on Eusebius.

These three chapters, with their exact information as to the relations of the two great works of Eusebius, now place us in a position to take up the great closing chapter of this introduction, the chapter which may be summed up as a skeleton of all that we know or do not know in respect to the state of the church in the earliest times, a kind of statistics, only that we do not seek here the members of the church, but the bishops. This fourth chapter, twice as long as the three preceding chapters together, is entitled "The Most Ancient Lists of Bishops." Harnack wishes to bring light into this so long debated domain, and he begins with a full presentation of the material. After a thorough treatment of the various forms in which the lists have been handed down to us, he takes up the lists of the bishops.

First comes the see of Rome (pp. 144-202). Counting backwards from July 21, 230, for the assumption of office on the part of Pontianus (or from his resignation on September 28, 235), we have (p. 158):

(Urban 222/3—230)  
 (Calixtus 217/8—222/3)  
 Zephyrinus 198/9)—217  
 Victor 189 (188.190)—198 (199)  
 Eleutherus 174 (173.175)—189 (188.190)  
 Soter 166 (165.167)—174 (173.175)  
 Anicetus 155 (154.156)—166 (165.167)  
 Pius 140 (139.141)—155 (154.156)  
 Hyginus 136 (135.137)—140 (139.141)  
 Telesphorus 125 (124.126)—136 (135.137)  
 Sixtus 115 (114.116)—125 (124.126)  
 Alexander 105 (104.106)—115 (114.116)  
 Euarestus 97 (96.98)—105 (104.106)  
 Clement 88 (87.89)—97 (96.98)  
 Anencletus 76 (75.77)—88 (87.89)  
 Linus 64 (63.65)—76 (75.77)  
 Petrus 39 (38.40)—64 (63.65).<sup>3</sup>

Harnack's remarks upon this list start out from the fact that the earliest dating of Christianity is found in Luke, and that the death of Christ was the moment that first found a firm place in chronology in connection with the crucifixion under Pontius Pilate; *cf.* 1 Tim. 6:13;

<sup>3</sup> Since this article was written, Harnack has reviewed in the *Theologische Literaturzeitung* an academical thesis published at Rome by F. S. The remarkable part of this thesis is that, although the author is not satisfied with Harnack's way of treating the

Ignatius, "ad Magnes.," 11; "Trall.," 9; "Smyrn.," 1; Justin, *Apol.*, 1:13, 61; *Dial.*, 30, 76, 85. Then follow the earliest references to the imperial reigns as dates. These frequent datings scarcely require such a detailed justification as Harnack gives them, seeing that the emperors as the center of the Roman power overshadowed the formal datings according to the traditional Roman offices. In the third place (pp. 164-71), the dates are counted up, twenty-one in all, in which, before the third century, events are attached to the time of office of bishops. All of these dates, with a single exception, are given by reference to Roman bishops, even though the writer be not a Roman, and it is clear that in some cases the dates are connected with lists of the Roman bishops. In his fourth paragraph (pp. 171-88) Harnack shows that at the beginning of the third century it was not supposed in Rome that Peter had been the first bishop there, and he then, after conceding that the lists of Julius Africanus, of Eusebius, and of the Liberianus agree with the presuppositions at Rome at the beginning of that century, proceeds to examine Lightfoot's claim that the list from Clement, from 88 onward, is trustworthy (and even that Linus and Anencletus were really monarchical bishops), and that it is to be traced back to Hegesippus. The monarchical character of the earlier bishops cannot hold its ground in the face of the statements of the *Shepherd* of Hermas, and even if Lightfoot were right in setting the date of the *Shepherd* at about the year 100 (instead of at the middle of the second century), these statements exclude a monarchical bishop at Rome before the year 100. For the first six bishops (omitting, of course, Peter) the list is untrustworthy, and the years of office for Telesphorus, Hyginus, and Pius are worthless. These three men were influential members of the Roman church at that time, under Hadrian and the first of the Antonines, and that is all that is certain. Summing up, Anicetus is the first one whom we can with

question concerning the bishops of Rome, and although he complains that Harnack has disturbed the feelings of Roman Catholic scholars by his observations upon the lists of the Roman bishops, he nevertheless does not give any grounds for these complaints. Still more important is the fact that he finally really agrees with Harnack in respect to most of the conclusions reached. It is scarcely to be credited when we read in the Roman writer, in carefully chosen but quite clear language, that he does not lay great stress upon the formula that Peter was the first bishop of Rome and that he does not consider the tradition of his twenty-five years as bishop at Rome to be as surely founded as the tradition of his once having been at Rome. See the *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1898, No. 7, coll. 193-5. The Roman book is: F. S., *De successione priorum Romanorum Pontificum*. Thesis Academica. Romæ: Ex officina Unione Cooperativa Editrice, 1897. Pp. 76, 8vo.

reason declare to be a monarchical bishop, and we can by no means say when he entered on his office.

Is this list from the pen of Hegesippus? Harnack disposes of the claim that Hegesippus drew up a list of the Roman bishops, first by showing that neither Eusebius nor Nicephorus nor Rufinus understood him to say that he had done anything of the kind, and then by referring to the fact that in case Hegesippus had given a list in the *Memorabilia*, Eusebius would not have failed to copy it off for us, seeing that this was precisely what he was on the lookout for. With respect to the list of the Roman bishops in Epiphanius, Harnack agrees with Lightfoot that it is closely connected with the notice of the arrival of Marcellina at Rome, that it was numbered, that it is not drawn from Irenæus, that it is of Roman origin, and that it is very old, from the second century. But he disputes that it is from the time of Anicetus and that it is the list drawn up by Hegesippus.

The list of the Alexandrian bishops (pp. 202-7) is as dark in its first part as the ecclesiastical history of that city, for we cannot be sure about anything previous to Demetrius. The six names beginning with his are:

Demetrius 188/9—231 (232)  
 Heraklas 231 (232)—247 (248)  
 Dionysius 247 (248)—264 (265)  
 Maximus 264 (265)—282 (281)  
 Theonas 282 (281)—300 summer  
 Petrus 300 summer—311 November.

The Antiochian list is a trifle better in its first part and reads as follows:

(Evodius)

Ignatius (according to a tradition of the beginning of the fourth and, perhaps, of the beginning of the third century martyr under Trajan)

(Hero)

(Cornelius)

(Eros)

Theophilus, died not before March, 181/2

Maximinus, died March, 190/1

Serapion became bishop in the year 190/1

Asklepiades became bishop in the year 211/2

Philetus became bishop in the year 217/8.

The nine other bishops could not come from Africanus, and must therefore have been drawn by Eusebius from other sources. They are probably to be placed as follows:

Zebinus became bishop at the latest 230/1 (Euseb. *Chron.* 228/9)

Babylas 238-44, died as martyr 250

Fabius 250 (Eus. 250), died at the beginning of 253 or end of 252

Demetrianus 253 beginning, or 252 end (Eus. 252/3)

Paulus perhaps about 260 (Eus. 259/60) deposed at the latest 268 (267. 266), removed 272

Domnus 267 (268.266) (Eus. 266/7)

Timæus ? (Eus. 270/1)

Cyril ? (Eus. 279/80) banished to Pannonia 303, died 306

Tyrannus, if he followed at once after Cyril, 303 (Eus. 301/2).

The Jerusalemite list (pp. 218-307), according to what Eusebius puts before us, is as follows :

James, died, according to the *Chronicle*, 60/1 (61/2?).

Simeon, elected soon after the destruction of Jerusalem, died 120 years old as martyr under Trajan.

Justus, Zacchæus, Tobias, Benjamin, John, Matthias, Philippus, Seneca, Justus, Levi, Ephres, Joses, Judas (up to the eighteenth year of Hadrian); Mark bishop in the nineteenth year of Hadrian, 135/6.

Cassianus, Publius, Maximus, Julianus, Gaius, Symmachus, Gaius, Julianus, Capito, Maximus, Antoninus, Valens, Dolichianus, Narcissus, who was bishop under Commodus and took part in the Easter debates.

Narcissus leaves Jerusalem; Dius officiates only a short time; Germanion, Gordius.

Under Gordius Narcissus returns and again becomes bishop, and in the second year of Caracalla Alexander is appointed as his coadjutor (212/3).

Harnack rejects the theories of Schlatter as to the list in Epiphanius, *Hær.*, 66, 21 f.

On p. 230 we find the list of five Cæsarean bishops :

Theophilus at the time of the Easter controversies, about 190.

Theoktistus at the time of the crisis for Origen in Alexandria, and still at the time of the Antiochian synod touching Novatian and at the time of the Roman bishop Stephanus. Whether or not he followed immediately after Theophilus we do not know.

Domnus, who officiated only a short time, became the successor of Theoktistus under Gallienus.

Theoteknus, successor to Domnus under Gallienus, took part in the synod against Paul.

Agapius, successor to Theoteknus (shortly before Diocletian?).

In an appendix (pp. 703-7) Harnack touches upon other questions with reference to the great sees, and particularly with reference to the primacy of Rome. So much for the introduction, which closes on p. 230.

The remainder of this volume is occupied by the second book : "The Literature down to Irenæus," divided into two chapters: I, "The writings that can be dated certainly within certain narrow limits," and II, "The writings that for the present cannot be dated within such limits." The arrangement of the writings that are discussed seems often at a cursory glance to be accidental or arbitrary, but it is neither the one nor the other. Harnack studied carefully the relations of the respective books and laid down the principle that he should always go from the easier question to the harder, from the sure dates to the uncertain ones, and that he should not take up a difficult question until he had mastered all that could be of use in determining it.

The first point in the treatment of the datable books is the chronology of Paul, a matter of the greatest interest for every theologian. Though almost all scholars are agreed touching the relative chronology of Paul's life, it has not as yet been possible to bring them together in regard to the absolute chronology. From the New Testament we can account for, say, twenty-four years and nine months in Paul's life, and the great question is upon what civil year we can hang these in order to fix their place in history. The salient point in these years is the recall of Festus. Schürer claims that it is not possible to fix the date. Harnack insists upon it that we have no reason to doubt the date given by Eusebius, and all readers must concede that Harnack is in a position to say what is trustworthy in Eusebius and what is not trustworthy. In consequence of this we must now, until other sources are found, determine the dates for Paul as follows: Paul was converted, in all probability, in the year 30; that is to say, in the year of the crucifixion or in the following year. His first Christian visit to Jerusalem was in the year 33, and the second, with the council, in the year 47. The second missionary journey carries us onward, with the eighteen months in Corinth, to the spring of the year 50. He is again in Ephesus in the winter of 50, remaining till 53; in the autumn of the latter year in Macedonia; and in Corinth till the beginning of 54, in which year he is made a prisoner in Jerusalem at Easter. Festus then comes into office in the summer of 56, and we have a firmly established series of dates at command. The book of Acts closes in the year 59 (58) and leaves us five or six years for a further missionary activity of Paul before his death, which again is a sure date, in the year 64. The chronology of the Pauline writings is now relatively clear. The epistles to the Thessalonians, Galatians, Corinthians, and Romans were

written before the year 54 (53), in which Paul was arrested at Jerusalem. The epistle to the Colossians, that to Philemon, and that to the Ephesians (if genuine) fall in the years 54-6 (53-5), if they were written at Cæsarea; and, if they were written, as Harnack thinks more likely, at Rome in the years 57-9 (56-8), of course the epistle to the Philippians belongs to these Roman years. It is refreshing for once to have a strong current of ecclesiastical tradition tending toward earlier instead of toward later dates. It is true that Harnack does not think that the pastoral epistles are genuine. But he argues rather for than against the genuineness of the epistle to the Ephesians, and that is a gain, and he declares that certain pieces in the pastoral epistles are genuine, and that is enough for us; for if parts of them are genuine, it will not be hard for us to accept the rest in its mass as genuine. At any rate, nobody has as yet suggested any solution of the problem that is half so plausible as the approximate genuineness. When will our science learn that it is the most unscientific thing in the world to give up a tradition, without severe compulsion, before we have anything to put in its place? We may accentuate the difficulties of the tradition as much as we please, but we must let it stand, if that be in any way possible, until we have something better to put in its place. We can now put these new dates for Paul into our books, and it will not be long before they will be as familiar as the old ones. So far we have dealt with Harnack's first point.

The second point is the definition of the year 64, or, more nearly, of the time soon after July 19, 64, as the time of the martyrdom of Peter and Paul at Rome. Of course, it is to be noticed at the same time that Harnack considers it fairly certain that Peter really visited Rome and died there, little as any of us suppose that he was bishop there, let alone a bishop who was twenty-five years in office. The third point taken up is the tradition of the twelve years' residence of the twelve apostles at Jerusalem, a tradition that is closely connected with that of the twenty-five years in office of Peter as bishop at Rome and with the date 67 for the year of the death of both apostles, since we then have the crucifixion in the year  $30 + 12 + 25 = 67$ . If the disciples remained until the year 42 at Jerusalem, that would fit in very well with all that we read in the Acts, and we have no reason to reject the tradition, even though we do not need to base it on an unknown command of Jesus. As a fourth point Harnack gives his vote for the date of the apocalypse found in Irenæus, namely, the end of the reign of Domitian, perhaps 93-6. Even if the explanation of



some of the difficulties in the understanding of the text of Irenæus be not very satisfactory, it may be advisable to accept this date in the present state of our knowledge, although Irenæus may merely argue this date from the "marginal note" 17, 11, added *after* publication. The fifth and last of these dates more closely connected with the New Testament is the date of the Acts and of the third gospel. Harnack is inclined to consider the year 80 as the earliest possible year for the Acts and the year 93 as the latest. Then the third gospel is probably not much earlier than 78, and in no case later than the year 93.

Now come the twenty further points that are comparatively limited in the possibilities of their dating and that are not connected so closely with canonical books. Under (1) Harnack dates the epistle of Clement, 93-5, a date that few will be inclined to dispute. With (2) he notes the date of Pliny's office in Bithynia from September, 111, until the beginning of 113, during which time his letter to Trajan, and Trajan's answer, must have been written. Four years later, 115-17, Tacitus' *Annals* saw the light with their reference (XV, 44) to the persecution under Nero, throwing also light on the position of the Christians at the end of Trajan's reign. And finally, in 120, Suetonius wrote his *De vita Caesarum*, which touches also the history of the church. Harnack is inclined to accept the genuineness of the letter of Hadrian to Minucius Fundanus. In (3) Harnack comes to the conclusion that the *Shepherd* of Hermas was finally published in its present form in the year 140, but that it stretches its roots twenty, or at most twenty-five, years farther back into history, coming perhaps close on to the time of Clement. The *Dialogue* of Aristo of Pella (4) is from about 140, and the *Apology* of Quadratus (5) may possibly have been presented at Athens in the year 125/6, but there is no positive proof of that. As for the *Apology* of Aristides, (6) it belongs to the years 138-61, and it is not possible to date it more exactly. In (7) we find the proofs for the chronology of Justin Martyr, who became a Christian perhaps in the year 133, or thereabouts, was in Ephesus about 135, wrote his *Apology* a couple of years later than 150—it may be in two "editions," the second adding the so-called second apology—, wrote his *Dialogue* between 155 and 160, and died at Rome between 163 and 167, perhaps in 165. (8) Tatian's *Oratio* is probably not later than 155, and his *Diatessaron* cannot be certainly dated nearer than between 160 and 180, although it is more likely to have been written after 172/3. In (9) we learn that Saturnil the Syrian is not to be dated more

exactly than follows from the fact that his sect was a compact body before the year 150; that Basilides came forward as the leader of a sect about 130, and that he was still alive in the time of Pius; that Valentinus was active at Rome from about 135-60, even though we cannot tell how to reconcile the accounts of his activity in different places; that Valentinus's pupils, Ptolemæus and Heracleon, taught between 145 and 180, while his other pupils are hard to date with any certainty. The next paragraph (10) shows that Marcion was probably born in Pontus as son of the bishop of Sinope, about the year 65, that he came to Rome in the first year of Pius, that in the year 144 he set up his own peculiar church, and studied with Cerdo and developed his doctrine in the decade 144-54. Apelles seems to have been born at or before 120, and to have died at or soon after 180. Hegesippus's *Memoabilia* (11) were written between 173-4 and 188-90. Dionysius of Corinth (12) wrote his letters about the year 170. Rhodon (13) belongs before the year 172. Celsus's *True Word* (14) appears to have been written between 165 and 183. The letter of the "Brethren in Vienne and Lyon" belongs to the year 177/8, or better 178/9, the *Martyrdom of the Scilitans* is of the 17th of July, 180, and the *Acts of Apollonius* fall between 180 and 185. Athenagoras (16) probably wrote his *Supplicatio* in the year 177. Theophilus of Antioch (17) was not bishop before 181/2 nor after 190/1, but we cannot date his works with any exactness.

Paragraph (18) brings us the second longest discussion of this whole second book, or sixty pages upon the chronology of the teachers and authors in Asia Minor, of the Montanistic movement in Phrygia and Asia, of the Easter controversy, and of Irenæus. That is a famous bundle of questions, and it is no wonder that Harnack should have wished to deal with them all in a mass, seeing that they are so intimately connected with each other. Even the next twenty pages, that are devoted to Ignatius and Polycarp, stand close to these discussions. The result of the whole is given by Harnack in his lucid table, pp. 379-81. We put here one or two of the more important dates. Polycarp was born in the year 69. The letters of Ignatius and Polycarp were written 110-17, or perhaps 117-25. Irenæus was born shortly before 142. Papias wrote his great work about 145-60. Polycarp died February 23, 155. Montanus came forward in 157 or 156. Probably it was in the years 150-60 that the Alogi attacked the new prophets, and Apollinaris of Hierapolis wrote his *Apology* probably in the year 172, Melito his between 169 and 176/7. Montanus died

about in the middle of the seventies in this second century. Irenæus wrote his great work between 181 and 189. The Easter controversy breaks out 190/1. These dry sentences must suffice for a glimpse of these rich pages. In closing this long first chapter, pp. 233-408, Harnack touches upon the improbable theory of Schlatter as to a chronography from the tenth year of Antoninus Pius.

The second chapter of this second book, pp. 409-700, offers to us the effort to date the less definitely tangible writings among which, besides the *Epistle of Barnabas*, the *Didache*, the epistle of Jude, the epistle to the Hebrews, the pastoral epistles, and the epistle of James, the most important are the gospels in the various forms in which the second or the first century presented them to the Christian church. Harnack thinks that nothing hinders and that everything speaks for the year 130 or 131 as the date of the epistle called after the name of Barnabas. As for the "Apostles' Doctrine," or the *Didache*, a mass of traditional rules and regulations, which must have been compiled in some out-of-the-way corner, it is apparently dependent to a certain extent upon the so-called *Epistle of Barnabas*, and it was probably written between 131 and 160. The homily which has passed, since the beginning of the third century, if not longer, for a second epistle of Clement of Rome, is, Harnack thinks, probably the letter or essay sent to Corinth by Soter, and therefore dates from about 170, or a little earlier. As for the five writings that bear the name of Peter: the two epistles, the Apocalypse, the Kerygma or preaching, and the gospel, with which Harnack associates the epistle of Judas, the first thing is to separate the first epistle of Peter from the others as having a much more important place and character. This first epistle of Peter seems to Harnack to be a letter that had nothing to do with Peter until a late writer, perhaps the author of the so-called second epistle, embellished it with the references to Peter at the beginning and less distinctly toward the end. This ascription to Peter would then have been inserted between the years 150 and 175. But those who think that the epistle may be from Peter will be glad to find that Harnack at the close declares that he could more easily come to think that the epistle is genuine than that it is the work of some false Peter who sat down and wrote the letter as a forgery from beginning to end. When then in a footnote he adds that the genuineness might perhaps be regarded as certain, if it were not for the dependence upon the Pauline epistles, it is pertinent to remark that the words of Jülicher, that Harnack uses as a decisive statement upon this point, are not at all

so convincing as they may at first appear to be. Jülicher is of the opinion that if Peter had written this epistle he would have proved to have learned more from Paul than from Jesus and to have given almost nothing from the stores of memory as to his intercourse with Jesus. Such a conclusion is worse than precarious, for it undertakes to say what Peter must have done if he had written a letter after he had learned from Paul certain new developments in the doctrine of Jesus. Who can say that it is unlikely that Peter, who would have great respect for the learning of Paul the moment that he came to recognize the correctness of the Christianity of Paul, of the personal Christianity of Paul, should have accepted as other Christians did the doctrinal lucubrations of the apostle with the eagerness native to him? In that case it would be the most natural thing in the world for him in a letter not to dilate upon the experiences of his disciple days, but to present just such an epistle as this one, in a certain dependence upon his literary predecessor. The success of the great missionary would have had its influence upon the apostle who delighted in vigorous action. However ingenious the theory that Harnack presents may be, it has at this moment, and, until it finds some more substantial support in historical documents, it will continue to have, less value and vastly less scientific probability than the theory that the statement of tradition is right. It is unscientific to give up a tradition that is not positive nonsense (and Harnack's position toward the genuineness shows that that supposition is not nonsense) before we have a theory that has at least as good support in history and that offers fewer difficulties, leaves less to be explained.

Harnack takes up the second epistle of Peter in connection with the epistle of Jude, and that is precisely right, for few will dispute that 2 Peter is certainly dependent upon Jude. As for the letter of Jude, Harnack insists that it does not pretend to be from the brother of Jesus, and that we cannot comprehend how the brother of Jesus, "the quite obscure brother of the Lord," as he elsewhere names him, could have written vs. 17 and 18. Others will say that there is no difficulty in supposing that an "obscure brother of the Lord" should have spoken thus of the apostles, the twelve apostles. Let that question rest, and we find that Harnack is of the opinion that this letter was written by someone, probably not even named Jude, between 100 and 130, and was afterward embellished with the allusions to Jude, although he admits that the author may have borne the name in question, and may even have been the brother of some James or other, without con-

nection with the Jerusalemite James. As for the second epistle of Peter, it is unquestionably a forgery, and probably dates between 150 and 175. In this judgment it is not hard to follow the author. This letter is without doubt a lame follower of the epistle of Jude. Still it would perhaps be wiser in consideration of the naïve character of the letter to set the date somewhat farther back, and to say 130, or even 120, instead of 150, as the point at which it may have first seen the light.

The epistle to the Hebrews is to be dated, with fair presumption, 65-95, and Harnack regards it as probable that it was written by Barnabas, and that it was addressed to the Roman church. The pastoral epistles began with certain letters, or fragments of letters, written by Paul in the years 59-64, and were wrought over and enlarged in the years 90-110. As for the epistle of James, it probably was not written earlier than 120-40, and, if it is a letter at all, it did not bear the name of James until toward the end of the second century. To the date and authorship of Hebrews there is little to be objected, but as to the pastoral epistles, the best part is the recognition of real Pauline components, and it will be the task of further scholars to vindicate to the apostle more and more of the contents, if it be possible, as Harnack thinks, to secure time for them in the life of Paul. Touching the epistle of James, it is enough to say that we do not know very much about it, that the guesses of Harnack are manifold enough to permit of almost anything in the way of authorship, and that, where there are such intricate and doubtful conditions and relations, it is as well to stay by the tradition, under all the doubts, as to float away into a sea of the wildest uncertainty. We may pass over what Harnack says about the Acts of Paul and the Acts of Paul and Thecla, and the spurious letter of Paul to the Corinthians as an answer to their letter to him, for the whole discussion is revolutionized by the discovery of the Coptic Acts in the manuscript, now at Heidelberg, that Carl Schmidt, Harnack's pupil, is to publish in a sumptuous edition. The letter to Diognetus is from the end of the second century, or rather from the beginning of the third, and the *Oratio ad Græcos* is probably from the years 180-240. Passing over various of the less interesting writings, we must name the Old-Roman Baptismal Formula, which was certainly in existence, in the form in which we have it, at the beginning of the third century. After a discussion of the many formulas current in early days, and of the creeds of the earliest times, with only two instead of three parts, Harnack comes to the conclusion that this Roman creed arose about the year 140. On pp. 533-41 he offers a few meager notes

touching all manner of Gnostic persons and writings. The Acts of Peter seems to be from the middle of the third century. A very important department of the literature of the early church refers to the use of Jewish writings by Christians, and therefore Harnack, basing his remarks upon the summary of such Christian-Jewish material given in the first volume of his present work, pp. 845-65, fills about thirty pages (pp. 560-89) with the latest notes upon the books in question.

We now come at last to the most weighty of all the paragraphs of the book, and to the one which is at the same time the most difficult, namely the treatment of the various questions that attach to the numerous gospels, the known and the unknown, that is to say, those no longer in existence, so far as we know. Harnack counts twenty in all, although only thirteen of them are now within reach, at least far enough for us to have an idea of what they really are. Three of these thirteen are, however, not so well known that we can speak very surely about them. Here we may begin with the names and say that the gospel of James in its present shape appears to be of the fourth century, and that the Acts of Pilate or the gospel of Nicodemus proceeds from the same century. The gospel of the Egyptians is, on the contrary, an old book, not later than 130 and possibly from the first century. The gospel of Peter dates between 110 and 130 and is not by any means so valuable as the gospel of the Egyptians. The Ebionite gospel, or the gospel of the twelve apostles, is a tertiary piece of work from the boundary between the second and the third century. These dates will suffice for all these outlying gospels of various name and habitation, and we must now apply ourselves in earnest to the five remaining gospels, namely, the gospel of the Hebrews and the four canonical gospels.

First of all I should like to express my personal satisfaction at the circumstance that only one gospel can in any way approach so near to our canonical four. This is a confirmation of my opinion that the "many" gospels that are referred to by Luke in his introduction were, on the one hand, probably not in the least in any full sense of the word "gospels," and, on the other hand, that the word "many" is not by any means to be understood to show that there were a hundred or fifty or even twenty gospels in currency at that time, but that half a dozen books fully suffice to answer to the claims of these "many." Who tells us of the gospel of the Hebrews? The Stichometry of Nicephorus is based on a list of the fifth or sixth century which contained the gospel according to the Hebrews as a disputed book and

said that it was of 2,200 *στίχοι*. Theodoret is not worth mentioning, because he is not independent of the earlier writers, and Epiphanius's testimony does not seem to be either original or exact. The great witness is Jerome, who saw this gospel in the hands of the non-Gnostic Jewish Christians as well as in the library at Cæsarea, and who received a copy at Beroëa and translated it at Bethlehem into Greek and Latin. Seven times he calls it the "gospel according to the Hebrews," twice he calls it the "gospel of the Hebrews," thrice he says that it was written in Hebrew letters, once he says that it was composed in the Chaldee and Syriac language, eight times he says that the Nazarenes (once he adds the Ebionites) used it, and finally he declares roundly five times that it was the Hebrew original of the canonical Matthew. As for this last point it looks as if Jerome wished to boast of having the Hebrew original of Matthew and of being able to read it, although he can scarcely have failed to see that it was by no means exactly like the canonical Matthew. Perhaps he felt a certain hesitation lest he should bring the traditional number of the gospels, namely "four," into discredit. Harnack insists upon it that this gospel had been translated into Greek long before Jerome, since we find it cited by Origen as if it were only a Greek book, and Clement of Alexandria gives a nice Greek reading from it; and Harnack further supposes that both the gospel according to the Hebrews and the gospel according to the Egyptians were in honor in Egypt long before the four gospels came and took the superior place in the esteem of the church. Hegesippus does not necessarily testify to the Greek form of this gospel, but we find in Ignatius a quotation that both Jerome and Origen declare to be from the gospel according to the Hebrews, and we meet with further quotations in the preaching of Peter and in the Acts of Paul, all of which rather point to a Greek text of the gospel. If then this gospel cannot have been written *later* than the year 100, how *early* can it have been written? The statements of Jerome, and the actual contents of the fragments which we have, show that it was most like the gospel of Matthew, and yet it is clear from the researches of Theodor Zahn that it is independent of all the four gospels. Nothing then in these determinations prevents the gospel from having been written in the sixties of the first century. This gospel, like Mark, had no account of the birth of Jesus, its introduction to the baptism is the most ancient in its cast that we have, and the other differences between it and the four gospels tend, for the most part, so far as they are not unimportant, to show that it is very old, and even in some points older

than the canonical gospels. It has no special connection with the Johannean gospel, for the appearance of Jesus on Easter day is found not only in John, but also in Luke. Turning now to the canonical gospels, Harnack recurs to his previous statement putting Luke down for the years between 78 and 93, and proceeds to date the gospel according to Mark between 65 and 85, insisting upon it that this gospel is not necessarily to be placed after the fall of Jerusalem. Hereupon he finds that the years 70-75 fit best for the gospel according to Matthew. This date gives then a reason for closing off the previously mentioned chances for the gospels of Mark, and of the Hebrews in so far as Mark, one of the sources of Matthew, must have originated between 65 and 70, and the gospel of the Hebrews must rather be moved toward the earlier part of the years set for it, that is to say, nearer the year 65.

When and where did the Johannean writings arise? When were the four gospels united into one book, and when did the church receive this book as authoritative? Harnack says that Irenæus must be ruled out as a witness for the Johannean question, because he seems to have confounded what Polycarp said about another John with the twelve-apostle John; for my part I do not think that the conclusion is a necessary one. Papias, however, Harnack goes on to say, wrote forty or fifty years before Irenæus, and he has preserved for us a number of the sayings of the presbyters in Asia Minor who were pupils of the John who was a disciple of the Lord. All of these, that is to say, both Papias and the presbyters, knew and valued the Apocalypse and the fourth gospel. That sets a firm point for the existence of these books, for they cannot have been later than about 110. After a long discussion touching Papias, Harnack comes to the conclusion that he was acquainted with the Apocalypse and the Johannean gospel and the three epistles, but that it is quite impossible to say to which of the two Johns, the presbyter or the twelve-apostle, he attributed the Apocalypse and the gospel. As for the Alogi, they were good, not heretical, Christians, and they used the synoptic gospels and rejected the gospel of John. We know very little else about them. Finally, after weighing all the evidence, Harnack comes to the conclusion that the fourth gospel was written by a presbyter John who was a very close pupil of the twelve-apostle John. For my part, I draw here a conclusion like the one above, namely, that nothing absolutely prevents us from holding to the authorship of John the apostle. Were the gospel from an intimate pupil of his, and written either just before or shortly



after his death, it would still be a most valuable gospel and not a whit less reliable than those of Mark and Luke, let alone the totally anonymous Matthew. But no one of the arguments against John the apostle is of a compelling character, nor is any one of those for his pupil's authorship.

There remains the question as to the collection of the four gospels into one book, and their reception as authoritative. Harnack urges the argument that only one gospel was to be expected and not four. The origin of religions is, however, so little governed by unalterable rules that we are not in a position to say that only one gospel was to be expected. The parallels for gospels are not such as to prevent two, four, or a dozen gospels. At the same time, it might perhaps be expected that any given single church would have contented itself with the first gospel that it received and would, in its attachment to that, have neglected or rejected all later comers. But then we know, aside from the unimpeached testimony of Luke in the first century, that in the second century various other books with the name of gospel were in existence, more than one in one place, so that no stress is to be placed on the expectation of but a single gospel.

Harnack agrees with Zahn's translation, or rather paraphrase, of *εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Μάρκον* as meaning: "The *one* gospel according to the representation of Mark;" that is to say: There is but *one* "glad tidings," which each presents in his own way, and here is Mark's presentation of it. Observing that the other old gospels that we have glanced at were called "according to the *Hebrews*" and "according to the *Egyptians*," and that, on the contrary, these four have the same preposition *κατά*, but joined to the names of single persons, Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, Harnack thinks that this points to a hidden previous common history of these gospels. I reply again: It may be so, but it is not necessarily so. Two gospels, "according to the Hebrews" and "according to the Egyptians," do not at all compel the naming of all other gospels according to recipients and not according to authors. And it may be that the *κατά* in the case of the plurals "Hebrews" and "Egyptians" was only a later substitute for the genitive, a substitute determined by the fact that the most familiar gospels, all four of them, had *κατά*. In connection with this it may not be altogether impertinent to observe that the word *κατά* came to be used as a formula and was often carried over unchanged into other languages in the titles of the gospels. Enough for the general question.

One thing is certain, namely, that at the end of the second century

the fourfold gospel held exclusive authority in Rome, North Africa, Egypt, Gaul, and Asia. This state of affairs reaches certainly in part some distance back, for Irenæus found the four in the year, let us say, 155 in Asia Minor, his home. At Rome, about in the year 166 or 168, the four gospels do not seem to have been solitary in their authority, for Soter used often in his sermons the gospel of the Egyptians. To my mind, this use of the gospel of the Egyptians on the part of Soter is of no great weight. Precisely how or why Soter came to know, to approve of, and to use that gospel, we do not know, but we may be perfectly sure that he at the same time accepted and honored the *four* gospels. It is scarcely half a century since English-speaking Christians left the apocrypha of the Old Testament out of their Bibles, and in Germany it is not so long as that, and nevertheless there was no question about the authority of the other books. The gospel of the Egyptians was incomparably superior, in its relative position toward the four gospels, to the apocrypha over against the Old Testament, and, besides, Soter and his age were totally uncritical. Similar signs of the use of other gospels, that is to say, similar signs that the "four" gospels did not hold an undisputed sway, are found in Justin Martyr, and again, with reference to a previous high valuation of the gospel to the Egyptians, in Clement of Alexandria.

The tone of the statements in the Muratorian fragment, its high opinion of John, and its lower opinion of the other gospels, seem to point to a source of the "four" gospels in Asia Minor. The presbyters whom Papias knew also considered Mark less important. It seems possible that the first edition of the "four" gospels, or, inverting the statement, the final edition of the "four" gospels, the edition which gave them to the world as we now have them, really arose in Asia Minor. All the signs, meager though they may be, point thither. The editors cut off the end of Mark, probably because they thought that no gospel was to be countenanced that did not say that the risen Jesus first appeared to his followers *at Jerusalem and on the third day*. This lost close of Mark can be approximately reconstructed from Mark 16:1 ff., from the gospel of Peter, and from the twenty-first chapter of John (which originally gave the *first* appearance of the risen Jesus). Since Mr. Conybeare discovered the name of Aristion prefaced in an Armenian manuscript to the common close of Mark (Mark 16:9-20), it appears to be quite possible that the editorial work, on the occasion of the publication of the four gospels, was done by the said presbyter Aristion.

Thus in a desultory way, with occasional notes of dissent, I have tried to give an idea of the vast stores of learning contained in Harnack's book. No true scholar will look at such a book with careless eyes. But no true scholar will look at it with worshiping eyes. We are all too much inclined to see questions "settled." We should like for each realm of knowledge a special pope with infallible powers to determine all mooted questions, unless indeed we could get *one* pope who would serve for all departments. Harnack has not the least desire to be the pope for researches in church history; this is clear from every part of his book. He weighs all the evidence for and against each theory. He catches eagerly at every new scrap of evidence dug out by anyone from anywhere. He accepts at once for consideration every new suggestion for a solution. And after all, he records—not the "final" result, but—the present result of all theories, all evidence, and all suggestions. No one is happier than Harnack if the next day new evidence changes the decision of yesterday and makes some other conclusion probable or, still better, certain.

Should anyone be distressed because some of Harnack's decisions as to books of the New Testament do not coincide with the traditional suppositions as to origin, date, or authorship? Not in the least. We wish to know all that is knowable about the New Testament, and we are greatly indebted to Harnack for telling us as fairly and as well as he can what to his mind now appears to be the proper decision touching these questions. But if we are not satisfied with what he says, the remedy lies for us in *our own* work upon the given questions, and here we find that his book offers an excellent guide. Between this volume with the chronology and the preceding volume with the separate accounts of all that has thus far been done in this department in reference to single writings, it is possible for a scholar to put himself by industry in possession of all the information necessary for the decision of any given question. It would be a grand thing if our teachers in church history would take up with their pupils, in their seminary class-work or in small special classes, the points touching which Harnack is undecided, and then ransack all the works attainable to see whether some further evidence could not be won. Even if such exercises did not bring forth new and astounding results, they would be sure to work as did the search of the sons for treasure in the paternal field; the crops, in this case the fruit in historical lore and new skill won, would be huge ones.

Seeing that this volume, the first volume of the second part of this

great work, excites such admiration and enthusiasm, everybody will be eager for the succeeding volume. Alas, it will not come soon. The Academy of Sciences at Berlin, of which Harnack is a member, desires that it, too, have a historical genius to recount its deeds and honors. It therefore appointed Harnack to write its history. In the interval, since the completion of the volume we have considered, he has written a large part of his academical history, but there is still much to be done, and a year will probably pass by before he can return to his "Literature." There is one thing; the work upon the history of the Academy at Berlin will do much to freshen, to broaden, and to invigorate Harnack's mind. His genius is many-sided—he is, for example, no mean mathematical scholar; and the exact dealing with the many great minds of the academy and with the results of their work will add greatly to the keenness and to the mental reach of the author.

## CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL NOTES.

### THE POLITARCHS.

IT is a fact well known to New Testament scholars that the word πολιτάρχης found in Acts 17:6, 8 does not occur elsewhere in extant Greek literature, and has its only other vouchers in inscriptions. Grimm's *Lexicon of New Testament Greek* refers to the inscription No. 1967 in Boeckh's *Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum*. Professor Thayer adds reference to Boeckh's note and to Tischendorf, *Prolegomena*, p. 86, note 2. The note of Professor Gregory in Tischendorf reads as follows: "Vide de forma πολιτάρχης Duchesne et Bayet, *Mission au Mont Athos* in libro *Archives des missions scientifiques*, iii, 3, Parisiis a. 1876, p. 204 seqq. Inscriptionibus quattuor antea notis, in quibus bis πολιτ. bis πολιετ. habetur, addunt vv. cll. unam novam cum forma πολιετ. Præterea invenies formam πολιετικον apud Boeckhium, *Corp. inscr. Gr.*, vol. 1, p. 769, inscr. 1586, l. 29." In his *Acta Apostolorum* Blass says (p. 186): "πολιτάρχης Thessalonicae rebus præfuisse docent inscriptiones, *C. I. Gr.* 1967, Duchesne, *Archives des missions*, s. III. t. III. p. 204 sqq. in quibus vel sex vel quinque vel duo nominantur; it. in Macedonia oppidis ut Letæ (Duch., *l. c.*, Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, nr. 247)."

The purpose of this paper is to render more accessible to New Testament students than they now are these inscriptions—both those referred to above and some others of more recent discovery. The peculiar interest which these inscriptions have for New Testament scholars, as furnishing the only vouchers for the use of the word outside of Acts 17:6, 8, the curious history of the one best known, the fact that books still in common use by students of the New Testament refer to this one as if it were the only voucher outside of Acts 17:6, 8 for the word πολιτάρχης,<sup>1</sup> and in some instances deduce erroneous

<sup>1</sup> To mention only recent works, Wendt, in his edition of Meyer on Acts (1888), refers only to BOECKH, *C. I. Gr.*, No. 1967, with the added remark: "Bei Æneas Tact. 26 findet sich πολιτάρχης, im Classischen sonst πολιάρχης." In the second volume on Acts, in the *Expositor's Bible*, 1892, Mr. Stokes says (p. 300) that the inscription contained in Boeckh and the one found at Monastir contain the only instances of the word that have been discovered outside the passage in Acts. In his recent volume on *St. Paul, the Roman Citizen and Traveller*, Professor Ramsay speaks of the word

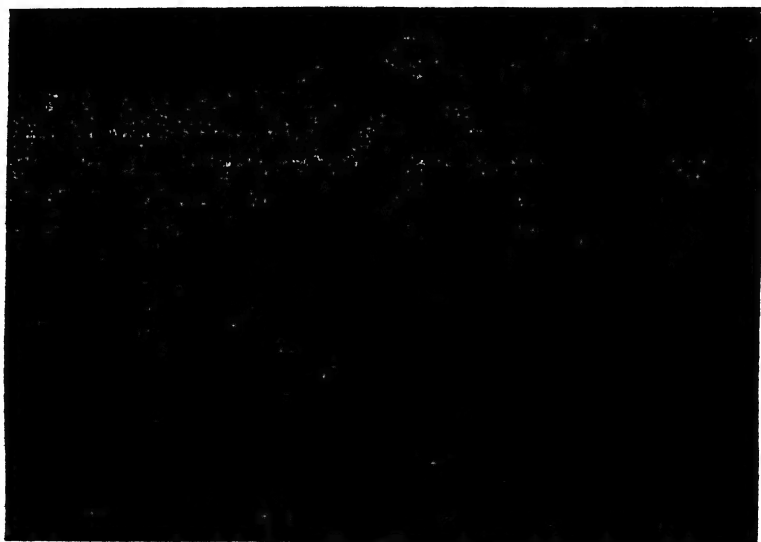
conclusions from the incorrect form in which this inscription appears in Boeckh, seem to justify the attempt to make a collection as nearly complete as may be of the inscriptions now known which contain either the noun *πολιτάρχης* or the verb *πολιταρχέω*. The writer does not claim that the collection is even now complete, but he has availed himself of all sources accessible to him in the effort to make it so. In the attempt to obtain a correct text of the inscriptions, and in the addition of the bibliographical and chronological notes, free use has been made especially of the work of Duchesne referred to above in the quotations from Gregory and Blass, and for the history of the transcription of the famous inscription, Boeckh, *C. I. Gr.*, 1967, of the article by W. S. W. Vaux referred to on p. 603. The recent work of Dimitsas, *H MAKEΔONIA ὑπὸ Μαργαρίτου Γ. Δημίτσα*, 2 vols., Athens, 1896, was published when the major portion of this paper was already written. It has been drawn upon both for further data about inscriptions already known and for the addition of those of which it gave me my first information. It will be observed that it contains nearly all the inscriptions here referred to. I am also indebted to Dr. J. H. Mordtmann, German consul at Thessalonica, for valuable suggestions made in writing, notably in respect to inscriptions V and XVI. A full list of the works (other than the familiar lexicons, etc.) on which the present article is based is given at the end of it.

## I.

The first inscription to be considered, though not the oldest or intrinsically most important, was the earliest to be observed and is the best-known of all those that contain the word *πολιτάρχης* or *πολιταρχέω*. It is from the inside of the arch which till 1876 spanned the Via Egnatia at its western entrance to the city of Thessalonica. This arch was known in the city as the Vardar gate.

*πολιτάρχης* as the curious and rare title "given to the supreme board of magistrates at Thessalonica, as is proved by an inscription." I have been unable to find any book on Acts or the life of Paul which states the facts quite fully and correctly.

The passage containing *πολιταρχος*, referred to by Wendt, is as follows: Æneas Tacticus, *Commentarius de toleranda obsidione* 26, reads: ἀποδέχονται ἢ τινες τότε ἐπαγγελλομένων τινῶν, καὶ κελευόντων τὸν πολιταρχον, εἰ μὴ θέλῃ περιδεύειν διὰ φόβον τινὰ ἢ ἀρρωστίαν, θέλῃ δὲ εἰδέναι τὸν μὴ φυλάσσοντα καθ' ἐκάστην φυλακὴν, τὰδε ποιεῖν χρή. The three instances of *πολιταρχος* cited by Liddell and Scott are these: Pind. Nem. vii. 125, εἴ μὲν πολιταρχον εὐνόμενῳ πάτρῃ. Eur. Rhes. vs. 381. σκύμνον ἔθρεψας πολιταρχον ἰδεῖν. Dio Cass. 40. 46. οὐκουν οὐθ' ὕπατος οὐτε στρατηγὸς οὐτε πολιταρχὸς τίς σφας διεδέξατο, ἀλλ' ἀναρκτοὶ κατὰ τοῦτο παντελῶς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ πρῶτα τοῦ ἔτους ἐγένοντο.



ΠΟΛΕΙΤΑΡΧΟΥΝΤΩΝ·ΣΩΣΙΠΑΤΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΚΛ[ΕΟ  
ΠΑΤΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ·ΔΟΥΚΙΟΥ·ΠΟΝΤΙΟΥ ΣΕΚΟΥΝΔΟ[Υ  
ΥΙΟΥ·ΑΥΔΟΥ·ΔΟΥΙΟΥ·ΣΑΒΕΙΝΟΥ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ·ΤΟΥ  
ΦΑΥΣΤΟΥ·ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΝΕΙΚΟΠΟΛΕΟΣ ΖΩΙΔΟΥ  
ΤΟΥ ΠΑΡΜΕΝΙΩΝΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΥ ΓΑΙΟΥ·ΑΓΙΛΛΗΙΟΥ  
ΠΟΤΕΙΤΟΥ·ΤΑΜΙΟΥ·ΤΗΣ·ΠΟΛΕΟΣ·ΤΑΥΡΟΥ·ΤΟΥ·ΑΜΜΙΑΣ  
ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΡΗΓΛΟΥ ΓΥΜΝΑΣΙΑΡΧΟΥΝΤΟΣ ΤΑΥΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΤΑΥΡΟ[Υ  
ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΡΗΓΛΟΥ

The earliest transcription of it known to us is that of Bimardus; he furnished a copy to Muratori, who published it in his *Novus The-saurus Inscriptionum*, Milan, 1740, Vol. II, p. dxcv. In this trans-  
cription the third line is made to read

τοῦ Φλαυίου Σαβείνου Δημητρίου τοῦ

In 1752 Pococke published in his *Inscriptiones Antiquæ Græcæ et Latinae*, p. 48, a transcription of it independent of that given by Muratori. He read the first three lines as follows:

ΠΟΛΗΤΑΡΧΟΥΝΤΟΥΙ ΣΩΣΙΠΑΤΡΟΥ Κ(αι)  
ΠΑΤΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΟΥΚΙΟΥ ΠΟΝΤΙΟΥ ΣΕΚΟΥΝΔΟ(υ)  
ΥΙΟΥ ΑΥΔΟΥ ΔΟΥΙΟΥ ΣΑΒΕΙΝΟΥ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ Τ

The remaining lines contain variations from the true text as now recovered not less surprising than those of these lines.

In his *Journal of a Voyage up the Mediterranean*, published at London in 1826, Rev. Charles Swan gives a copy of the inscription more nearly correct than either that of Muratori or that of Pococke.

Cousinéry, *Voyage dans la Macédoine*, Paris, 1831, Vol. I, p. 127, copied it even more accurately, closely approaching a perfect transcription. He expressed the opinion that the inscription belongs to the early period of the Roman empire, and most probably refers to the triumph of Octavius and Antony after the battle of Philippi.

In his *Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum*, Vol. II of which appeared in 1833, Boeckh made no use of these later and, as now appears, more correct copies, but fell back upon Bimardus and Pococke, reproducing the inscription (No. 1967) in uncial type as follows :

ΠΟΛΕΙΤΑΡΧΟΥΝΤΩΝ ΣΩΣΙΠΑΤΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΚΛΕΟ  
ΠΑΤΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΛΟΥΚΙΟΥ ΠΟΝΤΙΟΥ ΣΕΚΟΥΝΔΟΥ  
ΤΟΥ ΑΥΛΟΥ ΦΛΑΟΥΙΟΥ ΣΑΒΕΙΝΟΥ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΤΟ  
Υ ΦΑΥΣΤΟΥ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΝΕΙΚΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΖΩ  
ΙΛΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΡΜΕΝΙΟΝΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΥ ΓΑΙΟΥ ΑΓΙΑΔΗΙΟΥ  
ΠΟΤΕΙΤΟΥ ΤΑΜΙΟΥ ΤΗΣ ΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΤΑΥΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΜΜΙΑΣ  
ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΡΗΓΛΟΥ ΓΥΜΝΑΣΙΑΡΧΟΥΝΤΟΣ ΤΑΥΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΥ  
Ι ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΡΗΓΛΟΥ

To this he adds the note: "Formam tituli dedi ex Pocockio, qui in hac re satis fidus esse solet, sed lectiones ex Bimardo, ubi contrarium non noto." He then prints the inscription in common type as follows :

Πολειταρχούντων Σωσιπάτρου τοῦ Κλεοπάτρας καὶ  
Λουκίου Ποντίου Σεκούνδου  
[Π]ου[βλί]ου Φλαουίου Σαβείνου  
Δημητρίου τοῦ Φαύστου  
Δημητρίου τοῦ Νικοπόλεως  
Ζωίλου τοῦ Παρμενί[ω]νος τοῦ καὶ Μενίσκου  
Γαίου Ἀγίλλητου Ποτείτου  
Ταμίου τῆς πόλεως Ταύρου τοῦ Ἀμμίας τοῦ καὶ Ῥήγλου  
γυμνασιαρχούντος Ταύρου τοῦ Ἀ[μμ]ίας τοῦ καὶ Ῥήγλου

Concerning the form Φλαουίου and the date of the inscription he remarks: "Ex corrupto Pocockii exemplo Flavii Sabini nomen integravi. Titulus non antiquior Vespasiano videtur, ex cujus familia denominatus Flavius Sabinus." The text which Boeckh thus obtained and which he contributed to make the standard text is now seen to include errors from each of those from whom he derived his material and from his own conjectural restorations. Particularly unhappy was



the erroneous introduction of the name Πουβλίου Φλαυίου on which Boeckh himself and after him others based an argument for the date of the inscription, maintaining that it could not be earlier than the Flavian emperors, hence not before 69 A. D.

In 1835 Leake, who had visited Thessalonica in 1806, published at London his *Travels in Northern Greece*, in which (Vol. III, p. 236) he gives a description of the arch, followed by a copy of the inscription which is in entire agreement with what is now accepted as the true text, save in the substitution of ω for ο in the word πόλεος, and in a single false accent, the latter, of course, not a matter of transcription.

In the *Addenda et Corrigenda* to his *Corpus*, issued without separate date, but evidently not earlier than 1835, referring to the transcription by Swan and Leake, Boeckh says: "Swanius, vs. 3 init., habet ΥΙΟΥ· ΑΥΛΟΥΑΟ· ΥΙΟΥ, fere ut Pocockius; et Leakius quoque diserte: υιοῦ, Αὔλου 'Αουίου Σαβείνου. Quæ quum ita sint video jam et ipse esse tantum sex politarchas, nec primo reliquos ut putabam particula καὶ interposita additos esse, sed primi nomen esse hoc: Σωσιπάρχου τοῦ Κλεοπάτρας καὶ Λουκίου Ποντίου Σεκούνδου υιοῦ secundum vero nomen esse hoc: Αὔλου 'Αουίου Σαβείνου."<sup>2</sup> Despite this retraction on Boeckh's part of his former opinion that the inscription contains the names of seven politarchs and that one of them was a Publius Flavius Sabinus, both Conybeare and Howson, and Lewin follow the opinion expressed by Boeckh in the body of his work, on the basis of Pococke and Bimardus only; and even Heuzey in his *Mission archéologique de Macédoine*, published at Paris in 1876, more than forty years after the true text, so far as this matter is concerned, had been given by Cousinéry, Swan, Leake, and Boeckh's *Corrigenda*, refers to the inscription as containing the name of Flavius (" . . . magistrats en charge, dont l'un porte les noms de P. Flavius Sabinus, appartenant justement à la famille de Vespasien," p. 272).

Still another transcription of it, correct save in one letter (ο being substituted for ω in Παρμενίωνος), was given by Le Bas in his *Voyage archéologique*, Partie III, section vii, No. 1357.

Yet it was not till 1866, thirty years after Leake had in fact given substantially the true text, that all room for difference of opinion was

<sup>2</sup>In Vaux's report of Boeckh's statement he omits the words υιοῦ . . . 'Αουλου, which constitute just one line in Boeckh, and (on the basis of this erroneous transcription of Boeckh?) wrongly attributes to him the retention of the name Publius Flavius in the text.

taken away. In that year Rev. David Morton, of Harleston rectory, Northamptonshire, England, obtained through Mr. Richard Wilkinson, British consul at Thessalonica, a photograph of the inscription *in situ* in the arch then still standing. This photograph Mr. Morton placed in the hands of W. S. W. Vaux, M.A., honorary secretary of the Royal Society of Literature, who published a full account of it with a woodcut made from the photograph in the article mentioned above.<sup>3</sup> The facsimile published in the present article was produced from a photograph obtained from England,<sup>4</sup> and probably made from the same negative from which the one used by Mr. Vaux was produced. In 1876, under the name of civic improvement, the arch was torn down. Through the efforts of Rev. Peter Crosbie, a Scotch minister then and now resident in the city, seconded by Mr. Blunt, at that time British consul, the stone which contained the inscription, with the exception of five letters,<sup>5</sup> was rescued, and, being removed first to the British consulate, was afterward conveyed to the British Museum, where it now is.<sup>6</sup>

On the basis of Le Bas and Vaux, the inscription was reproduced

<sup>3</sup> "On a Greek Inscription from Thessalonica," *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, Second Series, Vol. VIII (1866), pp. 525 ff.

<sup>4</sup> For the use of this photograph I am indebted to the courtesy of my colleague, Professor I. M. Price, Ph.D. From it was also produced the facsimile published in the *Biblical World*, July, 1896, p. 15. The reading  $\Sigma\omega\lambda\upsilon$  in l. 4, defended in that article, is, I am now persuaded, incorrect.

<sup>5</sup> The five viz. which are underlined in the printed copy on p. 600. These, it will be observed, were not on the same stone with the rest.

<sup>6</sup> Under date of April 24, 1878, Rev. David Morton, above referred to, wrote a letter—published in the *Northampton Herald* (England)—in which, after referring to a previous communication of his to the same paper, dated July 24, 1866, and mentioning that he had in 1866 obtained from Thessalonica and furnished Mr. Vaux the photograph of the inscription on which the latter based his article, he transcribes the following letter of Mr. Barker, acting British consul at Thessalonica, dated Salonica, December 26, 1877: "The marble slab, of which you enclosed a photograph, was saved from destruction by the Rev. Peter Crosbie, missionary to the Jews in this city; the adjoining slab you mention, with the five letters on it, was also rescued, and placed behind the other slab at a distance from the arch, which was being demolished. It happened very unfortunately that the late consul here, Mr. Blunt, sent men to bring the slab to his house, not knowing the existence of the long piece behind it. Mr. Crosbie was absent, and the piece was lost, carried away with the other materials to build a quay. As soon as the loss was discovered much search was made to no purpose, and there is now not the least chance of its being recovered, because it was a long, narrow piece and must have been used in making the quay, and is under water." In a private letter of December 8, 1896, Mr. Crosbie himself tells the story of the rescue of the inscription in language similar to that of Mr. Barker.

by M. Duchesne in the *Archives des missions scientifiques et littéraires*, Série III, Vol. III, pp. 204 f., Paris, 1876.

From the marble itself it has also been published by C. T. Newton, *Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, Part II, London, 1883, chap. ii, No. CLXXI. It is likewise included by C. G. Curtis in his article, "Ἐπιγραφαὶ ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ συλλεγέσθαι," published in 1886, in the *Proceedings of the Constantinople Syllagos*, 'Ο ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ἑλληνικὸς Φιλολογικὸς Σύλλογος, παράρτημα τοῦ ΙΖ' τόμου, pp. 153-68; and finally by Dimitsas in his *ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΙΑ*, p. 422, inscr. 364 (Athens, 1896).

For some remarks on the date of this inscription, see under inscr. III.

## II.<sup>7</sup>

βοσα

ἀ[ν]θύπατος  
λατομίας ἐπόησ[εν εἰς τὸν  
Καῖσαρος να[ὸν ?  
ἐπὶ ἱερέως καὶ ἀγων[οθέτου αὐ-  
τοκράτορος Καῖσα[ρος Θεοῦ  
νιού Σεβαστο]ῦ . . . .  
ως τοῦ Νεικοπόλ[εως ἱερέως ?  
δὲ τῶν θεῶν δώ[δεκα . . . .  
που· Ῥώμης δὲ κ[αὶ Σεβαστοῦ  
Εὐεργετῶν· Νεικ[οπόλεως τοῦ  
Παραμόνου

Πολιτα[ρχούντων

Διογένους το[ῦ  
Κλέωνος τοῦ Π[ . . . .  
Ζώπα τοῦ Καλ . . . .  
Εὐλάνδρου τοῦ . . . .  
Πρωτογένους [τοῦ  
τοῦ καὶ προστάτ[ου  
τοῦ ἔργου· ταμ[ίου τῆς πόλεως  
Σώσωνος τ[οῦ  
Ἀρχιτέκ[τονος  
Διονυσίο[υ τοῦ . . .

<sup>7</sup> In the inscription the first four lines and the last line were in larger characters than the rest.

This inscription is one of three Thessalonica inscriptions given by M. Duchesne in the *Archives des missions sc. et litt.*, pp. 207 f., as not previously published. Its size and location are thus described by him: "Fragment de stèle 0<sup>m</sup>.70 sur 0<sup>m</sup>.25 dans les démolitions de la porte Kalamari." The stone is now apparently irrevocably lost. The Kalamari gate was torn down at the same time as the arch which bore our inscription No. I, and the material used, Mr. Crosbie states, for the construction of the submarine wall. In a letter from Dr. Mordtmann, written in December, 1896, he says: "I know perfectly well the inscription given by Bayet-Duchesne. I remember that in time I made researches to find it, as the reading given by the French archæologists is not very satisfactory, but it seems that the stone has been lost, at least I could never find it; it may have been employed, as so many other stones, in the works of the mole. At Constantinople it does not exist." The inscription is reprinted from Duchesne in Dimitzas, p. 427, No. 376.

The text here given is Duchesne's and includes in brackets his conjectural restorations. Respecting some of these restorations he expresses considerable doubt himself.<sup>8</sup> But these doubts do not affect the value of the inscription for our immediate purpose. It is clear that in this inscription, concerning whose relation to Thessalonica there seems to be no doubt, and which is definitely assigned by its own text to the reign of Augustus, the politarchs are five in number. We shall have occasion to make further use of this fact after we have examined the next inscription.

## III.

[ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας  
 . . . . αὐτοκ]ράτορος Καίσαρος Τίτ[ο]ν Αἰλί[ου] Ἀδρι-  
 ανοῦ Ἀντων]είνου Σεβαστοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς Σωτῆρος καὶ  
 αἰωνίον δια]μονῆς καὶ Μ. Αὐρηλίου Οὐήρου Καίσαρος  
 καὶ τοῦ οἴκου] τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ ἱερᾶς συνκλήτου καὶ  
 δήμου Ῥωμ]αίων, εἰδέναι ἐπιτελεσθόμενα κινήγια  
 καὶ μονομ]αχίας ἡμέραις τρισὶν ἐκ διαθηκῶν Ἑρεννί-  
 ας . . . .]ας Ἰσπανῆς, κατὰ τὰ γενόμενα ὑπὸ τῆς κρατίσ-  
 της βουλ]ῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου ψηφίσματα, διὰ τῶν περὶ  
 Τιβέριον] Κλαύδιον Κρίσπον τὸν ἀρχιερέα πολειταρχ-

<sup>8</sup> Mordtmann suggests the following restoration of ll. 10, 11: Ῥώμης δὲ κ[αὶ] συγκλήτου Ῥωμαίων εὐεργετῶν, etc. (cf. No. V). In l. 21 he would read: ἀρχιτεκτον-  
 τος, as in V.



365 (p. 424) and Hogarth's under No. 369 (p. 429). But he remarks (p. 430): "Αὕτη ὁμοία φαίνεται μοι τῇ προαναγραφείσῃ ὑπ' ἀρ. 2 (365) ἣν πλήρῃ ἐδημοσίευσεν ὁ Heuzey . . . ἀγεται τις νὰ ὑποθέσῃ ἡ ὅτι ἄλλη ἐστὶν αὕτη, ἔχουσα ὁμοίαν τῇ προηγουμένῃ ὑπόθεσιν, ἡ ὅτι ὁ λίθος ἐκείνος μετηνέχθη ἐκ τοῦ τζαμίου τοῦ Μοχαράμ πασιᾶ εἰς τὸ διοικητήριον καὶ κατὰ τὴν μετακόμισιν ἐθραύσθη τὸ ἀριστερὸν μέρος καὶ ἀπεκόπη." That the latter is by all means the more probable view, and that we have here simply two copies of one inscription, seems clear when we observe that the (right-hand) terminations of the lines agree entirely, and indeed that practically the only differences in the two texts are in that somewhat more of the left side of the stone was lost when Hogarth copied it than when Heuzey saw it, and that the two scholars differed somewhat in their restoration of the missing parts. Heuzey's text seems to be at every point preferable, unless it be at the beginning, where it is doubtful whether either is right. According to Dimitsas, p. 430 (where, by the way, he apparently misinterprets Duchesne), P. Papageorgios testifies from personal examination that in line 2 (Heuzey's line 3) the next to the last word is clearly *σωτηρίας*, not *Σωτήρος*. In that case probably the inscription should begin with *ὑπὲρ*, governing this *σωτηρίας*, instead of either *ἐπὶ* or *ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας*.

Besides the mention of the politarchs, this inscription affords us further information concerning the political constitution of Thessalonica by the reference to the *δῆμος* (*cf.* Acts 17 : 5) and the *βουλή*.

Like the preceding inscription this one also is dated, and indeed even more definitely. It belongs to the reign of Cæsar Titus Ælius Adrianus Antoninus Augustus (Antoninus Pius), and Marcus Aurelius, and to the year 289 (of Macedonia), *i. e.*, 143 A. D. In this inscription, as in the one from the Vardar gate, now in the British Museum, the politarchs are six in number. And this fact suggests the possibility of determining approximately the date of this latter inscription. Since, according to the Kalamari gate inscription, there were five politarchs in the reign of Augustus, and since in 143 A. D. there were six, it seems probable that the undated Vardar gate inscription with its six politarchs lies on the hither side of the reign of Augustus, or at least of that part of it from which the Kalamari gate inscription comes.<sup>20</sup> This, to be sure, is not very definite. But it seems to be the most definite evidence that we have. The argument which made it subsequent to the year 69 A. D. was based on the supposed occurrence

<sup>20</sup> Mordtmann, however, says: "I am not quite convinced that six *πολιτάρχαι* are mentioned; one could arrange the names so that only five are to be found; for

in it of the name Publius Flavius, and fell wholly to the ground when the inscription was read correctly and found not to contain this name at all. The suggestion that it commemorated the battle of Philippi was pure conjecture. The argument from the number of the politarchs seems to be of more weight, and to show that the inscription is at any rate later than the year 30 B. C., and may be as late as 143 A. D., or even later. As long ago as 1835 Leake wrote: "The monument could never have been very magnificent, and appears hardly worthy of the time of Antony and Octavius, to which it is attributed by Beaujour, who supposes it to have been a triumphal memorial of the victory of Philippi. Nor does an inscription below the arch . . . seem to favour his opinion, as the names are chiefly Roman, which they would hardly have been at so early a period" (*Travels in Northern Greece*, London, 1835, Vol. III, p. 236). Duchesne (p. 211) regards it as probably of the Antonine period.

## IV.

## Πολιταρχούντων

Ἀριστάρχου τοῦ Ἀριστάρχου, Νικίου τοῦ  
Θεοδώρου, Ξεννεοῦ τοῦ Σιμίον,  
Θεοδώρου τοῦ Ἐντύχου, Δημητ[ρίου]  
τοῦ Ἀντιγόνου, ταμίου τῆς π[όλεως]  
Στῆλβωνος τοῦ Διονυσοφάνου[ς]  
Διονυσόδωρος Ἀσκληπιოდώρ[ου]  
τὸ γραμματοφυλάκιον τῆς πόλ[εως]

This inscription is the most recently discovered of all those from Thessalonica. It was found by Dimitsas in the office of the Educational Syllagos of Thessalonica, and published for the first time in his recent volume on Macedonia, p. 428, inscr. 368. He dates it conjecturally, on the basis of the writing and the character of the names, for the early part of the first or second century of the Roman dominion, that is, apparently between 168 B. C. and the Christian era. In form it strongly resembles our No. I. In the number of politarchs, five, it agrees with our No. II, which is by its own dating definitely assigned to the reign of Augustus. If the general line of reasoning adopted concerning the date of No. I is correct, it would tend also to instance, so as to make the name of the second politarch: Aulus Avius Sabinus Demetrius, son of Faustus." Such a reading, if established, would yield us the chronological conclusion "the other side of Antoninus Pius," instead of "this side of Augustus."

assign this inscription to about the period indicated by Dimitsas, or at least to some time preceding the year 143 A. D.

The statement of Dimitsas respecting the inscription is as follows: "Ἡ ἐπιγραφή αὕτη, γεγραμμένη ἐπὶ μαρμαρίνης πλακός, μήκος μὲν ἐχούσης ἐνὸς μέτρον, πλάτος δὲ  $\frac{1}{2}$ , νῦν τὸ πρῶτον δημοσιεύεται. Εὐρον δ' αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τοῦ Γ. Βαφειάδου, ἔνθα τὸ γραφεῖον τοῦ Φιλεκπαιδευτικοῦ Συλλόγου Θεσσαλονίκης. Ἐκ τίνος δὲ μέρους τῆς πόλεως μετηνέχθη ἐν ταύτῃ, δὲν ἠδυνήθη νὰ ἐξακριβώσω. Ἐν ταύτῃ μνημονεύονται 5 πολιτάρχαι, ὁ ταμίης τῆς πόλεως, Διονυσόδωρός τις καὶ τὸ γραμματοφυλάκιον αὐτῆς, ὅπερ κατὰ πρῶτον ἀπήντησα ἐνταῦθα. Τίς δὲ ἡ ὑπόθεσις αὐτῆς καὶ εἰς ποίαν ἐποχὴν ἀνήκει, δὲν δύναμαι νὰ ὀρίσω. Ὡς ἐκ τοῦ χαρακτῆρος ὁμῶς τῶν γραμμάτων καὶ τῶν κυρίων ὀνομάτων, πάντων Μακεδονικῶν, εἰκάζω ὅτι προῖόν ἐστι τοῦ α' ἢ β' αἰῶνος τῆς Ῥωμαιοκρατίας. Αὕτη δ' ἐστὶν ἡ πέμπτη ἐπιγραφή, ἐν ᾗ ἀναφέρονται ὀνομαστί αἱ ἀρχαὶ τῆς πόλεως οἱ πολιτάρχαι."

## V.

ΑΠΕΛΛΑΤΟ

ΑΙΣΑΡΟΣΙΣΙ

ΜΑΙΩΝΕΥΕ

ΠΟΛΙΤΑΡΧ

ΟΥΜΑΡΚΟΥ

ΙΥ.ΣΙΟΥΜΕΙ

ΤΗΣ. \ ΤΑΛ

ΧΙΤΕΚΟΝΟΥΝΤΟ

In an article by 'M. l'Abbé Belley entitled "Observations sur l'histoire et sur les monuments de la Thessalonique," published in *Histoire des inscriptions*, Tom. XXXVIII, p. 125 (1770-72), he says: "On trouve encore le nom de Politarche sur les marbres de cette ville: on lit sur un fragment le nom d'un Marcus—Πολιτάρχον Μάρκον. Cette inscription et plusieurs autres ont été envoyées de Thessalonique en 1746, par M. Germain, Consul de France." In 1833, when Boeckh published the second volume of his *Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum*, he knew of these inscriptions only through Belley's work. After referring to four of them, including the one now under consideration, he adds (p. 52): "Ceteras quattuor desidero; neque ex Parisiis reperiri potuerunt, etsi non defuit amicorum cura intentissima." M. Duchesne says: "J'ajoute qu'ils ne figurent pas dans le catalogue du Louvre édité par M. Fröhner." Thus the inscription seemed to be wholly lost with the exception of the two words preserved by Belley. Germain's manuscript, however, had not, in fact, been destroyed. A scholar of Avignon,



Calvet by name, into whose hands it had in some way come, bequeathed it to the library of that city, which acquired it in 1810. In 1892 M. Labande published a *Catalogue sommaire des manuscrits de la bibliothèque de la ville d'Avignon*, in which there appears under No. 1377 the following entry: "Germain de Marseille, MSS. sur les antiquités, inscriptions, médailles, etc., xviii<sup>e</sup> siècle, Papier, 384 feuillets." Fol. 281-96 of this manuscript contain, "Inscriptions prises sur les marbres antiques qui se trouvent dans la ville de Salonique, par le Sr. Jean Baptiste Germain." From these pages H. Omont published in the *Revue archéologique*, 1894, pp. 196-214, an article entitled "Inscriptions grecques de Salonique," in which he has reproduced such information concerning the Thessalonica inscriptions as had not already become common property by the investigations of those who have visited Thessalonica since Germain's day. Under No. 38, p. 213, of Omont's article we find the long missing inscription. It has been reproduced by Dimitsas in his *ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΙΑ*, as No. 738, p. 596. Not much, however, can be made out from it except that it evidently contained the names of one or more politarchs, and that one of them was called Μάρκος. Belley's reference to it as containing the words πολιτάρχον Μάρκον is strictly correct only on the assumption that the fourth and fifth lines are nearly or quite complete as they stand. But this is scarcely possible in view of the unintelligibility of the preceding and following lines as they now are. Letters are certainly lost from one side or the other, probably from both. In that case the ου at the beginning of l. 5 is probably not the continuation of the πολιταρχ- of l. 4, but of some other word. We cannot, therefore, say whether we should read πολιτάρχου, or πολιτάρχων, πολιταρχούντος, or πολιταρχούντων. Nor do we know whether what preceded Μάρκον was a part of the name of this Μάρκος, or that of another politarch, or whether another name followed that of Μάρκος.<sup>11</sup> How many politarchs Thessalonica had at the date of this inscription we cannot gather from it; nor, indeed, do we know its date.

<sup>11</sup> Since the above was written and put in type, Dr. J. H. Mordtmann has kindly sent me his restoration of the text, which is as follows:

ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως] Ἀπελλὰ το . . .  
 θεοῦ Κ]αίσαρος Σ[εβαστοῦ καὶ  
 Ῥώμης καὶ συγκλήτου Ῥω]μαίων εὐε[ργετῶν  
 πολιταρχοῦ[ντων  
 (probably two names or) τῶν περὶ . . . ] ου Μάρκου  
 Διο]νυσίου  
 ταμίου δὲ] τῆς [πό]λ[εως  
 Ἀλ[εξανδρου]

VI.<sup>22</sup>

ἔτους 50· Σεβαστοῦ τοῦ καὶ βρρ  
 αὐτοκράτορι Τιβερίῳ Κλαυδίῳ  
 Καίσαρι Σεβαστῷ Γερμανικῷ  
 ἀρχιερί δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας  
 τὸ τέταρτον, ὑπάτῳ ἀποδεδιγμένῳ  
 τὸ τέταρτον, αὐτοκράτορι τὸ ὄγδοον  
 πατρὶ πατρίδος ἡ πόλις πολιταρ-  
 χούντων  
 Νεικηράτου τοῦ Θεοδᾶ,  
 Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ Δημητρίου  
 ἐπιμελητοῦ Μενάνδρου τοῦ  
 Πεληγείνου

This inscription was published first by M. Vidal-Lablache in the *Revue archéologique*, 1869, Vol. 20, N. S., p. 62. It is written on a marble slab seen by Lablache in the court of a house in Thessalonica. It was also copied by Hogarth, his transcription agreeing substantially with that of Lablache, and was published in the article mentioned above, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. VIII (1887), p. 360. Hogarth found it on the property of M. Bitzo, a dragoman in the employ of the British consulate-general, probably in the same place in which Lablache saw it.<sup>23</sup> Duchesne copied it from Lablache, publishing it in the *Archives*, p. 206. Dimitsas also publishes it, p. 425, inscr. 366. A photograph of it sent by Mr. Crosbie to Dean Stanley is now in the British Museum. The copy given above follows Lablache and Duchesne.

This inscription is of special interest because of its date. It is of the year "76 of Augustus, which is also 192," *i. e.*, in the year 76 reckoned from the Augustan era, the year 192 reckoned from the older Macedonian era, 146 B. C.<sup>24</sup> This brings us to the year 46

<sup>22</sup> The numeral characters in the first line are quite differently represented by the various copyists, though there seems to be no difference of opinion as to their meaning. The original reads ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩ in the third line, the extra Σ being an engraver's error. Hogarth reads ἀποδεδιγμένῳ in the fifth line.

<sup>23</sup> Vidal-Lablache thus describes its location: "*Salonique*—Sur une plaque de marbre déposée dans la cour de la maison Mpitthos dans le quartier grec." Dimitsas writes the name Μπιτθῆος.

<sup>24</sup> A similar instance of double dating is seen in other inscriptions from Thessalonica. See, *e. g.*, BOECKH, *C. I. G.*, 1970, copied also by LE BAS (*Voyage archéologique*, Partie III, section 7, No. 1386), and by DUCHESNE, *Mission*, etc., p. 228, inscr. 37, Μ. Ἰούλιος Ἑρμῆς Ἰουλία Τερτία τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἰουλία Ἑρμιανῇ τῇ θυγατρὶ ζῶσιν (p. ζῶσαις) ἐποίησεν, ἔτους 5-πρ, τοῦ καὶ βρ. See also DUCHESNE, p. 216, and HEUZÉY, *op. cit.*, pp. 274 seq.

A. D. as the year of the inscription, into the very midst, therefore, of the New Testament period, less than a decade before Paul first came to Macedonia.

Another noteworthy fact about this inscription is that it contains the names of but two politarchs, who are, moreover, all that the inscription ever contained, and are spoken of as if they constituted the full number. Both Duchesne and Hogarth, as well as Dimitsas, assume that this inscription belongs to Thessalonica and pertains to the Thessalonian politarchs. Were it so, we should have the strange fact that in the reign of Augustus Thessalonica had five politarchs, in the middle of the second century had six, and yet in the year 46 A. D., intermediate between these other two periods, had but two. But, in fact, it does not seem to be clear that this is a Thessalonica inscription. To be sure, everyone who has copied it has seen it in Thessalonica, and it has certainly been there since 1869. But it is entirely evident from the statements of all that it is not *in situ*. It rests on the open veranda of the courtyard of a private house. This, together with the fact that inscriptions are so often moved from their original position, that this one does not contain the name Thessalonica or anything to connect it with that city, and the difficulty in the way of assigning it to Thessalonica created by the number of the politarchs mentioned, are enough certainly to create a strong suspicion against this assumption. But we are not left to mere inference. Under date of December 8, 1896, Rev. Peter Crosbie writes me as follows: "The slab bearing the inscription to which you refer . . . is still in the possession of the Bitzo family. Bitzo père is dead, but Bitzo fils tells me his father picked it up among the débris of a dilapidated roadside fountain at a village called Apostolo on the site of Pella—distant some 8 hours from this place [Thessalonica]—say 24 miles. In all probability it belonged to Pella in the days of its decadence."<sup>15</sup>

In view of this definite testimony it seems clear that this inscription ought not to be included in those which testify to the existence of the office of politarch in Thessalonica. One cannot but feel a passing regret that an inscription of the year 46 A. D. and now in Thessalo-

<sup>15</sup>I owe the clue which followed led to this definite information to Rev. L. C. Barnes, D.D., of Pittsburgh. He visited Thessalonica in 1892, made a copy of the inscription perfectly identifying the stone with that copied by Lablache and Hogarth. This he kindly placed at my disposal, together with a memorandum made in his notebook at the time to the effect that Mr. Crosbie told him that the inscription came from outside the city. A letter to Mr. Crosbie elicited the more definite information given above.

nica does not really refer to that city. But if it is so, there are compensations. In taking it from Thessalonica we add it to those which attest the existence of this same office in Macedonia outside of Thessalonica. If Mr. Crosbie's conjecture is correct that it came from Pella, it enables us to say that in the middle of the first century in the ancient capital of Macedonia the office of politarch was in existence, there being two of these officials, instead of five or six as in Thessalonica.

## VII.

Ἔτους θ' καὶ κ' : Πανήμου κ'

Ληταίων οἱ πολιτάρχαι, προβουλευσαμέ-  
νων τῶν βουλευτῶν, εἶπαν· Ἐπεὶ Μάαρκος Ἄννιος Πο-  
πλίον υἱὸς, ἀνὴρ καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς, ἀποσταλεῖς ταμίης ὑ-  
πὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων ἐπὶ τὰ κατὰ Μακεδονίαν πράγμα-  
τα καὶ τὸν ἀνώτερον μὲν χρόνον πάντα διατετέλεκεν  
τὴν ἀρχὴν προϋστάμενος τῶν τε κατὰ κοινὸν πᾶσιν Μακε-  
δόσιν συμφερόντων, πλείστην δὲ πρόνοιαν ποιούμενος τῶν  
διαφερόντων κατ' ἰδίαν τῇ ἡμετέραι πόλει σπουδῆς καὶ φιλο-  
τιμίας οὐθὲν ἐνλείπων . . . . .

ἀναγραφῆναι δὲ τὸ ψήφισμα καὶ τὸν στέφανον εἰς  
στήλην λιθίνην καὶ τεθῆναι τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐν τῷ ἐπιφανεστωτάτῳ τόπῳ προ-  
νοηθέντων τῆς τε ἀναγραφῆς τοῦ ψηφίσματος καὶ τῆς ἀναθέσεως τῆς στή-  
λης τῶν τε πολιταρχῶν καὶ τοῦ τῆς πόλεως ταμίου. Ἐπεχειροτονήθη  
ἔτους θ' καὶ κ', Πανήμου κ', καὶ εἰρέθησαν πρεσβευταὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν  
Ἀδαῖος Ἀδαίου, Λύσιων Φιλώτου, Ἀμύντας Λιέους.

In this inscription, of which we have printed only the beginning and the end, omitting thirty-four lines and parts of two others from the middle, the word *πολιτάρχης*, it will be observed, occurs twice. It was found at a village called Αἰβάτι (*Αἰβάτι*), four hours north of Thessalonica. A squeeze of it was furnished by one Hadji-Thomas to Duchesne, who published it first in the *Revue archéologique*, 1875 (I), and then, after revision of the text by E. Miller, in the *Archives*, p. 278. It is also printed in Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, Leipzig, 1888, Pars Prior, No. 247, p. 360, and most recently by Dimitsas in his *MAKEΔONIA*, p. 566, inscr. 675. Respecting its date Duchesne says (p. 286): "Le décret est daté du 20 Panémos de l'an 29. On connaît en Macédoine deux ères, l'une partant de l'an

146, l'autre de l'an 30 avant Jésus-Christ. Toutes deux commencent en octobre, avec le mois Dios. Le 20 Panémós correspond donc au commencement de juillet de l'an 117<sup>16</sup> ou de l'an 1 avant Jésus-Christ. Entre ces deux ères, nous devons choisir la première: les dates suivant la seconde sont généralement accompagnées de la mention *ἔτος Σεβαστοῦ*; la paléographie, l'absence du *cognomen* dans les noms des personnages romains, l'ensemble des faits ne laissent d'ailleurs aucune incertitude."

This inscription, therefore, shows us the term politarch in use outside of Thessalonica, and before the Christian era. It is the oldest of these inscriptions which contains its date within itself.

## VIII.

ΕΤΟΥΣ ΖΟ[Τ] ΑΛΕ . . . ΟΥ[Σ]  
 ΤΗΣ ΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΠΟΛΙΤΑΡ  
 ΧΟΥΝΤ[ΩΝ] ΤΩΝ ΠΕΡΙ ΕΛΙ  
 ΟΝ ΠΕΔΟΥΚΑΙΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΙ .  
 ΔΡΟΝ ΕΦΗΒΑΡΧΟΥΝΤΟΣ  
 ΙΟΥΔΙΟΥ ΕΟΡ . . ΤΑ . Φ . ΒΟΙ  
 ΟΙ ΥΠΟ[Γ]Ε . . ΑΙ . . ΕΝΟ[Ι]  
 (Twenty undecipherable lines are omitted here)  
 ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΣ ΠΑΡΑΜΟΝΟΣ  
 ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΣ ΖΩΣΙΜΟΣ  
 ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΣ ΑΜΙΑΝΟΣ

This inscription is from the church of Haya Paraskevi at Vodhena (Edessa). It is derived by Duchesne from *\*Εκθεσις τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἐπαρχίαν Βοδενῶν διανοητικῆς ἀναπτύξεως*, Constantinople, 1874. The epigraphic peculiarities of it, the round sigma and epsilon, and the square sigma, are not reproduced in the copy here given. The letters bracketed in the uncial copy are Duchesne's conjectural corrections of the transcription from which he worked. The forms displaced are, in l. 1 ZOM, ΟΥΠ, in l. 3 ΤΟΕ, in l. 7 ΤΕ, ΝΟ. Duchesne (p. 298) restores the text as follows:

\*Ετους ζ[ο]τ[τ] ἀλε[ιφ]ούσ[ης]  
 τῆς πόλεως πολιταρ-  
 χούντων τῶν περὶ (Αἰ)λι-  
 ον Πεδουκαῖον Καί[κι]-  
 λιον? ἐφηβαρχούντος

<sup>16</sup>Dittenberger calculates the date as 118 B. C.

Ἰουλίου . . . . ἑφηβοι

οἱ ὑπογε[γρ]α[μμ]ένου

. . . . .

. . . . .

Αὐρήλιος Παράμονος

Αὐρήλιος Ζώσιμος

Αὐρήλιος Ἀμ[μ]ιανός

The inscription is reprinted by Dimitzas on p. 34, inscr. 2. He regards the reading *Καικίλιον* as very doubtful, and with good reason, it would seem. He quotes Bormann as reading *Κάσσανδρον* instead, which certainly better accounts for the beginning of the next line. Bormann also reads *Γάϊον* instead of *Αἴλιον*, making the name of the chief politarch *Γάϊος Πεδουκαῖος Κάσσανδρον*, which Mordtmann also accepts.

Respecting the date of the inscription, Duchesne says: "La date ZOM, qui n'est pas intelligible, pourrait se corriger en ZOE, ZOT, ou ZOY, ce qui donnerait, suivant l'ère Chrétienne, 131, 231, ou 331. Cette dernière descend trop bas; entre les deux autres, je me suis décidé pour 231 à cause de la fréquence du nom Aurélius."

#### IX.

Παρὰ Φιλίππου τοῦ Ποσιδίππου, Ὀρέστου τοῦ Ὀρέστου, Πράνθου τοῦ Δικίνου, τῶν ἀποκληρωθέντων προέδρων, δόγματος ἀναγραφῇ· Τῇ ΙΑ τοῦ Δαισίου μηνός, τοῦ Γ-Μ-Σ ἔτους, τῶν περὶ Βάρολρον Φιλίππου ἐν Δερριόπῳ πολιταρχῶν συναγαγόντων τὸ βουλευτήριον, καὶ Φίλωνος τοῦ Κόνωνος ποιησαμένου λόγους περὶ Οὐεττίου Φίλωνος τοῦ θείου, καὶ προσαγγείλαντος ὅτι καὶ πρῶν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδα ἐτείμησε μεγάλως καὶ τελευτῶν οὐδὲ τῆς κατὰ τὴν Βουλὴν τειμῆς ἡμέλησεν ἀλλ' ἀφίησιν αὐτῇ κατὰ διαθήκην Δ', ΑΦ, ἐφ' ᾧ ἐκ τῶν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐξ αὐτῶν γεινομένων τόκων, ἡμέραν ἄγουσα Οὐεττίου Βωλανοῦ ἐορτάσιμον εὐχῇται τῇ προδεκατεσσάρων καλανδῶν Νοεμβρίων· ἔδοξεν τῇ Βουλῇ τὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς σεμνότητα καὶ βούλησιν ἀποδέξασθαι ἐπὶ τε ταῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν διαθήκην γεγραμμέναις αἰρέσεσιν,

τό τ' ἀργύριον λαβεῖν καὶ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἄγειν  
τὴν τοῦ Οὐτετίου Βωλανοῦ εορτάσιμον ἐκ  
τῶν τόκων ἡμέραν καὶ μήτε τοῦ προγεγραμμέ-  
νου κεφαλαίου ἀπαναλίσκειν τι εἰς ἑτέραν  
χρεῖαν, μήτε τοῦ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν γινομένου τό-  
κου, ἀλλ' ὡς ὁ δοὺς Φίλων ἠθέλησε, τό τ' ἀρ-  
γύριον ἡριθμήσατο καὶ παρέλαβεν ὁ ἐπιμελη-  
τὴς τῶν τῆς Βουλῆς δηναρίων Λούκιος  
Λουκρήτιος Πούδης.

*Variant Readings—*

1. 2, D. Πριάμων. H. Παραμύθου. C. Πραμόνου = Παραμόνου: D. τοῦ Ἀλκαίου. H. τοῦ Μ[ι?]κίνου:

1. 3, H. πρ[ο]έδρων: D. ἀναγραφῇ: D. τρίτα. H. τῇ τ'. C. τῇ τ 1:

1. 4, D. 246 (reading F instead of Γ):

1. 5, D. Βλῖδρον(:). H. Βλ...δρον:

1. 7, H. ποησαμένου:

1. 8, H. περ[ι] (orig. ΠΕΡΝ): D. Dim. M. Οὐτετίου. (C. refers to his inscription XXXII, which contains the name M. Οὐτετίο(ν) Φίλωνος):

1. 9, H. Dim. προσαγγελαντος: H. πρῶν:

1. 10, D. ἐτίμησε:

1. 11, D. τ' ἐμήν (but orig. Σ): H. Dim. ἀφῆκεν:

1. 12, D. δηνάρια 530 (orig. Δ/ Δ Φ). H. (a leaf-like character followed by ἀφ' < (orig. ◁- A Φ <):

1. 14, H. Βωλάνου:

1. 15, D. εὐωχῆσαι:

1. 21, H. Βωλάνου:

1. 25, D. H. Dim. ἠθέλησεν:

1. 28, D. Δύρηλιος (but orig. ΔΟΤΚΡΗΤΙΟΣ).

Inscription IX was first discovered in 1862 (Pappadopoulos says 1863) by a Greek named G. Ballianos. It was found at a small place called Tspichobon or Tzepikobon, about five hours from Bitolia (Monastir) in Pelagonia. The following statement concerning it is from the archbishop Benediktos of Pelagonia: "Ἡ μαρμάρινος πλάξ, ἐν ᾗ τὸ ὅπισθεν ψήφισμα ἐγκεχάραται, εὐρέθη τῷ 1862 σωτηρίῳ ἔτει ἐν τινι μικρῷ χωρίῳ τοῦ κατὰ Πέρπλεπε, Τζεπικόβον καλουμένου, ὑπὸ πεντῆξ οἰκίων υἱόλις συγκεκλιμένη, καὶ πέντε σχεδὸν ὥρας τῶν Βιτωλίων ἀπέχοντι. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐξ αὐτοῦ καταδείκνυται, ὅτι ἡ μία πόλις τῆς ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ Τριπόλεως, Δερρίοπος καλουμένη τὸ πάλαι, ἔκειτο ἐκεῖ, ἔνθα ἡ πλάξ εὐρέθη, διὰ τοῦτο εἰς διηλεκτὴν ἐνδείξειν μετακομισθεῖσα ἡ ῥηθείσα πλάξ παρὰ τῆς ἐμῆς ταπεινότητος κατετέθη ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ μητροπόλει<sup>17</sup> Πελαγονίας."

<sup>17</sup> Bitolia (Monastir), 125 miles northwest from Thessalonica, twelve miles distant from Tzepikobon.

It was first published on the basis of the copy of Ballianos by Koumanoudes in the *Ἐφημερίς τῶν Φιλομαθῶν*, No. 536, September 4 (O. S.), 1864. Subsequent transcribers state, however, that this copy was very imperfect. On the basis of a copy furnished by the archbishop of Pelagonia, Dr. Déthier published a text and discussion of it in the *Proceedings of the Constantinople Syllagos* for 1865. The article is entitled *Περὶ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τοῦ ἔθνους Δερριόπων*, and may be found in τομ. Δ. (title page 1871) of *Τοῦ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ἑλληνικοῦ Φιλολογικοῦ Συλλόγου τὰ περισωθέντα*, pp. 89-104. It was printed, Dimitsas says, by Hahn in his *Reise durch die Gebirge des Drin und Wardar*, 1867. In 1870 the Greek archæologist, G. G. Pappadopoulos, prepared a report on it, which was read before the Greek Syllagos of Constantinople June 20, 1870, and subsequently twice published; in *Πανδώρα*, φυλλ. 489 (589 ?), August, 1870; and in *Τοῦ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ἑλληνικοῦ Φιλολογικοῦ Συλλόγου τὰ περισωθέντα, τόμος Ε.*, 1872, pp. 1-5, *Ἐπιγραφαὶ ἐν Πελαγονίᾳ συλλεγέισαι*. The inscription was still again published by Dimitsas in the Athenian journal *Πανδώρα*, September 15, 1871 (φυλλ. 516).

Meantime the inscription had been brought to the attention of English-speaking scholars by Mr. G. C. Curtis, who in 1869 discovered it at Monastir (Bitolia). From the transcription of it by Mr. Curtis it was edited by Mr. E. L. Hicks, and published in 1869 in Tozer's *Highlands of Turkey*, Vol. II, Appendix B. Neither Curtis, Hicks, nor Tozer apparently knew of its previous publication. In his article entitled *Ἐπιγραφαὶ ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ συλλεγέισαι*, in *Ε. Φ. Σ., παράρτημα τοῦ ΙΖ τόμου* (1886), pp. 153-68, Mr. Curtis mentions this inscription (under No. XXI), and records his readings of certain disputed words. In his recent volume, *MAKEΔONIA*, Dimitsas has again published it with an extended discussion of the text and its meaning. He claims to be the real discoverer and preserver of the inscription: "*Πρῶτος ἀνακαλύψας ταύτην καὶ αἷτιος τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτῆς ἀπὸ προφανοῦς καταστροφῆς γενόμενος, τελευταῖος ἐδημοσίευσεν αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ Πανδῶρᾳ . . . ἐκ πιστοτέρου καὶ ἀκριβεστέρου ἀντιγράφου, ἀποδεικνύοντος ὅτι αἱ ἐξ ἄλλων ἀντιγράφων γεόμεναι ἐκδόσεις ἦσαν ἐν πολλοῖς πλημμελεῖς*" (p. 294). Cf. Heuzey, p. 314.

The text which we give above is that of Pappadopoulos, which is nearly identical with that of Dimitsas. To it are, however, added the variants of Déthier (D), Hicks (H), Curtis (C), and Dimitsas (Dim.).<sup>18</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Mordtmann says: "The best copy is that of the archbishop, published by Déthier. . . . The name in the second line is to be read *Παραμόνου τοῦ Ἀλκαίου*. The name in the fifth line is to be read *Βαῖδρον Φιλίππου*; *Βαῖδρος* in the Macedonian dialect stands for *Φαῖδρος*."



As respects the date of this inscription, the balance of evidence seems to be in favor of reading ΓΜΣ, *i. e.*, 243. The reckoning is probably from the Achæan era, 146 B. C., in which case the inscription belongs to the year 97 A. D. This is the date assigned by Hicks. Duchesne, who refers to the inscription (*Archives*, p. 299) but does not copy it, speaks of it as of the year 197 A. D., but this is apparently a misprint.<sup>19</sup>

## X.

. . . . . Νε[ι]κολάου  
 . . . . [Ζ]ώϊλον τὸν υἱὸν  
 . . . . πολιταρχοῦντα  
 . . . . [π]ροτελευτήσαντα υἱὸν  
 . . . . ι εαυτὴν ἐκ τῶν ιδίων

This inscription, like No. IX, is from Tsepikobon. It was behind the altar of a ruined church. We have no clue to its date. It was published by Pappadopoulos in the article referred to above (*E. Φ. Σ. τομ. Δ*, pp. 1-5), where it is inscription 7, and by Mr. Curtis in his article (*E. Φ. Σ. παραρ. τομ. ΙΖ*, pp. 153-68), where it is numbered XXXV, and is No. 260 in Dimitsas (p. 304).

## XI.

πρὸ ιγ καλλανδῶν Ἰουνίων ἀπὸ Δυρραχίου  
 Παῦλος Καιλίδιος Φρόντων ἀγορανομήσας, πρεσβεύσας εἰς Δελφούς ἐπὶ  
 τὸν Πύθιον, ἀργύριον ἐπιδούς τῇ πόλει εἰς σείτου ἀγορασίαν, σείτον  
 ἐν σπάνει παραπωλήσας, γυμνασιαρχήσας, ἐκ τῶν ιδίων εἰκόνων  
 ἀναθέσεις καὶ ἀνδριάντων ἀξιοθεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου διὰ  
 δόγματος ταμειῶν καὶ πολιταρχῶν, γυμνασιαρχήσας ἀποδεδει-  
 υ(γ)μένος καὶ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τοῦ Δυγκηστῶν ἔθρους καὶ υἱὸς  
 πόλεως διὰ δογμάτων τὴν στήλην ἀνέθηκεν ἐκ τῶν ιδίων

<sup>19</sup> Repeated by MOMMSEN, *Provinces of the Roman Empire*, E. T., Vol. I, p. 325. There are apparently two other errors in Duchesne's reference to this inscription. He speaks of it as containing the phrase *περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον*, a reading not sustained by any of the copyists. His note on its previous publication reads: "Publié dans le journal athénien Πανδώρα, numéros d'août 1870 et du 15 septembre 1864. Cf. le Σύλλογος de Constantinople, 1871, p. 89." But the note attached to Déthier's article (*E. Φ. Σ.*, p. 89), reads: "Ἡ ἐπιγραφή αὕτη ἐδημοσιεύθη τὸ πρῶτον, ἡμαρτημένη ὁμως καὶ ἀτελής, τῇ 4 ἡβρίου 1864 ἐν τῇ ἀρ. 536 τῆς ἐφημερίδος τῶν Φιλομαθῶν ὑπὸ Σ. Κουμανούδη. Περὶ ταύτης δὲ καὶ ἄλλων μακεδονικῶν ἐπιγραφῶν ἰδίαν πραγματείαν ἀπέστειλεν ὁ κ. Τ. Παππαδόπουλος τῇ 20 ἰουνίου 1870 τῇ Συλλόγῳ, ἥτις καὶ ἐδημοσιεύθη ἀκολούθως διὰ τῆς Πανδώρας (φυλλ. 489. Ἀυγούστου 1. 1870). Σημ. Σ. Ε.'" Duchesne probably had in mind the article of Dimitsas published in Πανδώρα September 15, 1871.

We are indebted for our knowledge of inscription XI in the first instance to a correspondent of the Athenian newspaper *Παλιγγενεσία*, in which it was published March 11, 1894. He writes from Bitolia (Monastir), where it will be remembered Mr. Curtis saw our inscription IX, and states that the stone was found in a vineyard near the "Macedonian Oktolophos of Lynkestis." Dimitsas, who copies the inscription and comments upon it (pp. 270 ff., inscr. 248), suspects that this is an error, and that it came, not from Oktolophos, which he says is northwest of Bitolia (in that case not in the bounds at least of ancient Lynkestis as commonly laid down), but from Herakleia, which lies to the south of Bitolia in Lynkestis. At Herakleia monuments of antiquity have been found before, *e. g.*, a bust of Æschines, but hitherto nothing at Oktolophos. The inscription itself indicates in any case that it belongs to a city of Lynkestis, and that in this district as in Pelagonia the office of politarch existed in ancient times. If the first line was written at the same time as the rest of the inscription, it must belong to the Roman period, but it seems doubtful whether this is the case. The ἀπὸ Δυρραχίου is quite unintelligible. The date of the inscription cannot apparently be determined with the data now available.

The text printed above is taken from Dimitsas. Dr. Mordtmann suggests the following emendations: "In line 2 read Παῦλος Καί[κίλ]ιος Φρόντων [??]. In ll. 4 and 5, γυμνασιαρχήσας ἐκ τῶν ιδίων, εἰκόνων ἀναθέσει (instead of ἀναθέσεως!) καὶ ἀνδριάντων ἀξιωθείς ὑπὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου, etc."

## XII.

- Ἐκκλησιάσατο . . . .  
 Ἐπάρχου Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Λεωνίδου  
 καὶ πολλῶν . . . . πολιτῶν ὑπὸ  
 τῶν ἐπαρχικῶν ἐξελαίνονται  
 5 τῆς τῶν δημοσίων τόπων  
 χρήσεως οὐκ ἀρκουμένων  
 αὐτῶν . . . . ἐτειμήσαντο  
 πολλὰ καὶ ἐκεῖ ψευσάμενοι  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ περιβαλλομένων  
 10 ἄλλας ἑαυτοῖς κατοχὰς  
 ἐν χωρίοις ὑπὲρ ὧν οἱ διακα-  
 τέχοντες αὐτὰ πρότερον  
 ἔδωσαν χεῖρας ἀφιστάμε-  
 νοι αὐτῶν καὶ παραχωροῦντες  
 15 αὐτὰ τῇ πολιτείᾳ νῦν δὲ οἱ

- δυνατώτεροι τῶν ἐπαρχικῶν  
 ἐκβιάζονται τοὺς πένητας καὶ  
 αὐτά τε ἐκεῖνα ἃ οὐκ ἐξὸν αὐ-  
 τοῖς βούλονται κατέχειν  
 20 καὶ προσεμπονοῦσι τὴν ἀρχαί-  
 αν γῆν χαракισμοῦ τε καὶ νο-  
 μῆς ἀποκλείουσι καὶ ἀφαιροῦν-  
 ται τοὺς πολεῖτας καὶ διό-  
 δων ἔδοξε τῷ τε πολειτάρχῃ  
 25 καὶ τοῖς πολεῖταις ὁμογνωμονοῦ-  
 σι μόνα κατὰ τὴν Γειττιανοῦ διάτα-  
 ξιν τοὺς ἐπαρχικοὺς ἃ ἐτίμησαν-  
 το κατέχειν εἰς δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ μηδε-  
 νὶ ἐξεῖναι ἐπαρχικῶ ἢ ἐμπονεῖν  
 30 ἢ ἀγοράζειν ἢ κατέχειν μηδὲ δόγ-  
 μα τινὶ διδόναι πολιτείας ἢ χρήσε-  
 ως τῶν δημοσίων μόνοις δὲ ἀνεῖ-  
 σθαι τὴν γῆν τοῖς ἀποτετιμημέ-  
 νοις Ὅρεστοις ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δὲ  
 35 τούτων τὸν κατ' ἔτος γεινόμενον  
 πολειτάρχῃ ὥστε ἐπινα . . . . τῶν πολειτῶν καὶ  
 ἐκβάλλειν καὶ κωλύειν τοὺς . . . .  
 . . . . μὴ ἀποτετιμημένην γῆν  
 βιαζομένους ἐὰν δὲ τῇ . . . .  
 40 . . . . πολειτάρχῃ καὶ δογμα- . . . .  
 . . . . δημόσια, τοῦτον ἀπο-  
 δοῦναι εἰς δ(φ)ίσκον δηνάρια πεν-  
 τακισχίλια καὶ ἄλλα τῇ πολι-  
 τεία πεντακισχίλια . . . .  
 45 τοῦτο τὸ δόγμα ἔ-  
 δοξε τῷ διέποντι τὴν ἐπαρ-  
 χίαν Ἰουνίῳ Ρουφίνῳ διὰ  
 τῶν πρεσβευτῶν τοῦ  
 . . . . καὶ Διάγρου καὶ  
 50 καὶ ἃ ἐκεῖνος αὐτο-  
 κύρως . . . . καὶ στηλογραφ-  
 . . . .  
 . . . .  
 . . . . Φιλιππ . . . .  
 . . . . Δίας

This very interesting inscription, in which the name *πολιτάρχης* occurs three times, was first published by Philip Sakellarios in the *Archaeologische Zeitung*, 1880, pp. 159-61. It is transcribed by Dimitsas, pp. 236 ff., No. 217. It was found in the region of Idranitzí and pertains, as the inscription itself shows, to a city (*πόλις* or *πολιτεία*) belonging to Orestis, a district now known as the *ἐπαρχία Καστορίας*, lying among the mountains a hundred miles west of Thessalonica. Sakellarios assigns it, on the basis of the mention of Junius Rufinus as the prefect in charge of the province, to the reign of Hadrian. The portion of the inscription which we have does not contain the name of the city to which it belonged, nor does our knowledge of the cities of that little-known region enable us to supply it. The political organization reflected in the inscription is somewhat peculiar. The decree itself is passed by the *πολείται* and *πολιτάρχης*, who are "of one mind." It is directed against the oppressions of the *ἐπαρχικοί*, who, though apparently not officials, seem to have some relation to the *ἐπαρχος*, Alexander the son of Leonidas (l. 2). The latter, however, is not the governor of Macedonia. This was Junius Rufinus (l. 47). Apparently, therefore, there is a threefold government—that of the *πολιτεία*, with the *πολιτάρχης* (ll. 24, 36, 40) at its head, a jurisdiction of some sort having an *ἐπαρχος* over it, but having no authority over the *πολιτεία*, and the regular provincial administration of which Junius Rufinus was at this time the *διέπων τὴν ἐπαρχίαν*. The inscription adds Orestis also to the districts of Lynkestis and Pelagonia to the north of it, in which this office existed. This is the only instance in which we learn of a city in Macedonia having *one* politarch.

## XIII.

Δῆμος Ἀμφιπολιτῶ[ν]  
 Γ[ναῖο]ν Δο[μί]τιον Γναίο[ν]  
 [υῖο]ν Αἰνόβαρβον τὸν εὐερ-  
 γέτην· πολειταρχούντων  
 [Φιλ]οκράτους τοῦ Φιλοκράτους  
 [Ἐ]πικράτους τοῦ Σερο[υιλί]ου (?)  
 [Θε]οδᾶ τοῦ . . .  
 Ἑρμοίου [τ]οῦ Ἀρπάλου  
 [Σ]αραπίωνος τοῦ Σαρα-  
 πίωνος

This inscription was found at the Byzantine tower of St. George,

situated on the right bank of the Strymon, on the site of ancient Amphipolis, to which city also the inscription pertains. It was first published by Paul Perdrizet in the *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, Athens, 1894, p. 419, and is copied by Dimitsas, p. 713, inscr. 886. It is believed by Perdrizet and Dimitsas to belong to the latter years of the Roman republic. Perdrizet says: "Un Cn. Domitius Cn. f. Ænobarbus fut légat en Macédoine l'an 585 de Rome (Tit. Liv. XLIV. 18), mais le caractère de l'écriture ne permet pas de l'identifier avec l'évergète honoré par les Amphipolitains; l'inscription semble en effet de la fin de la République." It is to be observed that it carries the evidence of the existence of this office to the east of Thessalonica, as those previously examined have carried it north and west. The number of the politarchs is the same as in Thessalonica in the days of Augustus.

## XIV.

Αὐτ]οκράτορι Καίσαρι  
 Σεβ]α]στῷ Θύεσπασιανῷ  
 ἡ πόλις  
 πολιτ]α]ρχούντων  
 ? τοῦ] Ἑρμογένους  
 . . . τοῦ Γεμέλλου

The above inscription is taken from Duchesne, *Archives*, p. 294. It is a fragment found at Trimiklava. It cannot, of course, be cited as evidence of the use of the word πολιταρχέω, since the letters essential to prove the occurrence of the word are conjecturally supplied. Yet it is interesting enough to justify its insertion. Duchesne says: "Je supplée πολιταρχούντων, mais on pourrait aussi admettre γυμνασιάρχούντων." The name of the city is missing in the third line, and there is no means of knowing certainly to what place it pertained. It is printed by Dimitsas as No. 683 (p. 576).

## XV.

σὺν πάσῃ [ἐπι]σκευῇ  
 πολιετάρχης καὶ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Τίτος Φλαούιος Μοντανὸς  
 s [ἐκ τῶν ιδί]ων

This inscription is from a collection made by M. Dumont on a journey in Thrace in 1868, and published by him in the *Archives des mis-*

sions sc. et litt., Series III, Vol. III, pp. 117-200, under the title "Inscriptions et monuments figurés de la Thrace." It is No. 41 in the collection, p. 131. It was found at Philippopolis, in the house of one Tsoukalas. There seems to be no more certain clue to the date than that afforded by the name Titus Flavius Montanus, suggesting the period of the Flavian emperors. The most interesting fact about this inscription is that it shows the existence of the office of politarch outside of Macedonia.

## XVI.

. . . . αρχην ΚΛ . . .  
 [. . . τη]ς λαμπροτά[της  
 μητροπόλ]εως Φιλιπ-  
 [πουπόλεως ἀδ]ελφὸν Γ . . . .  
 [. . . τ]οῦ συγκλη[τικοῦ]  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 τὸ κυνηγῶν  
 [κο]ιν[ὸν ἢ] λα  
 μπροτάτη φυλή ἡ . . . .  
 [ἐ]τίμησεν  
 ἐπιμελου[μένον Ἀσκλη]ηπιάδου τοῦ] Μενέφρονος.

This inscription, like the preceding, is from Philippopolis and was published (except the last four words) by Dumont in the same article with it (No. 42). Mordtmann refers to it on p. 298 of his article, "Mélanges d'épigraphie," in *Revue archéologique*, 1878, II, adding the last four words. It appears in Homolle's edition of Dumont, *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'épigraphie*, Paris, 1892, p. 335 (No. 42). The word πολιτάρχης is found only by restoration of the letters πολιτ at the beginning, which I understand Mordtmann to suggest, and which is not improbably correct.

## XVII.

Ἔτους αἱ ἐπὶ αὐτοκράτορος Νερούα Τραι-  
 ανοῦ Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ  
 Δακικοῦ, στρατηγούντων τῆς πόλεως  
 Σωσικλέους Δαφιλίως, Γ. Ἰουλίου Κιανοῦ,  
 Τι. Κλαυδίου Κλήμεντος, Δαφιλίους Σωκράτου,  
 Μοσχίωνος Μοσχίωνος, γραμματεύοντος Σω-

κράτους Σωκράτους, γυμνασιαρχούσης τῆς  
 πόλεως, ἐφηβαρχούντος Σωσικλείους Δαψιλέ  
 ως, τοῦ πρ[ώ]του ἀρχοντος, πολειτάρχου, ἱερέως  
 Ἑρακλέους, γυμνασ(ι)άρχου καὶ ἀγορανόμου,  
 ὑπογυμνασιαρχούντος Ζωίλου Ἑρμοδώρου,  
 κοσμητεύντος Σίμωνος Θράσωνος, τα-  
 μευτικῶν πρ(α)κτωρ Τειμόθεος Ζωίλου τὸν  
 τελαμῶνα ἀνέστησεν τῶν ἐφήβων.

This inscription, published by G. Radet in the *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* for 1891, pp. 481 ff., was communicated to him by Leopold Lucovich, of Ghemlek, which is believed to occupy the site of the ancient Kios in Bithynia (note the proper adjective Κιανοῦ in line 4). The inscription is dated for the eleventh year of Trajan, which is 109 A. D. In Bithynia, therefore, as well as in Macedonia and Thrace, the office of politarch existed in the period of the empire.

### XVIII.

Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ. Βασιλεύοντος βασιλέω[ς] Τιβερίω[υ] Ἰουλίου Τειράνου, φιλο-  
 καίσαρος καὶ φι[λο]ρωμαίου, εὐσεβοῦς, θεοῖς ἐπουραν[ί]οις, Διὶ Σωτῆρι καὶ  
 Ἑρμῇ Σωτείρᾳ [υ]π[έρ] βασιλέως Τειράνου νείκης καὶ αἰωνίας διαμονῆς καὶ  
 [Α]ιλίας βασιλίσ[σ]ης ἀνέστησαν τὸν τελαμῶνα [οἱ ἀρι]στοπυλῆται τοῖς ἰδίοις  
 θεοῖς καὶ εὐεργέταις ἱερατεύοντος τοῦ Ἰ Χορ[άρ]νου Αφροδεισίου, πρὶν λοχαγοῦ,  
 καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἀριστοπυλῆται Μενέστρατος . . . . σ . . . μφλί[ου] ἐπὶ τῆς βασι-  
 λείας καὶ ἐπὶ Θεοδ[ο]σί[ας], Φάνης Σακλέως χειλιάρχης καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν Ἀσπουρ-  
 γιάνων, Φάνης Ἀγαθ[οῦ] ἀρχιγραμματεὺς, Χαρίτων Νεικηφόρου λοχαγός,  
 Φιλανοῦς Θεαγ[γ]έλου πρὶν πολ[ι]τάρχης, Λειμὼν Δαφρίδα πολειτάρχης [ὁ  
 υ]ῖος Μενεστράτου, Ἐρως Ῥαδαμάσσεως πρὶν ἐπὶ τῶν λόγων, [Ψ]υχαρίων  
 [Σ]ό[β]ου ἐπὶ τῶν λόγων, Ψ[υχα]ρίων Ἑρακλ[εῖ]δα, . . . . .

This inscription, pertaining to Panticapæum (now called Kertch), in the kingdom of the Bosphorus, was published by Boeckh in the *Archæologische Zeitung*, 1847, p. 60; by Aschik in his *Regnum Bosporanum* (in the Russian language), 1848, Vol. I, p. 109, inscr. 40; by LeBas, *Voyage*, etc., Partie III, Section VIII, No. 1576; by Stephani, in the *Antiquités du Bosphore cimmérien, conservées au Musée Impérial de l'Ermitage*, Tome deuxième, St. Petersburg, 1854, inscription XVIII; and independently by Latyshev, *Inscriptions Regni Bosporani*, St. Petersburg, 1890, p. 25, inscr. 29. The stone on which it is inscribed is described as "Grand piédestal en marbre blanc, trouvé à Kertch en

1843, orné d'inscriptions de trois côtés" (Stephani). It is now in the Imperial Museum at St. Petersburg, whither it was removed in 1843.

According to the statement of the inscription itself, the monument was erected to Jupiter Soter and Juno Soteira in honor of King Tiberius Julius Teiranes, who is shown by coins to have reigned from 276 A. D. to 279,<sup>80</sup> and of his queen Ælia, otherwise unknown.

## XIX.

Πεντήκον[τ]α τριῶν ἐτέων κύκλον [ἐξ]ανύσαντα  
 αὐτὸς ὁ πανδαμάτωρ ἤρπασεν εἰς ἄδην  
 ὃ χθὼν ἀμμοφανής, ὅλον δέμας ἀμφικαλύπτει  
 Ἀββα[ί]ου ψυχῆς τοῦ μακαριστοτάτου  
 οὐκ ἀγέραςτος ἔφν γὰρ ἀνὰ πτόλιν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀρχῇ  
 πανδήμῳ ἐθνικῇ ἐστρέφετ' ἐν σοφίᾳ  
 δισσωὼν γάρ τε τόπων πολιταρχῶν αὐτὸς ἐτείμω,  
 τὴν διμερῇ δαπάνῃ ἐξανύσας χάρισιν  
 πάντα δέ σοι, ἐπέοιχ' ὅσα τοι, ψυχῇ, πρὶν ἐκρύβ[η]ς  
 καὶ τέκνων ἀγαθῶν αὐ[ξάνου] ἐν γενεῇ.  
 ἀλλὰ σύ, ὃ παροδεῖτα, ἰδὼν ἀγαθοῦ τάφον ἀνδρός,  
 τ]όν[δ]ε κατευφημῶν [τ]οῖα φράσας ἄπιθι.  
 "γαίαν ἔχους ἐλαφρὰν εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον."

This inscription is given by Kaibel, *Epigrammata Græca ex Lapidibus Conlecta*, Berlin, 1878, under No. 430. He derived it from Miller, *Revue archéologique*, 1874 (I), p. 150. The text is printed as amended by Kaibel. It is assigned by him to the third or fourth century (A. D.). The word *πολιταρχῶν* in line 7 is cited by Liddell and Scott under *πολιτάρχης*, who evidently, therefore, regard it as a genitive plural. But it is far more probable that it is a nominative singular of the present participle of the verb *πολιταρχέω*; and that the line should be read, not "He himself was honored by politarchs of two cities," but "He was himself honored in being politarch of two cities." In the statistics that follow I treat this form as a participle.

To this list of inscriptions which we are able to reproduce more or less fully, we may add on the authority of Déthier (E. Φ. Σ., τομ. Δ, p. 95) that the island of Paros had politarchs. He says: "Κατωτέρω

<sup>80</sup> See LATYSHEV, pp. lii, liii.



θέλομεν ἰδεῖ ὅτι καὶ ἡ νῆσος Πάρος εἶχεν ἐπίσης πολιτάρχους." But this promise is not fulfilled in the article in which it is made, nor have I been able to discover its fulfilment elsewhere.<sup>22</sup>

The result of our examination of these inscriptions may be summed up as follows :

1. There are in all seventeen known inscriptions which attest the existence of the office of politarch in ancient cities, to which two more may be added if we accept somewhat probable restorations of them.

2. Of these nineteen passages, eleven contain the verb *πολιταρχέω* (or *πολειταρχέω*), always in the present participle and, with three exceptions, in the genitive plural, *πολι(ει)ταρχούντων*. Seven inscriptions contain the noun, four of them having one instance each, two of them two instances each, and one of them three instances, making eleven in all. There is no sufficient clue for determining whether V contained a noun or a verb. Of the eleven instances of the noun, three are in the nom. sing., one in the gen. sing., two in the dat. sing., two in the acc. sing., one in the nom. plur., and two in the gen. plur. These forms are such as to leave no doubt that the noun was of the first declension, as is clearly indicated by the nom. sing. (XV), dat. sing. (XII), acc. sing. (XII, XVI), nom. plur. (VIII). While the gen. plur. in IX might, of course, be from *πολίταρχος*, the same form evidently is of the first declension in VII, and there is no reason to assume that it is different in IX. The only really doubtful form is *πολειτάρχου* in XVII, the only inscription from Asia Minor. The presumption, however, is that *πολιτάρχης* rather than *πολίταρχος* was used in Bithynia, as in Thrace and the Regnum Bosporanum.

3. There is, as was to be expected, itacistic variation between *ει* and *ι* in the second syllable of both noun and verb. Apparently the verb is spelled with *ει* four times and with *ι* seven

<sup>22</sup> My colleague, Dr. W. Muss-Arnolt, has called my attention to the fact that in an inscription of Lebadea in Boeotia, given by Boeckh, *C. I. G.*, Vol. I, inscr. 1571, the word *πολειτάρχον* occurs in line 12, according to Boeckh's emendation. But Dittenberger, *Inscriptiones Graecae* (p. 544, inscr. 3054), reads *πολεμάρχον*, which is doubtless correct.

times; the noun with *αι* in four inscriptions and with *ι* in two. Three forms cannot be assigned.

4. As to geographical distribution, Nos. I, II, III, IV, V belong without much doubt to Thessalonica. No. VI is now in Thessalonica, but in all probability came originally from some point outside the city. Not improbably it refers to the politarchs of Pella. Nos. VII, VIII, IX, X, XI, XII, XIII, XIV are certainly from Macedonian cities other than Thessalonica; three of them contain the name of the city to which they belonged, and two of them that of the district. We have thirteen Macedonian inscriptions, five of which pertain to Thessalonica. Beside these thirteen, No. XIV, in which the word *πολιταρχούντων* is present only by restoration, was also found in Macedonia. Nos. XV and XVI are from Philippopolis in Thrace, No. XVII from Bithynia in Asia Minor, No. XVIII from the kingdom of the Bosphorus, and No. XIX from Egypt. From Greece proper none have apparently been discovered, and there is no reason to believe that the office existed south of Macedonia (Perdrizet, *op. cit.*).

5. As respects date, it will be convenient to speak of those from each place separately. Of the inscriptions that pertain to Thessalonica one (II) is, by its own statement, from the reign of Augustus; one (III) belongs to the year 143 A. D.; No. V cannot be dated at all; and Nos. I and IV contain no statement of their time; but if the argument presented in this article is correct, I is later than 30 B. C., and may be as late as 143 A. D., or even later, and IV is not later than 143 A. D., and may be we know not how early. Of the other Macedonian inscriptions, No. VI, which is perhaps from Pella, has a date corresponding to the year 46 A. D.; No. VII, from Lete, belongs to the year 117 B. C.; No. VIII, from Edessa, is assigned by Duchesne, though on a conjectural emendation of the text, to 231 A. D.; No. IX, which came from Derriopus, apparently belongs to the year 97 A. D. The dates of Nos. X, XIV, and XVI cannot be determined; nor can definite dates be assigned for XI, XII, and XIII. No. XV, from Philippopolis, is apparently from the latter part of the first century. No. XVII, from Kios in

Bithynia, is dated 109 A. D. The Crimean inscription, XVIII, is from the last part of the third century A. D., and the one from Egypt, XIX, is assigned by Kaibel, on palæographic grounds, to the third or fourth century.

It thus appears that we have definite monumental evidence that Thessalonica had politarchs from the reign of Augustus to that of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius, or, in round numbers, from the beginning of the first century to the middle of the second; we know of the office as existing in at least three other cities of Macedonia—Amphipolis, Lete, and Derriopus, to which may probably be added Pella, Edessa, and three unnamed cities in Pelagonia, Lynkestis, and Orestis. The oldest that is definitely dated is from 117 B. C., though one or two inscriptions are quite possibly older than this. The latest is probably from the third century A. D. Outside Macedonia we find the office in existence in Thrace in the first (?) Christian century, in Bithynia at the beginning of the second century, in the Regnum Bosporanum in the third century A. D., and held (we know not where) by one who died in Egypt probably in the third or fourth century A. D.

6. As respects the number of politarchs in any city, Thessalonica had five in the reign of Augustus and six in that of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius. It is probably safe to assume that it had either five or six in the New Testament period. Of the other Macedonian cities, Amphipolis had five, and, if inscription VI is from Pella, that city had two. The inscriptions from Edessa and Derriopus give no information of the number, except that the officers are always spoken of in the plural. In the case of Edessa and Derriopus the phrase *οἱ περὶ . . . οὐ* is used, which, if it means, as Mr. Hicks suggests, the colleagues of ———, seems to show that the politarchs were not less than three in number. Apparently, therefore, in all these cities there was a plurality of politarchs. The inscription from Orestis, on the other hand, speaks of but one, and implies that the office was singular (*cf.* also X), while that from Lynkestis, though using the participle in the singular, gives no decisive indication whether in the city to which it per-

tained the office was held by one or more persons. Of the non-Macedonian inscriptions all are similarly indecisive except XVII, which seems clearly to indicate the existence of one politarch in Kios. Here, however, there is also a *πρῶτος ἄρχων*, which implies that the politarch in Bithynia occupied a different position from that of the Macedonian politarch.

As respects the further information contained in these inscriptions concerning the political organization of Macedonian cities, I cannot do better than to reproduce the statements of Duchesne and Perdrizet, which require modification only by the elimination of the inference that Thessalonica had two politarchs in 46 A. D., which is based on the erroneous assignment of the inscription of that year to Thessalonica, and of the implication or assertion that Macedonian cities always had a plurality of politarchs, which is rendered doubtful, if not actually disproved, by inscriptions X and XII. Duchesne and Perdrizet differ slightly, it will be observed, respecting the date at which the office first came into existence :

“Jusque-là sa constitution nous apparaît composée des éléments suivants : 1° une assemblée populaire (*δῆμος*) ; 2° un conseil (*βουλή*), chargé sans doute, comme celui de Lété, de préparer les lois et décrets pour l'assemblée du peuple (*προβουλευεσθαι*) ; 3° un collège de magistrats appelés politarques (*πολιτάρχαι*), chargés de l'administration ; leur nombre varie : on en trouve six dans l'inscription de la porte du Vardar et dans celle des jeux de gladiateurs qui semblent être, l'une comme l'autre, de l'époque Antonine ; celle de M. Vidal Lablache n'en mentionne que deux, la nôtre [No. III] cinq ; 4° un trésorier de la ville (*ταμίης τῆς πόλεως*).

“Cette constitution n'est pas particulière à Thessalonique ; nous en retrouvons les éléments dans plusieurs autres villes de Macédoine, et il est à croire que de nouvelles découvertes permettront d'affirmer qu'elle était en vigueur dans toute la province. A Derriopos, il y a un conseil et des politarques. A Édesse, dont le conseil était connu depuis long temps, on vient de retrouver une inscription qui mentionne des politarques [our No. VIII]. Enfin, la stèle de Lété . . . . contient un décret

de cette ville, proposé à l'assemblée du peuple par les politarques, après délibération du conseil; le trésorier de la ville y figure aussi. Les textes qui mentionnaient des politarques étaient tous de l'époque impériale; le décret de Lété étant daté de l'an 117 avant notre ère, il faudra faire remonter cette organisation des cités macédoniennes au moins à la réduction de la Macédoine en province romaine. Rien ne prouve même qu'elle ne soit pas plus ancienne." (Duchesne, *op. cit.*, p. 211.)

"Les documents épigraphiques amènent à croire que les cités de Macédoine étaient organisées de même; et cette organisation commune est caractérisée par l'existence dans chaque ville d'un collège de politarques.

"La question est encore pendante de savoir si les politarques sont d'institution très ancienne . . . . Il faut avouer que pour ce qui est du moins de la constitution des villes avant l'époque romaine, nous ne savons absolument rien. Ce qui est sûr c'est qu'on ne trouve point de politarques dans la Grèce propre. . . . Encore doit-on dire que ni à Philippopolis, ni à Kios, ni à Panticapée il ne semble y avoir en plus d'un politarque à la fois, tandis qu'en Macédoine les politarques forment toujours des collèges.

"Il est difficile de croire que l'uniformité des constitutions macédoniennes ne soit pas l'œuvre d'une même volonté, l'effet d'un même dessein. Si cette opinion est vraie, il ne semble pas qu'on puisse beaucoup hésiter sur l'époque à laquelle il convient de rapporter l'organisation municipale de la Macédoine: sans doute, c'est l'année 168, où Paul-Émile promulgua son fameuse édit." (Perdrizet, *op. cit.*, pp. 421, 422.)

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## INCIDENTS IN THE INCEPTION OF THE OLD CATHOLIC MOVEMENT.

FROM the beginning of December, 1856, to the autumn of 1862 I was resident with my family in the city of Munich, Bavaria, and witnessed some exciting occurrences there, an account of which may be of interest to the readers of Professor Beyschlag's article on "The Old Catholic Movement," pp. 481-526 of this number of the AMERICAN JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY. It may have been little known beyond the city of Munich how Dr. Döllinger came to deliver the discourses which began his breach with the papacy.

Munich was doubtless the most conservative of the larger cities of Germany. The people were all Roman Catholics, except one Lutheran church, and it seems to have been the determination of the leaders of society there that the spirit of social progress which was fermenting everywhere else should have no admission into that city. But the

king, Maximilian II, had, in 1853, called Baron von Liebig, then, perhaps, the world's most noted chemist, to the directorship of the laboratory of the Bavarian Royal Academy of Sciences. Liebig's name was such that he ventured to offend Munich's social conservatism by opening in the auditorium of his laboratory a series of popular scientific lectures, which ladies were invited to attend. So fixed, however, was the feeling of the old conservative leaders of society that few of the professors of the university could be persuaded to stem its current by taking places in the lecture courses, and Liebig had at first to deliver most of the lectures himself. But in a few years the effort triumphed, both the Protestant and the more liberal Catholic professors were brought into the service, and in the spring of 1861 leading Catholic ladies felt moved to get up something which, without prejudice to their conservative position, should show that they were not asleep to matters of public interest. They were to have a course of lectures. These were, however, to be distinguished from those started by Liebig in that they were all to be on religious topics. Döllinger was to deliver several of the course; these alone concern my present purpose, and alone will be mentioned.

My family was at the time in Switzerland, and I was taking my dinners at the Hotel zu den vier Jahrzeiten. One day at the usual hour of dinner I noticed that the seats were half vacant, a fact which was soon explained by the rush of the absentees into the hall. They had been to hear Döllinger's first lecture, of which I had failed to see the notice. The talk of those coming in was loud and excited, and the excitement soon spread to those who had not heard the discourse. The chaplain of the British legation sat next to me. He had attended the lecture, and, though he could not understand German, he had caught from the agitation around him the spirit of the occasion. The excitement was such that language was of little account. It spread without the use of words, and that in the dining-hall was but a miniature of what was taking place in the streets, as those who had heard the lecture spoke of its contents to those whom they met. I procured tickets for the course, and the next day such was the crowd gathered in the "Odeon" before twelve o'clock at noon—for that was the hour of the delivery—that the lecturer repeated substantially the preceding lecture.

Soon after the delivery of the lectures I reported to the *Watchman*, of Boston, their substance, and in 1878, I think it was, when Döllinger had just attained to the age of seventy-nine years, I sketched my



impressions of him and of the scene described above for the *New York Independent*. I shall not here treat of the contents of the lectures further than to add that, while there was nothing in the spirit of the lecturer that should have been offensive to the pope, they were free utterances of convictions, and showed no endeavor to slip easily around the difficult questions which had been quietly entertained, but had not yet burst forth into utterance from seats of authority. As chief specimens of these I mention the temporal power of the pope, and Austria's controlling position in the affairs of Italy. The lecturer said that a territorial jurisdiction was not a necessity to the papacy; that it had been disputed during most of the period of its existence, that it had never enjoyed more than two centuries of unquestioned sway, that it was then again in question, and that the papacy would be better off without it. He applied the same principle to the bishops, referring to the times when all the German bishops felt that they must have a territorial jurisdiction, which he declared to have been embarrassing rather than helpful to the discharge of their spiritual functions. In regard to the future of Italy, Dr. Döllinger spoke of five possibilities and did not hesitate to say that the worst of these would be the continuance of Austrian rule there. He spoke freely of the hostile feeling existing between Catholics and Protestants as one which should not be entertained, and acknowledged his own error in this respect.

A noticeable episode of the occasion grew out of the presence of the cardinal nuncio, Prince Chigi. It was said that he did not understand German—his secretary who sat near him doubtless hinted to him what the lecturer was saying—and at least he rose, swung his scarlet robe somewhat spitefully out of the hall, and went, as was said, to the minister of foreign affairs to protest against the permission to deliver lectures of such import.

At the risk of being deemed to have traveled beyond the range of my subject, I bring in here an incident having a feature personal to myself. The lecturer referred to the embarrassment which Christian missions had experienced in countries where polygamy prevailed, and added that the institution of slavery in America was equivalent to polygamy, in that it permitted to slaveholders the control over the persons of their slaves. On this utterance the wife of the British ambassador, who sat facing me on the opposite side of the hall, gave a significant nod to indicate that I might accept that remark as my part of the lecture.

I saw a gentleman in the hall whom I knew to be a courtier and

connected with the palace, and I had scarcely reached the street when I saw him walking with the king, and knew at once that he had been sent to hear the lecture and report its tenor to his majesty. The government did not interfere with the delivery of the lectures. Indeed, the king was known to be not only a liberal-minded, but an honest, religious man, who sometimes sought spiritual counsel from the chief Protestant pastor, to whose church the queen belonged.

Another man in Munich who had been my most frequent visitor during my residence in that city, and who was afterwards intimately associated with Döllinger in his work of reform, calls for some notice here, and the issue of such notice will concur with Dr. Beyschlag's article in its pictures of oppression and chicanery. I refer to Professor Johannes Huber. This young man, at the time about twenty-five years of age, had prepared himself for the Roman Catholic priesthood, and yet did not enter it, for the apparent reason that it was not to his taste, and because he aspired to a career in philosophy. Mr. Huber was one of those strictly honest men who do not readily learn that it is sometimes unsafe to utter one's convictions. He had ventured to criticise some Jesuit production, and had thus made his own position uncomfortable. But his critical articles had attracted attention to him, and led a professor in the university, himself a Roman Catholic, to propose to Huber that he offer himself as a candidate for the degree of doctor of philosophy, which he did, and published as his thesis a volume on John Scotus Erigena. Soon after obtaining his doctorate he published a volume, entitled *Die Philosophie der Kirchenväter*, which subjected him to papal censure. He was summoned to appear before the nuncio in Munich, and came from the interview directly to my house to report the issue, which was that he was required to abjure the offensive passages. He asked to have these passages pointed out to him, so that he might reconsider them, promising to abjure them if, on a careful reconsideration, he should find his views untenable. He was told in reply to his request that he must first submit himself to the holy father and would then be taught. He declared his inability to renounce any views he had expressed until he should have been informed what they were, and should himself have found them untrue. There the matter ended.

Nor do I mention it as a matter to boast of that I contributed essentially, if not chiefly, to Huber's appointment to a professorship in the University of Munich. I had become intimate with Baron v. Liebig, partly through mutual services we had rendered to each other. Espe-

cially on one occasion a public letter was addressed to him by Alderman Mechi, of London, having reference to his great service to organic chemistry as applied to agriculture. He asked me to find him a translator, which, after considerable effort, I failed to bring about to his satisfaction, and offered to do the work myself, which was what he desired. The article, which was of several columns, appeared in the *Times*, and with it a long and highly complimentary editorial. Huber had told me the story of his ill-treatment in the efforts made to secure a place. I repeated the same to Liebig, and was assured in reply that the matter should be looked into and set right, which was done, and Huber soon had a place in the philosophical faculty of the university.

There are other points in relation to Huber which may, to the advantage of American readers, be placed by the side of Dr. Beyschlag's graphic details of hierarchal management. He came once to my house and asked for small contributions from me and other Americans residing near to aid a young man, of whom he told us that he had known him as a younger pupil in a school for the education of boys for the priesthood. This boy had an older brother. The father was a small peasant farmer, and desired that the older son should have the farm, and, in order to bring this about, he and the other son placed the boy in a school to be educated for the priesthood. In such school, and through the whole course preparatory to the priesthood, the education was free. Thus both boys would be provided for. But the little fellow had no desire to be a priest, and ran away. His life was threatened in case he did not remain in the school. On one occasion of flight sickness drove him back to school. Finally, grown up and educated, he fled, determined never to return to the seminary, and came to Munich in quest of employment. It was now that Huber applied to us to aid him. But the young man had little need of aid. Before he had exhausted the few florins secured, he had a place as tutor in the family of a nobleman, and I often afterwards met him walking in the English garden with the two boys of his charge. I do not know just how common such instances are, but suppose that, with perhaps less violence, they are of very frequent occurrence.

But another class of cases, slightly different, are of almost unlimited frequency. I refer to orphan, foundling, and illegitimate boys. If these are of Catholic parentage they can be made almost sure to the ranks of the priesthood. There are none to reclaim them, and if they are of the order of mind to be used in this way, they can be educated so strictly to their duties as never to think of any other way

of earning a living. The chances of their running away are small. This is almost inconceivable in our country, where the choice of a profession is perhaps nearly as free among Roman Catholics as among Protestants. How large a force this makes possible in Catholic countries may be judged by considering the relative numbers of illegitimate births in Munich and Vienna. And in case of these, and also of legitimate births in mixed marriages, there is a race between the clergy of the confessions as to which shall be first on hand to secure an infant accession to their flock, and as determined at the font the child is likely to remain for life.

Professor Huber's antecedents, as briefly sketched above, made him an easy convert to the first movement in the direction of Old Catholicism. As to his relations to Döllinger it will be somewhat decisive to observe that, when the work which Dr. Beyschlag calls *Janus* appeared, I observed afloat two opinions as to who the unnamed author might be. One of these made him Döllinger, the other Huber, and I wrote to Huber to know the truth. His reply was: "Döllinger wrote the larger, I the smaller portion, and I edited the whole." I understood at the time, but do not remember just what my authority was, that Döllinger was the nominal head of the movement in Munich, Huber the popular leader of the assemblies.

What work Mr. Huber ever did in the way of literature besides that mentioned above I do not know in full. He wrote a history of the Jesuits, which I have read, and Döllinger is understood to have pronounced it the best ever written of that order. He became somewhat known on this side of the Atlantic, and was called upon to contribute to our periodical literature, of which I only know this that he sent an article to Barnes' *International Review*, with his direction that I be employed in its translation. Soon after this he died, still a young man, so far as I can recollect, of about forty-three years.

That Döllinger, as Dr. Beyschlag represents, had for some time been descending from his ultramontane views is clear, and I pretend not to know whether he would have brought out so boldly his modified views but for the circumstances which drew out the lectures in 1861. It is not important. But such was the occasion of their first bold public utterance.

The cardinal, Prince Chigi, at the time papal nuncio at Munich, has been referred to, and at this distance of time, with none of the parties living, I deem it not out of place to mention another fact told me by Baron v. Liebig as well understood. When he arrived at Munich

as the accredited representative of the papacy, his household goods and stores, as always in case of ambassadors, were entered duty free. But among his stores there was wine to such amount that the duty on it would have amounted to 6,000 florins. This, of course, was not for domestic use, but was put into the market and sold, and the Bavarian exchequer was cheated out of 6,000 florins.

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## NOTE ON THE CANONICITY OF THE APOCALYPSE OF JOHN.

It is a well-known fact that in the second and third centuries of our era, before the necessity of a strict canon had been felt, the apocalypse of John found general, although by no means universal, acceptance in the churches of the East and West; in the fourth century, however, doubts of its acceptability were wider spread. The quarrel between the Montanists and Orthodox church tended to cast suspicion on the book in the minds of the enemies of Montanism, and the influence of the followers of Caius in the Orient was not inconsiderable. We know that the Syrian church was in doubt about 340 A. D.,<sup>1</sup> and the council of Laodicea in 363 A. D. failed to name the Apocalypse in the canon. The third council of Carthage, however, in 397 A. D. maintained the faith that the African church had always held by affirming the book's canonicity. Of the Christian writers of this century belonging to the church in Asia Minor, Syria, and Palestine, Eusebius left the question undecided (*H. E.*, III, 24, 18), while Cyril of Jerusalem, Chrysostom, and Gregorius Nazianzenus omitted it from their lists.<sup>2</sup> Epiphanius, bishop of Constantia in Cyprus, on the other hand, includes it, as well as the books of Wisdom (*Hær.*, 76, ed. Dindorf, III, 396).

In the light of these facts, a passage in the Homilies of St. Jerome, recently published for the first time in the *Anecdota Maredsolana*,<sup>3</sup> Vol. III, Pt. II, by Dom Morin, the learned presbyter of the Benedictine order at Maredsous, becomes especially interesting. Jerome is speaking in Bethlehem to a body of monks, at some point in the period 401-10 A. D., and in his discourse on Psalm 1 (p. 5, 20 ff., Morin)

<sup>1</sup> Cf. ZAHN, *Forschungen*, I, pp. 72 f.; II, pp. 281-6.

<sup>2</sup> The latter closes his list (MIGNE, *Patrol. Græca*, XXVII, 472 ff.) with the seven catholic epistles: 'Ἰούδα δ' ἐστὶν ἐβδόμη. Πάσας ἔχεις "Εἰ τις δὲ τούτων ἐκτός, οὐκ ἐν γρητολαῖς.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. this Journal, Vol. II, p. 420.

he says: "Legimus in Apocalypsi Johannis (quod *in istis provinciis non recipitur liber*, tamen scire debemus quoniam in occidente omni, et in aliis Fœnicis provinciis, et in Ægypto recipitur liber, et ecclesiasticus est: nam et veteres ecclesiastici viri, e quibus est Irenæus, et Polycarpus, et Dionysius, et alii Romani interpretes, de quibus est et Cyprianus sanctus, recipiunt librum et interpretantur) legimus ergo ibi: eqs." Again on Psalm 149 (p. 314, 6 ff., Morin): "Legimus in Apocalypsi Johannis, quæ in ecclesiis legitur et recipitur—neque enim inter apocryphas scripturas habetur, sed inter ecclesiasticas—eqs."

Inasmuch as Jerome, after the fashion of his time, not infrequently uses *iste* as a general demonstrative, equivalent to *hic*, *ille*, or *is*, a doubt might arise as to the exact meaning of the words *in istis provinciis*, if the context did not make it perfectly clear that Jerome means the country in which his auditors are living, that is, Palestine. His statement, then, accords with the evidence given by the silence of Cyril of Jerusalem, nearly half a century before. At the words *in aliis Fœnicis provinciis* we may fairly think of the church at Antioch and in Syria, yet it is hard to reconcile Jerome's statement with what we know of the Syrian church from other sources. While it is true that Theophilus, bishop of Antioch about 186 A. D., drew arguments from the Apocalypse in his writings against Hermogenes (Euseb., *H. E.*, IV, 24), Chrysostom, once presbyter of Antioch, as noted above, nowhere among his voluminous writings mentions the Apocalypse.<sup>4</sup> In Edessa the Peshito version continuously prevailed, and in neither class of the manuscripts of this version has the Apocalypse a place. Ephraem Syrus apparently quotes from it once in his Syrian works, but it is not necessary to suppose the book unknown because outside the accepted canon. One is at a loss, therefore, to understand Jerome's statement. We may suppose either that he spoke from insufficient knowledge, which is not impossible, or that a change had taken place, and that the church at Antioch, at least, accepted the book. Nearly a century and a half later Junilius wrote from Constantinople (*De partibus divinæ legis*, I, 4): "ceterum de Johannis Apocalypsi *apud orientales* admodum dubitatur . . ."

By his words *in Ægypto recipitur liber* Jerome must mean Alexandria, for the Apocalypse had no place in either the Memphitic or Thebaic versions. But in the second century Clement of Alexandria

<sup>4</sup> According to Suidas (*s. v.*), however, Chrysostom accepted the apocalypse as well as the three letters of John.

quotes from the book (*Paid.*, II, 10, 108; 12, 119; *Strom.*, VI, 13, 107, ὡς φησιν ἐν τῇ Ἀποκαλύψει Ἰωάννης); Origen accepted it (Euseb., *H. E.*, VI, 25, 9; *Comment. in Matthæum*, Migne, III, p. 1386; *Comment. in Joan.*, Migne, IV, p. 47, 117, φησιν οὖν ἐν τῇ Ἀποκαλύψει ὁ τοῦ Ζεβεδαίου Ἰωάννης); in the third century Dionysius of Alexandria — the Dionysius mentioned by Jerome in the passage quoted — regarded the Apocalypse as the work of an inspired man, although he rejected the Johannine authorship (Euseb., *H. E.*, III, 28, 3; VII, 25, 7).

Jerome's statement in regard to the West needs little comment, for the loyalty of the western church to the Apocalypse is well known, not simply of the church at Rome, but also in Africa, as noted above (*cf.* also *Versus Scribt. Sanct. in Catalogus Clarom.*, August., *De doctr. Christ.*, II, 12); presumably in Spain as well, where, early in the seventh century, Isidore includes the Apocalypse among the canonical books (Migne, 83, p. 155), and in Gaul, as the epistle of the Christians of Vienne (Euseb., *H. E.*, V, 1) and the statements of Irenæus (*c. Hær.*, V, 35, 2) show. In direct relation with Irenæus naturally stands Polycarp. This passage of Jerome gives us the only direct testimony we have as to Polycarp's attitude toward the Apocalypse. It is more than probable that Irenæus received his views from his master.

The Latin Fathers (*alii Romani interpretes*) to whom Jerome appeals for authority were unanimous in their acceptance of the Apocalypse. Cyprian, who alone is mentioned by name, frequently used it (*De opere et elem.*, 14, "audi in Apocalypsi Domini tui vocem," et passim); Tertullian names John as the author (*Adv. Marc.*, III, 14, "apostolus Johannes in Apocalypsi"); as well as Lactantius (*Ep.*, 42, "sicut docet Johannes in Revelatione"). The testimony of the Fathers is supported by the Canon Muratorianus. In short, in the West there was no suspicion against the canonicity of the Apocalypse.

Jerome's statements in the passages quoted are welcome, although they are largely of a confirmatory character. They establish the fact that at the opening of the fifth century the Apocalypse had not found acceptance in Jerusalem, and state explicitly Polycarp's attitude toward the book. Someone more versed in these questions than the present writer may be able to solve the difficulty in the words *in aliis Fœnicis provinciis*.

CLIFFORD HERSCHEL MOORE.

## RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE EMOTIONS. By TH. RIBOT,<sup>1</sup> Professor at the Collège de France, Editor of the *Revue Philosophique*. "The Contemporary Science Series." London: Walter Scott, Limited, 1897; New York: Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons. Pp. xix + 455. \$1.25.

THIS volume represents a highly laudable attempt to read order and continuity into the most chaotic and baffling of all psychic processes. Although M. Ribot possesses in full measure the distinctly Gallic freshness and lucidity of exposition, which always carries with it an air of novelty, the professional psychologist will nevertheless find here little that is radically new. Indeed, as applied to the coarser emotions, the fundamental thesis of the book was long ago rendered familiar by James and Lange. This, however, should in no wise detract from the credit due for the scholarly manner in which M. Ribot has marshaled his vast array of facts, and the suggestive ingenuity with which he has sought to trace in them the steady progress of evolution.

It will be strange if M. Ribot's doctrine does not strike some of his lay readers as startling and even shocking. The assertion that our emotions and feelings, to which we ordinarily ascribe the most intimately personal and spiritual character, are in reality the manifestations of the lowest and distinctly vegetative part of our animal nature, is likely to appear as a peculiarly insidious and repellent form of materialism.\* Now modern psychology has become accustomed to being anathematized as materialistic and has somewhat lost interest in denying the charge. The dominant psychological tendency is cer-

<sup>1</sup> Being a translation from the French, *Psychologie des Sentiments*, Paris, 1896. Of this fact, nowhere mentioned in the book, it would seem that the English publishers might properly have informed their readers.

\* Much ambiguity attaches to the use of the word "feeling." In its narrower psychological meaning, which is the one employed here, it applies to the agreeable or disagreeable *aspect* of any state of consciousness. In its wider use it is often almost synonymous with consciousness or thought, as in the expression "a feeling of obligation." The narrower use may be illustrated by the experience of an agreeable sound, the agreeableness constituting the feeling.



tainly toward a closer union with physiology, and the most definite expression of this tendency is probably embodied in the principle that the only self about which we can hope to obtain trustworthy knowledge is psycho-physical, a mind-and-body self. Let it not be forgotten that, whatever this doctrine may involve, even though it be so extreme a statement as the one just quoted from M. Ribot, it is still very far from what metaphysicians mean by materialism. To say that mind is merely a bi-product of the processes going on in matter is one thing. To say that our conscious experiences occur in connection with certain physiological events, without some reference to which they cannot be fully understood, is quite another thing. One position results in the apotheosis of matter. The other simply recognizes one of the most obvious of all facts, and proceeds without more ado to employ it wherever possible for the furtherance of knowledge. M. Ribot, adopting the habit of psychologists, conceives his proper business narrowly, and with no immediate concern for either the ethical or metaphysical implications of his doctrine, be they materialistic, idealistic, or what you will. Sketched in rudest outlines, his book runs as follows, always keeping close to its main problem—the verifiable facts and principles concerning the nature and development of the emotions.

The lowest forms of organisms manifest distinctly the two antagonistic tendencies of attraction and repulsion in the presence of certain substances. These rudimentary activities are the expressions of what Ribot calls organic sensibility, and constitute the forerunners of the first and vaguest forms of conscious experience, *i. e.*, the feelings of pleasure and pain. Feeling, in our author's opinion, therefore, unquestionably antedates the appearance of the most embryonic intellectual or cognitive processes. It is the internal conscious counterpart, the interpreter, so to speak, of the general welfare of the organism, reporting with pleasurable states when health and prosperity are experienced, with pain when disaster, great or small, supervenes. Never do the feelings alone and unassisted bring news of the outside, objective world. That is the sphere of sensation and perception. But before sensation and the intellectual processes make themselves apparent—either in the race or in the individual—we meet in the evolving life of feeling with the "primitive emotions," which Ribot describes as the equivalents in the affective life of the perceptions among the cognitive processes. That is to say, emotion is "a complex synthetic state essentially made up of produced or arrested movements, of organic modifications (in circulation, respiration, etc.), of an agree-

able or painful or mixed state of consciousness peculiar to each emotion. It is a phenomenon of sudden appearance and limited duration; it is always related to the preservation of the individual or the species—directly as regards primitive emotions, indirectly as regards derived emotions.”<sup>3</sup>

Of these primitive emotions, from which, in connection with various intellective elements, the complex emotions are developed, there are five—fear, anger, affection, egoistic emotion, occurring in several forms, and sexual emotion. These emotions all retain evidences of the pleasurable and painful states from which they have sprung, but the tendency of emotion is always to particularize and establish definite reactions in response to the specific needs of the individual or the race, whereas mere pleasure and pain tend toward vague general activities. The examination of these primitive emotions is made to lay bare, so far as possible, their actual origin in biological needs of one and another kind, their psychological and physiological characteristics, and, lastly, their abnormal or morbid developments. This is followed by an investigation of the more complex emotional conditions, such as the social, religious, and æsthetic sentiments, in connection with which M. Ribot introduces much interesting anthropological material. Lastly, the decay of the affective life is traced as it occurs under the conditions of progressive dementia and senility. As might be expected, the first emotions to disappear are those of greatest complexity, which are taken on relatively late, both as regards the race and the individual, while those which have been called primitive remain almost to the end as the companions of a merely vegetative form of existence.

In his radical severance of feeling from the intellective processes M. Ribot deliberately opposes himself to the opinion of a considerable number of the most distinguished psychologists, and it is at this point, therefore, that his book is likely to enlist most of criticism. The facts which he adduces in support of the historical primacy of feeling and its consequent separability from the cognitive states demonstrate beyond the shadow of a doubt the exceedingly vague and inchoate conditions characterizing primitive consciousness. But they fail with equal certainty to afford absolutely conclusive proof of what M. Ribot affirms, nor does he appear to appreciate quite fully and accurately the doctrine which he combats. Oddly enough, this psychological dualism is combined with a view of the interrelations of

<sup>3</sup>P. 12.

mind and body which, so far as we can judge from casual references, is essentially a positivistic monism.

JAMES ROWLAND ANGELL.

VEDANTA PHILOSOPHY: Lectures by the SWAMI VIVEKANANDA on Râja Yoga and Other Subjects. Copyrighted by Weed-Parsons Printing Co., 1897. New York: Henry J. Van Haagen, 1267 Broadway, Agent for the United States. Pp. 392, 8vo.

OF the 392 pages in this volume, 254 are reproduced without change from the volume noticed by us, Vol. II, pp. 402-5, of this Journal. The remaining 138 pages contain three lectures—the first on immortality, the second on *Bhakti*, or devotion, and the third on *Para-Bhakti*, or supreme devotion. There is no attempt to explain the Vedanta philosophy. This is the more to be regretted as there are two very distinct schools of the Vedanta philosophy, followers of the two great commentators, Sankara and Râmânûja—the one system being an extreme pantheism, the other a species of theism. The Swami quotes from both, as if a follower of both.

His lecture on "Immortality" is characterized by the same vagueness. His immortality is not defined. The steps by which he ascends to his conclusions are wordy, and the argument obscure. These seem to be the leading steps: First, all is "a continuous change," a never-ceasing circle or cycle of change—birth, growth, development, decay, death, birth, growth, etc.—true of man, beast, and tree, yea of all nature, animate and inanimate—one substance, one life. "The seed is becoming the plant." "It is the father that becomes the child."

The next step is that everything is indestructible. In one sense the body is immortal. The same combination of the dice ever recurs again and again; if persistently thrown, it will do so through all eternity. "Even the combination of physical forms is eternally repeated," as illustrated by the Chicago Ferris wheel with its ever-recurring loads of passengers. For "everything is in a circle, because a straight line, infinitely produced, becomes a circle."

The third step is simple enough: all souls and bodies belong to the cosmic life. It originated in God. The circle must be completed. *Ergo*, back to God we all must go.

Then everything that is a compound must sooner or later get back

to its component parts. The soul is not a compound. It is neither thought nor body, but the manufacturer of both. The mind is a compound, as the body is, and must dissolve; the soul never. But how know we that the soul is not a compound? Why, "Because everything that is a compound we must either see or imagine." The soul cannot be seen or imagined. "It will never die, because death is going back to the component parts, and that which was never a compound can never die. It will be sheer nonsense to say it dies. You are infinite, ever present, beyond all causation, ever free, never born and never die." Surely this is enough. "No," says the Babu, "one step more," then "a logical conclusion." Here it is: "If then we are beyond all law, we must be omniscient, ever blessed, all knowledge must be in us, and all power and all blessedness. . . . I am Existence Absolute, Bliss Absolute, Knowledge Absolute, I am He." From this the step is easy to immortality—nay more, the Swami concludes: "Silly fools tell you that you are sinners and [order you to] sit down in a corner and weep. Foolishness, wickedness, downright rascality to say you are sinners. You are all God." But according to the Babu's doctrine there is no sin, folly, wickedness, or rascality in any person or deed. All is *maya*, "illusion."

The second lecture, as we have said, is *Bhakti*, "love." And the lecturer illustrates his love by abusing in strong language those who differ from him. They are "charlatans," "mystery-mongers," "hideous fanatics," "a fanatical crew," "a howling fanatic," "instruments for the diffusion of hatred," "fools," "men who will mercilessly cheat widows and orphans, and do the vilest deeds for money, and are worse than any brute." This, we must add, in spite of the fact that they all are God.

The love, or *Bhakti*, here discussed is not God's love to us, or our love to the brethren, but man's love to God. This the Swami discusses at length as illustrated by the love of a son to his father or to his mother, or of a father or mother to their son; of a friend, comrade, or playfellow to his friend, comrade, or playfellow; or of a servant to his master, or a wife to her husband (in the Babu's eyes, so far as *Bhakti* is concerned, we are all women and God is our husband); or, still more horrible to relate, as that of a shameless woman for a clandestine lover, defying her own father and mother and lawful husband—as was done by the shepherdesses of Brinda in their unlawful love for Krishna. This last the Swami regards as the perfection of love. "Human language," says he, "cannot describe how Krishna was in the groves of Brinda,

how madly he was loved, how, at the sound of his voice, all rushed out to meet him, the ever-blessed Gopîs, forgetting everything, forgetting this world and its ties, its duties, its joys, and its sorrows"—that is, forgetting their own husbands and their children, and ran after this rake who had forsaken his own wife for these shameless women.

The Swami tells us that "the philosophers of India do not stop at the particulars, but cast a hurried glance at the particulars, and immediately start to find the generalized forms which will include all the particulars." Many illustrations of this way of dealing with the particulars might be culled from the three lectures before us. We give two of such generalizations in addition to those given above, and we are done. "Spiritual giants have been produced only in those systems of religion where there is an exuberant growth of rich mythology and ritualism," p. 266. "It is the horrible body-idea that breeds all the selfishness in the world," p. 318.

K. S. MACDONALD.

CALCUTTA.

**THE MYCENÆAN AGE:** A Study of the Monuments and Culture of Pre-Homeric Greece. By DR. CHRESTOS TSOUNTAS and J. IRVING MANATT, Ph.D., LL.D. With an Introduction by Dr. Dörpfeld. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1897. Pp. xxxi+417. \$6.

A CHRONICLE of one more splendid triumph of the spade, of the revelation of a new chapter of history in the earliest annals of that brilliant Greek life, made by a series of indefatigable, patient, and careful scholars, led by that prince of excavators, Schliemann—such is this admirably prepared and printed book, the joint work of a Greek archæologist and an American professor in Brown University, and illustrated from photographs taken by Professor Colwell, of Denison University.

Before the discoveries of Schliemann at Troy, Tiryns, and Mycenæ, our knowledge of earliest Greek history was limited to doubtful distillations from the rich flowers of epic tradition, or servile repetition of the guesses of ancient historians. Homer was thought to be the naïve singer of Hellenic childhood, a witness to the primitive life and thought of mankind, standing as he did upon the threshold of Greek history. Before him could be dimly discerned the shadowy outlines of the so-called "Pelagic age," when men offered "sacrifice on hill-

tops to the god of the sky," "a god without a name." All this afforded splendid hunting ground for theorists and word-spinners, whose books were as unedifying as they were prodigious in length and learning.

A little digging has changed all this. It is now known that Homer was a modern from the point of view of the passage of the centuries in Greece, that his poetry, instead of being naïve, rests on a carefully wrought technique, and that the civilization of his own age was one which, while being in some respects higher and more fruitful, was yet in other and important elements only a degenerate and decayed remnant of a more highly developed civilization that had reached its acme half a millennium before.

This epoch of Greek life is most fully illustrated in the material remains of it unearthed at Mycenæ and in its vicinity on the Argive plain. It is, therefore, called the Mycenæan age. City walls, castles, palaces, graves, and the skeletons of those laid in them, as well as the gems, the armor, the vessels of gold and silver buried with them, altars and images of deities, mosaics, sculpture, pottery of every shape and style, granaries and the grain which they contained, scepters, mirrors, playthings, gravestones, pillars—and time would fail us to enumerate the abundance and variety of the discoveries which have been made within the last twenty years since Schliemann proudly announced "that he had found the Royal Tombs, with their heroic tenants still masked in gold and their heroic equipage about them." Much has been done since that day both in enlarging the field of discovery and in the interpretation and classification of the discoveries—this latter often the most trying and unprofitable branch of the scholar's service to archæology. As the outcome of these two decades of work we may be said now to possess a new chapter, or rather several new chapters, of early Greek history, about which we are better informed than concerning several later chapters, even that which has to do with Homer himself. The results of all this activity are gathered up in organized and entertaining fashion in the pages of this volume.

It is not possible here, nor perhaps profitable, to tell the story of these fascinating chapters. They would introduce us to scenes of great activity on both sides of the Ægæan sea, to an earlier age of rude pottery, of graves of heaped stones (*tumuli*), of stone implements, of Cyclopæan masonry, whose remains are found in Cyprus and on the Cyclades as well as in Greece, and whose civilization, thus widely extended, shows that already the Greeks had taken to the sea. Another

chapter would unroll before us the Mycenæan age in all its splendor, when great kings ruled in majesty from Mycenæ and Troy, the brilliant achievements in architecture, in sculpture, in metal working, in the art of war, all testifying to an oriental influence, modifying and stimulating native powers, for the Phœnicians are now in the Ægæan. In another chapter we would see the reaction of the Mycenæan world against that Orient which sought to dominate it, a reaction whose history is partially recorded in the ruins of the sixth city of Troy and upon the walls of Egyptian temples. And yet another would reveal this great grand world in its decay and decline, about to fall before the oncoming Dorian host of the north.

From these monuments may be drawn also some indications of the religious life of the Greeks of that early time. Before the Homeric pantheon had been rounded out into that human-divine assembly gathered about Zeus on Mt. Olympus, the Greeks of Mycenæ had altars, offered sacrifices, worshiped an Aphrodite and Artemis, earth goddesses, whose images still remain to us, fantastic and hideously shapeless objects, testifying in the midst of that highly developed art to the conservatism of religion clinging to the sacred forms of an earlier and ruder age—typical of religious conservatism in every age. They revered and made offerings to their dead also, and, it seems quite probable, even sacrificed upon their graves human victims, slaves sent to serve their masters in the world below. Few if any temples were built, and they served as homes for the gods instead of seats for their worship. Religion was, it seems, behind the general progress of the period, as has been the case so often since, a state of things productive in innumerable instances of conflict and mortifying defeat for religion, yet also the occasion of many of its greatest triumphs, when an age in its onward march has fallen away from the higher ideals of a less brilliant past.

There is much that is interesting and instructive in this admirable record and reconstruction of the Mycenæan age. Many topics of difficulty, many delicate points of scholarship, are touched upon, whose settlement cannot yet be secured. But there is much more which all intelligent people can understand and enjoy, with which all well-informed people should make themselves acquainted. No more agreeable and trustworthy source of knowledge on the subject is attainable than this handsome volume.

GEORGE S. GOODSPEED.

LAUSANNE, SWITZERLAND.

AN ALEXANDRIAN EROTIC FRAGMENT, and other Greek Papyri, chiefly Ptolemaic. Edited by BERNARD P. GRENFELL, M.A. With one plate. Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1896. Pp. 129, small 4to.

THIS volume contains the text of seventy fragments of papyri, all but four of which were found by the editor himself in Egypt. Most of them are now in the possession of the British Museum and the Bodleian Library. They are grouped under five headings: A, "An Alexandrian Erotic Fragment and Three Fragments of Homer;" B, "Early Fragments of the Septuagint and Protevangelium;" C, "Papyri of the Ptolemaic Period;" D, "Papyri of the Roman Period;" E, "Papyri of the Byzantine Period."

As we should expect from a scholar who has had so large and creditable a part in the discovery, decipherment, and editing of the papyrus treasures which have been discovered in recent years, a scholar whose learning and ability have been amply shown in his publication of the "Revenue Laws of Ptolemy Philadelphus," the work of the editor of this book offers little ground for adverse criticism. A more ample commentary would have been welcome, but on the whole one can only commend the desire of Mr. Grenfell to give the texts themselves to the public with as little delay as possible.

The fragment of greatest literary interest is that which gives the book its principal title. It is a unique specimen of the erotic literature of the Hellenistic period, dating from the second century. One column of twenty-seven lines is preserved almost entire. It contains, as the editor describes it, "a kind of declamation in character, the lament of some Ariadne for her Theseus, written in half poetical, half rhetorical prose." The abandoned girl recalls the incidents of her love and desertion, and invokes "the kindly stars, and queenly night, partner of my love," to restore to her her lover. The tenderness and pathos of the poem vividly call to mind the deserted maiden of Theocritus.

The papyri of the Ptolemaic period, which constitute fully one-half of the fragments, are by far the most important of the contents of the book, clearing up several hitherto uncertain points in the history of the dynasty of the Ptolemies, and adding much to our knowledge of the social and economic conditions of Egypt during this period—a period on which our sources of reliable information have been scanty, and for which recent discoveries have done little. For example, the title of Eupator to a place in the list of kings between Epiphanes and



Philometor can no longer be disputed, though the ancient historians seem to know nothing about him. We learn also from the first complete list in Greek of the first ten Ptolemies (No. XXV) that the son of Philometor, called the young Philopator, was proclaimed king on the death of his father. He is ignored entirely by the Greek historians.

But space permits only to call attention to the valuable material for the historian which these documents contain, and to the curious items of human interest that meet one on almost every page, such as the spiteful letter of a lady named Artemis to a certain Serapion, informing him of the waywardness of his daughters (No. LIII). Bible students will be especially interested in the fragment of Ezekiel of the fourth century (No. V), with the exception of a small fragment of Isaiah the oldest text of the Septuagint extant, and in the vellum fragment of the Protevangelium of the fifth or sixth century, much older than the oldest manuscripts collated by Tischendorf. Of this Grenfell gives a collation with Tischendorf's text.

The volume is provided with useful indices: I, Proper Names; II, Place Names; III, Titles and Professions; IV, Symbols, and V, an extensive General Index of words.

EDWARD CAPPS.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

**THE DAWN OF MODERN GEOGRAPHY.** A History of Exploration and Geographical Science from the Conversion of the Roman Empire to A. D. 900, with an account of the achievements and writings of the early Christian, Arab, and Chinese travelers and students. With reproductions of the principal maps of the time. By C. RAYMOND BEAZLEY, M.A., F.R.G.S., etc. London: John Murray, 1897. Pp. xvi + 538, 8vo.

THE author attempts to discover what the world knew about itself in a geographical way from 300 to 900 A. D. The sources of his information are the writings (1) of Christian pilgrims, (2) of missionaries and traveling merchants, and (3) of theoretical geographers and map-makers. These he examines singly and at great length, giving a good résumé of the contents of their works and of the contribution which each made to the general stock of geographical knowledge. The Christian pilgrims were all led by sentiment, and although there were many of them and they wrote much about their journeys, they added little real knowledge. The purpose of their journey as well as their

frame of mind prevented their observing the things they must have seen. Miracles and marvels they record in great numbers, but they had no eyes for the things of this world. They serve only to show that for material progress, material and not sentimental ambitions are necessary. "It is the love and the hope of material gain, partly political or imperial, partly scientific, but, above all, commercial, which has been the motive power of our geographical, as of our industrial, revolution. The secrets of the present world have been disclosed to those who lived in the present; they have naturally been hidden from those who did not value the actual world around them." These "material ambitions" appeared with the beginning of the Norse invasions and have become more and more in evidence ever since: in the crusades, in the great period of voyage and discovery, and in the modern and industrial age. To the absurdities and curiosities of the pilgrims, and to the vagaries of Solinus and Cosmas, the author has added a chapter on the Arabic and Chinese geographers of the same period, who are shown to have been far in advance of Christian Europe in the amount of their knowledge, as well as in their scientific temper and attitude toward the subject. Mr. Beazley has indicated the plan of his further study, and we shall await with interest the promised volumes. OLIVER J. THATCHER.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

ELEMENTS OF THE SCIENCE OF RELIGION. Part I: *Morphological*. Being the *Gifford Lectures* delivered before the University of Edinburgh in 1896. By C. P. TIELE, Theol. D., Litt. D. (Bonon.), Hon. M. R. A. S., etc., Professor of the History and Philosophy of Religion in the University of Leyden. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1897. Pp. 312. \$2, net.

THIS first series of lectures by Professor Tiele will be warmly welcomed by all who know the author's high claims to distinction among authorities on the subject of the science of religion, though the perusal will do little more than whet their appetite for the second series, in which he promises to discuss the very essence of religion. At the close of the first lecture he maps out his subject: "As already pointed out, the task of our science is to make us acquainted with religion, to enable us to trace its life and growth, and thus to penetrate to its origin and inmost nature. Our study thus naturally divides itself into

two main parts—(1) the morphological, which is concerned with the constant changes of form resulting from an ever-progressing evolution; and (2) the ontological, which treats of the permanent elements in what is changing, the unalterable element in transient and ever-altering forms—in a word, the origin and the very nature and essence of religion. The first of these parts will be the subject of the present course. The ontological part will be reserved for the second course, and, if God vouchsafes me health and strength, will form the conclusion of the task I have today begun.”

This statement is sufficient to show, not only that the first part is introductory to the second, but that the second promises to be far more interesting than the first. For more than a quarter of a century Dr. Tiele has dealt publicly with the history of religions. As he says of himself, “I am nothing if not historical,” but he recognizes that the science of religion requires a broader foundation than history, and that by the historical method, as Dr. Flint puts it, we obtain only history. A mere historian is no more competent to understand and treat adequately of religion than a mere mathematician is to treat adequately of music, though he may consider himself competent because the laws of harmony are mathematical and he can compose music as a draughtsman can paint a portrait of the Madonna or the Christ. Historical research is, indeed, indispensable to the treatment of religion scientifically; and until it has collected and sifted all the materials, even so great a genius as Hegel can write a philosophy of religion with but indifferent success. But the work of critical, historical investigation has been carried on for the last half century with such diligence that the materials on which the science of religion must build have been collected; and we are anxious, the American public perhaps more so than the European, because of its characteristic eagerness and practical bent, to know what a well-trained, scientific, and reverent mind has to say regarding that which is unalterable, permanent, and final in religion. Tiele has, indeed, indicated his position in this volume more than once with sufficient clearness, but without presenting it in the form of reasoned argument. Here it is, for instance, in the last sentences of Lecture 7:

“Were I to express my full religious conviction, I should confess that true religion, the religion of humanity, has been revealed in Christ, a religion which creates ever new and higher forms, yet ever defective because they are human, and which thus develops more and more in and through humanity. But this is a matter of faith, and I must here maintain my purely scientific and impartial position. But even from

this point of view, and as the result of historic and philosophic investigation, I maintain that the appearance of Christianity inaugurated an entirely new epoch in the development of religions; that all the streams of the religious life of man, once separate, unite in it; and that religious development will henceforth consist in an ever higher realization of the principles of that religion."

Again at the close of the fifth lecture, or the first half of the volume, in the course of which he has traced, along lines familiar to all acquainted with his previous works, the development of religion from the lowest forms of nature religions to the higher nature religions and then to those which he terms "ethical-spiritualistic revelation-religions," the Christian group being the highest of these, he asks, "Is Christianity the highest conceivable religion?" Admitting that at best only a forecast can be made, he gives the following preliminary answer:

"Even those who, like myself, are convinced that the gospel, rightly understood, contains the eternal principles of true religion may well conceive that, besides the existing ethical religions, and probably from their bosom, others will yet be born which will do better and more complete justice to these principles, and which will then perhaps exhibit a somewhat different character from the religions we have termed ethical or supernaturalistic. Those who closely scan the age we now live in cannot be blind to the new aspirations which manifest themselves from time to time, and which enable us to form some idea of the character likely to be assumed by the newer forms. This is our general and preliminary answer to the weighty question. We shall, perhaps, be in a position to give a more definite answer after we have not only traced the gradations of religious development, but determined the different directions in which it moves."

By "direction of development" he understands "a spiritual current which sweeps along a single principle of religion or some fundamental religious idea, more or less regardless of others, to its extreme consequences;" and to this subject he devotes Lectures 6 and 7. The last three lectures are on "Laws of Development," "The Influence of the Individual in the Development of Religion," and "Essentials of the Development of Religion;" but he gives no fuller answer to the interesting question, "Is Christianity the highest conceivable religion?" than the one already quoted from the seventh lecture. His complete answer is properly reserved for the second series, in which we shall have the conclusions to which he has been led by life-

long special studies, conducted in the spirit of the scholar who, just because he is a Christian, is all the more faithful as a scientific man.

QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY,  
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G. M. GRANT.

CHRISTIANITY THE WORLD-RELIGION. Lectures delivered in India and Japan. By JOHN HENRY BARROWS, D.D. Vol. I. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1897. Pp. 412. \$1.50.

THIS comely volume has a historic interest apart from its main content. It is a fitting sequel to the Parliament of Religions held in Chicago in 1893. It is an answer from the West to the East. Mozoon-dar, the Hindoo, had asked that India should have a lectureship like that founded at the University of Chicago on "the relations of Christianity and the other religions." Here, before us, is the visible response. Very appropriately, this book contains an extract from the letter of Mrs. Caroline E. Haskell on founding the "Barrows lectureship," a preface from the lecturer, giving an account of his stewardship in travel as well as in utterance, and, in an appendix written by the missionary, Rev. R. A. Hume, D.D., and inserted by the publisher, we are told of the impressions made by this American orator in India and Japan.

In the presentation of his message Dr. Barrows continues in the spirit of that great conference of believing souls which in Chicago in 1893 gave a visible and impressive proof of man's hunger after the Infinite. He clothes his arguments in a form that seems at first too florid and rhetorical to suit a severe occidental taste, but then his auditors were orientals, who delight in the grandiose and who love poetical embellishment and sweeping figures of speech. There are seven lectures. In five of them the author, starting from the various circumstances of things universal—the world-wide aspects and effects, the universal philosophy and book—reaches the center of all in Christ, the universal man and savior. If, as we believe, propriety is the law of all discourse and the test of a sermon or book is its fitness to the audience to whom addressed, then we regard this message of a typical American Christian to his fellow-seekers after truth in the Orient as a signal success. The characteristic of the thinking of India—call it a merit or defect—is an absence of definiteness, of harmony with measured time or marked duration. It is too much like a fog that refuses proportion or symmetry, or like the ever-flowing Nile of olden days, whose sources were undiscovered and the causes of its fertilizing

overflow unknown. Underneath the rush of Dr. Barrows' oratory and fervid rhetoric is a constant appeal to verifiable facts. He does not shrink from exposing either the dark past or the unlovely present of much that has been and is still called Christianity, nor is he slow and cold in doing justice to the truth manifested and the good done within the non-Christian faiths. In Lecture VI he argues closely and pleads eloquently for the claims of Christianity to world-wide authority, because of its historic character. The last and longest chapter describes the Parliament of Religions. The text is enriched with notes, and the book has an index. Until we can get books written by Christian natives, who see their own minds, as well as their ancestral thought and history, from the point of view of Christianity, such a message as this is of the highest value in that grandest of all earthly hopes and enterprises—the unification of religion.

ITHACA, N. Y.

WM. ELLIOT GRIFFIS.

RELIGIONS OF PRIMITIVE PEOPLES. By DANIEL G. BRINTON, LL.D., etc. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1897. Pp. xi + 264, 12mo. \$1.50.

THIS is the second series of American lectures on the history of religions, corresponding somewhat to those on the Hibbert Foundation in England. The first series was by Professor Rhys Davids, and Dr. Brinton has proved a worthy successor of the lecturer on Buddhism.

The lectures are six in number. The first clears the ground by a statement of methods and material. The method is threefold—historical, gathering material; comparative, discovering what is local and what universal; and psychological, explaining phenomena by mental traits, either local or universal. The material includes archæological data, mythology, folk-lore, language, rites, customs, etc. Religion is universal, no tribe or race is without it. The second lecture deals with the origin and contents of primitive religions, and sets forth the belief of primitive peoples in the reality of the revelations made by shamans and those who lead them in religious exercises. In the evolution of religion, Dr. Brinton places much reliance upon the subconscious element of suggestion now coming to the front in psychological research. Lectures III, IV, and V discuss religious expression in the word, the object, and the rite. This leads to the consideration of the names of the gods, prayer to them, and prophecy and law from them, including the theogonic and cosmogonic myths; the varieties of gods of

fetichism, the higher powers of nature, worship of the elements, animals, plants, etc.; and the communal and personal rites, which include such matters as feasts, sacrifice, entrance upon puberty, marriage, burial, and mourning. The last lecture discusses the lines of development in early religions.

The book is an inspiration, and should be read alongside the posthumous work of Dr. Cust by every student taking up the study of comparative religion. The first lecture is indispensable. This work is thoroughly impartial, or, to put it another way, entirely scientific. Some will from this leap to the conclusion that it is, therefore, irreverent, but no greater mistake could be made. We rise from reading the book with renewed respect for man — even the lowest — in that he has ever been seeking God, if haply he might find him; and with deepened reverence for God, who has led man's developing capacities to an ever profounder appreciation of Himself. The author was known before as an authority on American religions; the present volume shows him an able guide in a larger territory.

After reading such a book as this and Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, the student may enter upon the study of the historic religions, but he should not do so until he has read one or the other, or both.

The volume has a full table of contents, a serviceable index, is in clear type on fairly good paper, is substantially bound, and has few typographical errors. It is an inexpensive book, worth having.

GEO. W. GILMORE.

BANGOR THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY,  
Maine.

OUTLINES OF THE HISTORY OF THE THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, from the Reformation to the Close of the Eighteenth Century. The *Bishop Paddock Lectures*, 1896-7. By JOHN DOWDEN, D.D., Bishop of Edinburgh. New York: E. & J. B. Young & Co.; London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1897. Pp. viii + 214. \$1.25.

THERE is no greater desideratum in theological literature than a history of English theology. What Dorner did for German theology some capable person should do for English, and earn lasting gratitude. And such a work must be carried out along the lines of the justly esteemed *History of Protestant Theology, particularly in Germany*. The development of theology in the English-speaking countries should be

presented according to its fundamental movement, and in connection with the religious, moral, and intellectual life of the English-speaking peoples.

It is but a small part of such a task that Dr. Dowden has undertaken. So far as it goes, the little book is well done. And in the great dearth of works of this kind, one must be thankful for any capable contribution to the subject. Bishop Dowden's *Outlines* only touch one feature of English theology, in England, for three centuries. The limitation of view is serious and crippling. To mainly confine attention to dogmatic theology and the defense of the Anglican position is to make it impossible to understand the labors of these Anglican churchmen themselves. Here and there a bit of keen insight or a telling phrase of terse criticism shows what might have been done upon another plan. As it is, we have an Anglican record of Anglican theologians, written for Anglicans, with sundry homiletic observations. The great currents of English religious thought, in their causes and their effects, in their rush and their subsidence, in their combinations, developments, divergences, are not described here. The great underlying unities of Christian conviction receive no emphasis. The true inwardness of much of the Anglican literature itself cannot come into view under such a method. The book partakes of all the virtues and vices of a family story told within the family. The inevitable result follows. Much of the important literature of English theology, from the Reformation to the close of the eighteenth century, is overlooked. Moreover, the literature described is often judged from a personal rather than a critical point of view. And yet again, the slightest possible aid is given toward the understanding of the currents of religious opinion visible at the commencement of the nineteenth century. The great names in Anglican theology deserve a more thorough and philosophical treatment.

Really, in these lectures we have little else than a tolerably full and popular and accurate *catalogue raisonné* of the theological writings successively called forth from the Episcopal church of England by the long controversy with Rome, by the constant struggle between the High Church and Low Church party, and by the ever-present necessity of defending the doctrine and practice of the "Thirty-nine Articles." It is curious that in the references to biblical scholarship no mention is made of Kennicott, or Blayney, or Parkhurst, or Bishop Fell's Greek Testament.

ALFRED CAVE.

HACKNEY COLLEGE,  
London, N. W.



DIE SPRÜCHE. Erklärt von D. G. WILDEBOER, Ord. Professor der Theologie in Groningen. Freiburg i. B.: Verlag von J. C. B. Mohr, 1897. Pp. xxiv + 95. Subscriptionspreis, M. 1.90; Einzelpreis, M. 2.50. [=Part XV of *Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament*, in Verbindung mit J. Benzinger, B. Bertholet, K. Budde, B. Duhm, H. Holzinger, G. Wildeboer, herausgegeben von Professor Dr. Karl Marti.]

THE chief difference between the series of commentaries on the Old Testament, of which this is the first volume, and that which has been coming out during the last few years under the editorship of Professor Nowack, is the absence from the former of a complete translation. It is assumed that readers of the *Kurzer Hand-Commentar* are supplied with the Revised Version in German, edited by Kautzsch, although acquaintance with that work is by no means indispensable. It also claims to be briefer than the other series, and to represent only one point of view, that which may be called "the religious-historical." In other words, it is the special aim of the general editor, Professor Marti, and his colleagues to exhibit the Hebrew Scriptures in their right setting and environment, in the belief that their incomparable beauty and preciousness will thus be more distinctly perceived and more warmly appreciated.

The work of Professor Wildeboer, which has been translated from Dutch into German by Dr. F. Risch and his brother, fits in exceedingly well with the idea of the series. It is strictly an exposition and represents the most advanced type of higher criticism. Its main purpose is clearly defined in the short preface, written in German by the author himself, in the following words: "Only let this one thing be noted, that it has been my principal endeavor to teach the book of Proverbs so that it shall be known and understood as the product of the last years of the Persian period of Israelitish history, and in part of the beginning of the Greek period." The theory is more fully stated in the introduction. The most important parts of the book are thought to date from the Persian period, very near its close; and the final editor must be assigned to the Greek period. The oldest portion is best dated in the fourth century. Chaps. 1-9, and the editing of the whole (with the exception, perhaps, of 31:10-31), may have been the work of a writer who flourished about the middle of the third century B. C. Chaps. 1-9 exhibit great similarity to Ecclesiasticus in spirit and tendency. Two writings which are so closely related cannot stand centuries apart. And it is very remarkable, observes our author, that the

writer of Ecclesiasticus, who wrote about 180 B. C., founds his encomium on the wisdom of Solomon solely on the account given in Kings. Was he not acquainted with the book of Proverbs under its present title, or did he question its accuracy? It must be allowed that the silence of the encomium is striking, but it is necessary to note a distinct reference to the book of Proverbs in the context. The description of Solomon in 47:12, as בֶּן מִשְׁפִּיל "an understanding son" (for, although the Hebrew text is uncertain in the first clause, Solomon must surely be referred to), can hardly be dissociated from Prov. 10:5, the only place in the Hebrew Scriptures in which the expression occurs. It should also be noticed that in our present text the proverb alluded to is found only a few lines below the heading "The Proverbs of Solomon."

It is not denied that there may be a *maschal* here and there of pre-exilic origin. Many of the sayings, for example, in chaps. 25-29, which as a whole, however, are considered younger than those in 10:1-22:16, are distinguished by their pithiness, figurative language, and originality of thought. They move but little in the sphere of religion, a circumstance which may point to pre-exilic authorship. Still, even in that case, there are exceptions to the rule.

The arguments advanced in support of this theory of a very late date are drawn from the language and the subject-matter. The former are grouped under four heads: *a*, late Hebraisms; *b*, Aramaisms; *c*, Grecisms; *d*, Arabisms. The last are admittedly of small value by themselves. "Arabisms may have intruded into Judah at a much earlier period." The Grecisms are very few in number and very inconclusive. One of them, the identification of the Hebrew word for yarn אֶמְרָן (7:16) with the Greek ὀθόνη, ὀθόνιον, is allowed to be nothing more than a possibility. Another, the use of שָׁמַע in the sense "to be known as," like ἀκούειν (21:28), is not recognized by most and is introduced in the commentary with "perhaps." The other two groups are much more important, but the lists given in the introduction need the closest scrutiny. The author is not quite consistent. Whilst in the introduction he refers to 13:24<sup>b</sup> as possibly, and 22:11<sup>b</sup> as certainly, illustrating the Aramaic idiom of a suffix followed by the substantive to which it refers, he explains the former passage quite differently in the commentary, and remarks of the other that the alleged Aramaism is possible, but need not be supposed. As for the late Hebraisms, which are all words or expressions, several, at least, are very doubtful. חֲנִיךְ, which is found in 8:27 and occurs elsewhere in the Bible only in Deutero-Isaiah and Job, is clearly a poetic word

which need not be of late introduction. It can be traced back to the sixth century and may have been in use long before. אֱלֹהִים, although probably much more recent than אֱלֹהִים, can hardly be described as late, when it is found in Psalm 18 and Deuteronomy. On the whole, the argument from language is not strong enough to carry conviction by itself. It is only fair to Professor Wildeboer to add that he is aware that it must not be pressed. "We need not," he writes, "make it by itself prove more than that linguistic reasons are not opposed to the assumption that our book was compiled in the fourth or third century, but much rather support it."

The argument from the subject-matter may be summed up in the remark that the whole spirit of the book leads us definitely to the time after the exile. Five characteristics, which are thought to point to this conclusion, are successively noticed: (1) The assumption throughout the book that monogamy is the general practice. (2) The entire absence of polemic against idolatry. (3) The universalistic standpoint. Religion is no longer a national matter, but entirely a concern of personal life. (4) The place of the law and the prophets. The wise men of our book start from them as sacred writings. (5) The class of wise men brought before us in this collection of sayings. There were, it is true, wise men before the exile, but they are not represented by the prophets in a favorable light. It was only after the exile that those were designated "wise" *par excellence* who were familiar with the law and knew how to explain it. These were at first far broader in their sympathies than the wise men of our Lord's day. The common belief that the whole of post-exilic Judaism was characterized by legality is rejected as one-sided. Professor Wildeboer maintains that it was only after the Maccabean period that Israel got into the channel of legalism and narrowed the application of the term "wise" to those skilled in the minute exposition of the halacha.

The whole argument is clever and interesting, and undoubtedly establishes a strong case for the compilation and editing of the book as we have it two centuries or more after the close of the exile, but it does not overthrow the probability that the earlier portions (10: 1—22: 16 and chaps. 25—29) contain a considerable amount of material from the age of the monarchy, including at least some proverbs from the pen of Solomon.

The commentary is concise and helpful. The different divisions are prefaced with short, pithy introductions, and the notes are careful and to the point. Those in search of a commentary of moderate size and cost on this difficult book will find here just what they need.

STUDIA SINAITICA, No. VI: A PALESTINIAN SYRIAC LECTIONARY, containing Lessons from the Pentateuch, Job, Proverbs, Prophets, Acts, and Epistles. Edited by AGNES SMITH LEWIS. With critical notes by Professor Eberhard Nestle, D.D., and a Glossary by Margaret D. Gibson. London: C. J. Clay & Sons; Cambridge University Press Warehouse, 1897. Pp. xli+139, 4to. 12s. 6d., *net*.

AS THE title states, this volume is in a large degree another product of the indefatigable scholarship of the two English ladies whose names will be ever associated with the Syriac version of the gospels discovered in the convent of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai. The manuscript of this lectionary was offered to Mrs. Lewis in Cairo, in the spring of 1895, by a dealer who alleged that he had obtained it in exchange for passage money from a Syrian family which had emigrated from the village of Rashuf in the Lebanon to America. A cursory glance showed that it was a biblical manuscript, and it, therefore, passed in a few minutes into the possession of Mrs. Lewis. It was found to be a Malkite lectionary, containing in its present mutilated form ninety-three lessons or parts of lessons from various parts of the Bible. They were not taken from an existing version of the whole Bible, but seem to have been translated specially for the lectionary, the Old Testament portions from the Septuagint.

The dialect is that form of Syriac which is most closely allied to the Aramaic of the Palestinian Talmud, and is, therefore, known as Palestinian. With the exception of the gospel lectionary first published by Count Miniscalchi Erizzo in 1861 and 1864, the present text, which fills 228 leaves of the manuscript and 135 quarto pages of the printed book, is the most copious source of information about this perplexing dialect at present known to exist.

The red-ink headings or rubrics prefixed to most of the lessons contain much curious matter. At least twelve of them are either positively inaccurate or confused. The old Malkite compiler must have been strangely ignorant or forgetful to assign the first eleven verses of the fifteenth chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians to the epistle to the Romans, and to describe a passage in the epistle to Titus as found in the epistle to Timothy. The name "Colossians" seems to have puzzled him, for we find it is represented by *Sluk(a)in*.

The number of noteworthy renderings and readings supplied by this lectionary is considerable. Those occurring in lessons from the Old Testament illustrate, of course, only the text of the Septuagint,

but the others illustrate the original. The text of the latter, so far as the Pauline epistles are concerned, agrees frequently, remarks Professor Nestle, whose critical notes are invaluable, with the Greek-Latin manuscripts D F G on the one hand, and the Syriac versions on the other.<sup>1</sup>

The linguistic value of the new find is very great. As Paul probably thought in Aramaic even when writing in Greek, these renderings of some of the most important parts of his epistles into a dialect very closely related to that which he used, if not substantially identical with it, may again and again shed light on his meaning. The fact, for instance, that *μεσίτης* or "mediator" is represented in this form of Aramaic by a word which means literally "a third one" may perhaps help to elucidate, as Professor Nestle suggests, the obscure clause of Gal. 3:20: "Now a mediator is not a mediator of one." Professor Nestle's note is too good to be omitted: "Where there is no second there is no mediator, that is, not a third one."

Light is shed also on problems in the gospels. The use of *Abba*, the exact significance of the much-debated expression "The Son of

<sup>1</sup> The following are a few of the many striking variations of text or translation in the New Testament lessons. The italics mark the peculiarity.

Acts 1:3, "To whom he also shewed himself alive by many *signs and wonders* during forty days." Notice the connection of the last words.—Acts 1:4, the Greek word *συναλιζόμενος* is distinctly translated as in the margin of the English Bible and the Peshitto: "eating with them."—Acts 2:29, "Brethren I may say unto you freely of the patriarch David that he both died and was buried and *is in* his grave with us unto this day." The Peshitto gives the reading with which we are familiar.—Jas. 1:5, 6, "But if any of you lacketh wisdom let him ask *the God of all* who giveth him liberally and upbraideth not and *it shall be given him what he asketh in faith*."—Rom. 1:1, "Called *and* an apostle."—Rom. 1:3, "Who was born of the seed *of the house of David according to the flesh*." A reading found also in the Peshitto and other Syriac authorities.—Rom. 3:26, "That he might himself be just and the justifier also *through the faith of Jesus Christ*."—Rom. 8:2, "For the law of the Spirit of life in *Jesus Christ* hath made *us* free from the law of sin and death."—Rom. 10:4, "Christ is the end of *God namely* of the law unto righteousness to everyone that believeth." "Does this mean: the divine end of the law is Christ?" is Professor Nestle's pertinent query.—Gal. 3:24, "So the law has been made *to us* a tutor (to bring us unto) *Jesus Christ*."—Gal. 4:6, "God sent forth the Spirit of his Son into our hearts crying *Abba our Father*."—Col. 1:18, "And he is the head of the *whole church*." Notice the omission of "the body."—1 Tim. 3:15-16, "The *holy* church of the living God which is the pillar and ground of the truth. And *we confess* that great is the mystery of godliness, etc." The second reading, *ὁμολογοῦμεν* for *ὁμολογουμένως*, was previously attested by one important authority, D. As observed in the introduction, it strengthens the view of those who hold the following passage to be an early form of creed.—Tit. 2:11, "For the grace of God *our Savior* hath appeared unto all men."

Some of these variations may be due to ignorance or carelessness, but they are all worthy of notice.

Man," and the possible Aramaic equivalent of *φρονίμως* in the master's comment on the behavior of the unrighteous steward in the parable (Luke 16:8)—a word meaning "kindly" instead of "wise" or "prudent"—are some of the points to which Professor Nestle has called attention.

The whole work is a very important contribution to biblical research. The two learned ladies and the German professor who have produced it have laid scholars under a great obligation. Is it asking too much to suggest an English translation of the Syriac texts?"

W. TAYLOR SMITH.

EXETER, ENGLAND.

EINLEITUNG IN DAS NEUE TESTAMENT. VON THEODOR ZAHN.  
I. Band. Leipzig: A. Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchh. Nachf.  
(Georg Böhme), 1897. Pp. viii + 489. M. 9.50.

THIS work must take its place at once as one of the standard textbooks on New Testament introduction, and can hardly fail to be regarded as the most important one from the conservative point of view. Professor Zahn's eminent scholarship is unquestioned, and the value of his investigations in the history of the New Testament canon is so fully recognized, even by those who differ radically from his conclusions, that his treatment of the problems of New Testament introduction will certainly attract, and as certainly reward, eager and close attention. Since the second volume will contain the treatment of matters just now most in dispute—the gospels, the Acts, the chronology—and comments on the recent works of Professors Harnack and Ramsay, it seems advisable to reserve criticism until the appearance of that volume. We shall, therefore, confine ourselves in this notice chiefly to a brief statement of some of the positions maintained in the present volume, which deals—after a preliminary chapter on the original language of the gospel, and the relative use of Aramaic and Greek by Jews in New Testament times—with the epistles of James and Paul.

The *Epistle of James* was addressed to Christianity as a whole at a time when the whole was Jewish Christianity. Neither heathen ancestry nor heathen surroundings (idolatry, unchastity, etc.) are suggested. The sins condemned are the inherited faults of Jews (1:21), such as Jesus found in the Pharisees. Silence as to the binding validity of the Mosaic law, and the unembarrassed union of the law of liberty with

\* At the request of the publishers, Messrs. C. J. Clay & Sons, the editors call attention to a page of *corrigenda*, to the *Palestinian Syriac Lectionary*, sent to them a few days ago.

justification by works, point to a time before the controversy between Paul and the Judaizers, hence before 50 A. D. The book was written by James, the brother of Jesus. "His manner of thought and speech shows a resemblance to the discourses of his brother, Jesus, which seems the more to rest on a natural relationship because James stood so little under the educating influence of Jesus during his public activity, and because the resemblance seems so little like artful imitation or conscious dependence." This somewhat startling suggestion, which is in reality not far from Spitta's view that the book was written by a Jew, is modified by the supposition that James became acquainted with the words of Jesus; and it was on the basis of his teaching and the impression of his personality, as well as through native likeness to him, that James attained a Christian character which in the circle of the oldest Christianity put him almost above the apostles. Yet "he did not feel, like his brother, the impulse to work as a missionary," and his letter "contains scarcely anything of the gospel, and of all the writings of the New Testament it is least adapted to give us a picture of the preaching that founded faith, which nevertheless it presupposes." This curious picture of one who stood nearest to Jesus and farthest from the gospel seems fitted to disclose rather than to remove the difficulties that stand in the way of the traditional view of the book. Yet Zahn's argument against the pseudonymous character of the book is strong. A fabricator might well have chosen the name of James, but would hardly have omitted to add "the Lord's brother," and could not have failed to take on the character of James. But "neither in his quality as brother of Jesus, nor as first bishop of Jerusalem, nor as the Israelite who held with tenacious love to his people and to the temple, nor as the man of legal manner of life whom the Judaizers put upon their shield, nor as the super-legal ascetic, does the James of history and of legend meet us in this letter." Pseudepigraphs never escape anachronisms, but in James there is nothing modern; or at most "the absence of clear signs that the author and reader have drunk of the new wine of the gospel." Though genuinely Israelitish in character, the letter is not the work of a Jew (Spitta), for it would have been used, in that case, as a Jewish book, as were Sirach and Wisdom, and value would have been found in the very fact that a Jew bore witness to Christian truth.

Zahn is doubtless right in maintaining that the absence of all reference to events and beliefs especially connected with James is more consistent with the genuineness of the letter than with its pseudonym-

ity. One does not always speak in his known character, but if he is represented as speaking, his known character must be assumed. Yet Zahn can hardly be said to have met the current view that the epistle is spiritually related to Hermas, Clement, and Justin, rather than to primitive Christianity; and Zahn's own observations may well incline one to think that the book is by some later James, or, with Harnack, that the first verse is a mistaken superscription.

Accepting the south Galatian theory, Zahn thinks the *Epistle to the Galatians* addressed to the churches founded in Acts 13: 14—14: 23, and revisited (Gal. 4: 13) in Acts 16: 1—5. It was written from Corinth before Silas and Timothy joined Paul there (Acts 18: 1—4), in the spring of 53 A. D., and is therefore the oldest of Paul's epistles. This is also the view of Professor McGiffert, who, however, finds Paul's second visit to Galatia in Acts 14: 21, and thinks Galatians must have been written before Acts 16: 1—4.

*1 Thessalonians* was written from Corinth in the summer, and *2 Thessalonians* in the fall, of 53 A. D. Of especial value is the suggestion that *2 Thess.* 2: 3—12 is not a Jewish apocalypse (Spitta, etc.), but a product of that Christian prophecy which Paul held in high esteem. This apocalypse of Antichrist may have been a Christian prophetic utterance of Caligula's time.

*1 Corinthians* is, not only from chap. 7, but from chap. 5 on, chiefly a reply to the letter of the Corinthians to Paul in answer to a still earlier lost letter of his. The majority of the Corinthian church were inclined to push Christian liberty to the point of obscuring the line that separated them in life, in worship, and in thought from their heathen past and environment. Paul guards both against the abuse of freedom by the majority and against the denial of the principle of freedom by the minority. The worse danger lay in the direction of a spirit of too great independence, which threatened to cut the Corinthian church off from other churches and from its founder. This was the root of the factious tendency with which Paul deals in chaps. 1—4. Zahn's view of the much discussed parties or divisions of 1: 12 is that parties or sects in the full sense did not yet exist. Yet the germs of four divisions existed which could easily grow into sects. The work of Apollos in Corinth was probably the source of this state of things, and it is with those who said, "I am of Apollos," that 1: 17—4: 21 chiefly deals. The "Cephas" people were probably those who could say that they were converted (baptized?) by Peter. Against them 3: 16—20 is directed, but also 1: 1; 9: 1—3; 15: 8—10. It is with



these people, also, that Paul must deal in 2 Cor. 2: 17 ff.; 5: 12; 11: 1—12: 18, after his fears regarding them, revealed in 1 Cor. 9: 1—18, had been confirmed. Entirely distinct from this Judaistic tendency is the character of those who say they are "of Christ." These are such as assert their independence of all human authority, and it was of such that the majority of the Corinthian church was composed. It was they who dictated the somewhat assuming letter which Paul answered in 1 Corinthians. Paul had less occasion to mention them in chaps. 1—4, because chaps. 5—15 dealt with their views and practices. They were puffed up, and needed to learn their dependence on Paul, on the churches, and on Christian tradition (4: 6, 7, 18, 19; 14: 36, 37), and the truth that love is the chief virtue (8: 1; 13). They meet us again in 2 Cor. 10: 1—11 (12—18?), for Zahn, with Baur, finds a reference to them in vs. 7, but he escapes Baur's view that they are Judaizers by giving chaps. 11—12: 18 another reference (to the Cephas party), and, rightly, finding no reference to acquaintance with the earthly Jesus in 5: 16.

Zahn argues at length and in part persuasively against the view that either a visit or a letter intervened between 1 and 2 Corinthians. Accordingly 2 Cor., chaps. 10—13, belongs where it stands, and Paul's severity against his adversaries from without is not inharmonious with the conciliatory tone of chaps. 1—9 toward the church itself. It should be noticed, by the way, that the fact that chaps. 10—13 deal with outsiders is a serious objection to Zahn's view that they deal with the "Christ" party and the "Cephas" party of 1 Corinthians.

The *Epistle to the Romans* was written to a church composed of Gentiles and Jews, the majority being *Jews* (7: 1—6; 8: 15, etc.). Paul does not write to them *by virtue of* his calling as apostle to Gentiles, but *in the interests of* that side of his apostolic calling. He wished to prepare the way for his missionary work among the heathen of Rome and of the West (15: 15, 16), though also to promote a good understanding between Jewish and Gentile Christians in the Roman church.

*Philemon, Colossians, and Ephesians* were sent together by Paul from *Rome*, probably in the second year of his imprisonment (Acts 28: 30). *Colossians* is dominated by the thought of the errors directly combated in chap. 2. The errorists are Jewish Christians who held some regulations of the law to be binding, and added certain ascetic demands which rested upon the idea that matter was the sphere of the rule of spirits, from whom one could escape only by abstinence, especially from flesh and wine. The *στοίχεα* are not stars or spirits, but the material elements of the world. The errorists are not worshipers

of angels, but try to imitate by self-mortification the abstinence and devotion of angels (2:18, τῶν ἀγγέλων, subj. gen.). This teaching has no connection with Essenism, apart from which ascetic tendencies, in connection with philosophical culture, were not uncommon in Judaism (cf. Rom., chap. 14; Heb.).

*Ephesians* is a circular letter to the churches of Asia not founded by Paul, hence not to Ephesus. It is referred to in Col. 4:16 as the letter that would come to Colossæ "from Laodicea."

The *Epistle to the Philippians* was not the first letter Paul had written to this first church in Europe. He would not have failed to write his thanks for their many earlier gifts (4:15, 16). Now they have again sent him money by Epaphroditus in his imprisonment at Rome. We have not, however, his first response to that gift, but an answer to a still later letter from them, expressing anxious fears and forebodings, which Paul writes to remove. Paul repeats from his former letter (3:1) a warning against evil workers, not Jews (Lipsius, McGiffert), but Jewish Christians (Rom. 16:17), who have as yet no footing in Philippi. Entirely different from them are the Jewish Christian preachers in Rome (1:15-18), who, though not friendly to Paul, and using the opportunity of his trial to push their work at the expense of his, are yet preachers of the gospel, in the issue of whose work Paul can rejoice. The unworthy Christians of 3:18-19 are still another class.

After a discussion of the situation presupposed by each of the *Pastoral Epistles*, and an elaborate argument for the second imprisonment of Paul, Zahn argues at length for the genuineness of these epistles. The personal notices which they contain are not copied from other letters, and are not invented. New facts and persons, or known persons in new relationships, appear in casual and lifelike references. The unfavorable picture of Timothy is unconceivable in the work of a pseudo-Paul (cf. Phil. 2:20-22). "All legendary fiction of the ancient church was panegyric."

What could have been the purpose of the invention of these letters? Not to set forth an order of church life, for, apart from the fact that 2 Timothy has no such aim, the position of Timothy in Asia and of Titus in Crete is without analogy in the post-apostolic church. Further, the organization of the churches is nowhere described, but only assumed, and that which is assumed belongs to the earlier, not the later age. Elders and bishops are still identical, whereas Asia Minor had a monarchical episcopate at the end of the first century (Rev., Ignatius). It is not the official functions, but the personal

qualities of the bishop and the deacon with which the letters are concerned; and it is only the common Christian morality that is required of them, for Titus 1:6, 1 Tim. 3:2, 12 (so 1 Tim. 5:9) forbid not second marriages, but adultery. The laying on of hands is no more a sacrament of magical effect here than in Acts.

Neither were these letters fabricated as a weapon against false doctrines. The teachers of a different doctrine dealt with in 1 Tim. 1:3-7; 4:7; 6:3-10, 20; Titus 1:10-16; 3:9; 2 Tim. 4:8, are Christians chiefly of Jewish birth, who are concerned with myths and speculations, not gnostic but rabbinical in character; not yet anti-Christian, but useless and leading to endless disputes. Timothy and Titus are themselves in danger of being led astray by them. They regard certain Old Testament laws as binding, not circumcision and Sabbath (Galatians), but laws of purity, which they develop in an ascetic direction. Some have carried these tendencies so far as to put themselves outside of the church (1 Tim. 1:20 [*cf.* 2 Tim. 4:14]; 6:21). Still further and more pernicious developments of these tendencies are predicted for the future (2 Tim. 2:16, 17; 4:3, 4), with the requirement of an ascetic life, like that of angels (1 Tim. 4:1-3), and a general moral degeneracy (2 Tim. 3:1-5 [6-9]). These false teachers do not belong to the post-apostolic age, for they do not answer to the Judaists denounced by Ignatius, nor to those met with in Barnabas, nor to the Ebionites of the pseudo-Clementines. Nor do they belong to the earlier Pauline age. They do not demand circumcision (Galatians), nor appeal to an older apostle or the mother church (Corinthians), nor rest upon a natural philosophy (Colossians). A writer after Paul would have found neither in his present nor in Paul's letters the picture of the errors he describes.

To other objections Zahn replies that 1 Tim. 3:18 probably cites as Scripture only the passage from the law, and adds a proverbial saying which Jesus had also used. A formulated baptismal confession, of which traces are found in 1 Tim. 6:12-16; 2 Tim. 2:2-8; 4:1, need not have originated after Paul's death. The stress on sound doctrine has points of contact in Rom. 6:17; 16:17; 1 Cor. 4:17; 15:1-3; Col. 2:6f.; Eph. 4:20f.; and may have been occasioned by an increasing inclination toward corrupt teaching, and by the approaching death of Paul. Moreover, the "sound doctrine" was morally wholesome rather than ecclesiastically correct (1 Tim. 1:10; 6:1; Tit. 2:1-14). It is not un-Pauline to insist on the fulfillment of the law of God and of Christ. Indeed, "sentences that sound so un-Pauline as 1 Cor.

7 : 19, or which could be misinterpreted as a fusion of genuine Pauline doctrine with its opposite so easily as Gal. 5 : 6, are not to be found in these letters." On the other hand, Paul's doctrine of redemption and justification is fully expressed (Tit. 2 : 11-14 ; 3 : 4-7 ; 1 Tim. 1 : 12-16 ; 2 : 4-7 ; 2 Tim. 1 : 9). In regard to language, a pseudo-Paul would have imitated Paul's speech and would have betrayed the imitation by mistakes, of which these letters show no trace. The linguistic peculiarities of the three letters are due to nearness of date and similarity of conditions.

It is unfortunate that Zahn does not think the theory of composite origin worthy of serious discussion, since this solution of the many-sided problem is now in favor (Jülicher, Harnack, McGiffert, etc.). He says only : "Hypotheses of this sort, in which regularly only their discoverers believe, could lay claim to earnest consideration only by virtue of an unusual degree of acumen and pains in their elaboration" (p. 481).

It should be added that Zahn's detailed discussions of special points in the notes following each chapter are as solid and instructive as one would expect from so learned a scholar. Much recent work comes here in brief review, though one does not, I believe, learn from Zahn that there are such text-books of New Testament introduction as those of Weiss, Holtzmann, and Jülicher. For this independence of predecessors the preface prepares us, and it is the author's purpose to deal with the problems themselves, rather than to give a history of critical opinion.

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LE NOUVEAU TESTAMENT de Notre Seigneur Jésus-Christ expliqué au moyen d'introductions, d'analyses et de notes exégétiques. Par L. BONNET, docteur en théologie. *Évangiles de Matthieu, Marc et Luc*. Seconde édition, revue et augmentée par Alfred Schroeder, pasteur à Lausanne. Lausanne : Georges Bridel et C<sup>ie</sup>, Éditeurs, 1895-7. Pp. 663. Fr. 12.

ALTHOUGH this commentary on the synoptic gospels bears the date of 1895, it was not published entire until the middle of November, 1897. The earlier date is that of the first of the four parts in which it was issued. A commentary upon the gospels and Acts was prepared by Bonnet and Baup upon the basis of the well-known work of Otto von Gerlach, the friend of Hengstenberg, and published in 1846. The remaining books of the New Testament were covered by Bonnet alone,

after the death of Baup, as an independent work. This large volume of some nine hundred pages appeared in 1855. In 1880 Bonnet again put forth the first three gospels, but this time in his own name alone, as an entirely new work. While he avowed his purpose to avail himself of all the best results of scientific exegesis and to evade no difficulties, he recognized in the gospels, as beyond all human discussions, treasures of divine truth scattered there by Him whose life they relate and received by those who are "of the truth."

The reviser of this edition determined to preserve scrupulously the thought of the author in all respects, theological, critical, and exegetical. He revised the translation; enlarged the critical notes, indicating the principal witnesses for approved readings; arranged the text according to the analyses; added new arguments for the exegetical positions taken, and rewrote the introductions to bring them up to date. And all this has been done by a busy pastor within the limits of a year! The general introduction to the New Testament has many excellencies. It accepts the book as the history of a continuous miracle. "Facts of a supernatural character are inadmissible without faith in the living and true God." "The New Testament is not the book of rationalists, or pantheists, or atheists, it is the book of Christians." The section on textual criticism is brief and unsatisfactory. On the other hand, the treatment of the origin of the synoptic gospels is, for such a work, particularly full and clear. It gives a brief, but candid and lucid, history of the diverse views and defends the position which makes oral tradition the principal source for each writer, but recognizes the priority and use of certain written sources which cannot now be precisely described. Godet's conjectures are quoted with approval. Throughout this section free use is made of Godet and Bovon. The views of Resch and Marshall seem to be known only through Bovon. That the majority of the documents were written in Aramaic is accepted as well established. The notes throughout are judicious, scholarly, and devout. They contain frequent references to Godet, and show also an intelligent use of Bengel, de Wette, Meyer, B. Weiss, and H. Holtzmann.

A few examples will indicate the positions taken upon disputed passages. The genealogy in Matthew is that of Joseph, that in Luke is Mary's. In regard to demoniacs we are shut up to one of two alternatives, if we deny the reality of demoniacal possession: either Jesus allowed himself a degree of accommodation to the errors of his time which was unworthy of him, or he was himself in error. This "decides

the question for all those who believe in the Son of God." Of Matt. 24 : 34 it is said : "As this verse could refer only to the destruction of Jerusalem and not to the return of Christ, one is inevitably driven to the conclusion that it is inserted here out of its place." This error, appearing, as it does, also in Mark, probably slipped into the apostolic tradition. "We believe that by rejecting this hypothesis we are brought face to face with a difficulty which no exegesis can explain."

In Matt. 24 : 28 the eagles represent the judgments of God which will descend wherever a nation, church, or the whole race has fallen into a corpse-like decay. In Luke 2 : 2 Bonnet holds that a first and second census of Quirinius are plainly distinguished. But after giving various explanations of the difficulties involved in the governorship of Quirinius at that time, he says : "Those to whom these interpretations are unsatisfactory attribute a slip of memory on this matter which it is difficult to allow respecting a fact so well known, especially in view of Luke's positive declaration that he had followed all things accurately from the beginning." There is no reference here to Zumpt, Mommsen, or Schürer.

The whole work evinces a degree of scholarship, good judgment, and faith which should make it very useful to those for whom it is written.

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ST PAUL'S CONCEPTION OF CHRIST ; or, The Doctrine of the Second Adam : The Sixteenth Series of the Cunningham Lectures. By DAVID SOMERVILLE, M.A. Edinburgh : T.&T. Clark, 1897 ; New York : Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons. Pp. xvi + 331. \$3.

THE distinguishing feature of this book is the constant insistence that the Christology of Paul is the interpretation of a personal experience, and not the development of an idea. That experience was the meeting with the risen Jesus which changed the whole course of Paul's own life, and introduced him to that peace with God which he held to be the highest good, and had up to that time sought in vain. The book is thoroughly modern in method. It is also refreshingly broad in its perception of the shallowness of much recent impatience with Paul, in comparison with the Christ of the gospels. Our author insists that "the nature of a thing, as Aristotle reminds us, is understood

only when its process of development is over" (p. 17), and urges that the experience of Paul in his fellowship with the risen Christ is a valid source for our understanding of what the actual Christ is and signifies. The controlling conception of Christ in the thought of Paul is, according to Mr. Somerville, that of the Second Adam. This appears in his view of Christ as the archetypal man. The resurrection was for Paul the revelation of the real nature of Christ. And Paul constantly held that the risen Christ was the pattern of what the redeemed man is to be, viz., spiritual man, son of God. The full surrender of our author to the point of view of the apostle appears in his unwillingness to consider the Christology apart from the work of Christ. In connection with that work two questions are considered: (1) What relation has Christ's death to the forgiveness of sin? The answer to this is found chiefly in Rom. 5:12-21. Christ is man, and more, is sinless man, yet as representative man is seen rendering the supreme act of obedience (Rom. 5:19) which recognized the righteousness of God in condemning sin. In Paul's doctrine, man finds his salvation when he appropriates that act of Christ as his own, and thus in his representative renders like homage to the righteousness of God. In this way the man is reconciled to God. Mr. Somerville finds most of the attempts to explain the efficacy of the death of Christ unacceptable, and adopts this doctrine of the representative significance of the death of the representative man as the most satisfactory understanding of Paul's thought. (2) The other question is: "What relation has the death of Christ to the actual deliverance of the soul from the power of sin?" The answer is: "It is in the fire of love to Christ that the soul is separated from sin as thoroughly as if it were dead to it, and made alive to God and righteousness in the power of a supernatural life of which the risen Christ is the source and pattern" (p. 104). This truth of the power of the love of Christ leads naturally to the consideration of Christ as the Life and Lord of the new humanity. The author has an interesting discussion of Paul's virtual identification of the spirit of Christ and the spirit of God, and of both with Christ himself, in the doctrine of the believer's union with his Lord. Mr. Somerville clearly shows, however, how far Paul was from holding simply to an immanent Christ, by a good exposition of the doctrine of the Lordship of Christ, and of the *duty* of becoming like the Lord. That in the later epistles there is a modification of the apostle's teaching concerning Christ is frankly owned. But the fundamental conception

is shown to be one with that of the earlier documents. The pre-existence of Christ is shown to be presupposed in many teachings of the earlier epistles, though the plain declaration of it does not appear until Philipians. Attention is called, however, to the fact that there it is introduced as an illustration in a practical exhortation, and as an idea familiar to his readers. Paul seems to have had no speculative interest in the matter. As to the question of the relation of the divine and the human in Christ, Paul seems never to have felt the difficulty which has perplexed the Greek type of mind from the early centuries down. Christ is to him "the object of a faith that has a definite content; he is known to us at once as the man who is Spirit, the energy of the holy God in our souls, and son of God or perfect image of the Father" (p. 215). The last lecture inquires concerning the relation of the Christ of history to the being whom Paul pictures to us, and shows how the features of Paul's conception which transcend the teachings of the Jesus of the synoptics are yet hinted at in the Master's own words concerning his own person, and the saving significance of his obedience to death. The lectures are supplemented by an appendix containing many valuable notes. The one on the Christology of Ritschl and his school suggests where the author has found some of his inspiration, though he himself is not to be classed as a Ritschlian.

The book gives evidence throughout of wide familiarity with recent literature, both exegetical and dogmatic, and manifests in many features a mastery of the Pauline thought that makes it very welcome to students of the great apostle. If a general criticism were to be offered, it would be in the form of a question whether it is well to choose as expressing the "nerve of the apostle's Christology" an incidental *mode of illustration* of his highly original conception of Christ. It must be confessed that the conception lends itself readily to the various phases of the Christology of Paul, but it does not seem to be constantly before the apostle's thought, as it would be if it in itself were essential to his thought. The place given it in this book seems rather to over-emphasize it. The main discussion and most of the interpretations are such as to command a high degree of agreement in the reader. Some details raise question. For instance, it seems questionable whether Gal. 4:1-5 can be used to prove more than that Jews were in a real sense sons of God prior to the redemption from the law wrought for them in Christ (see p. 45). Many will question the statement (pp. 156, 170, 195) that later Judaism (Palestinian, for it is what Paul



knew) "felt the influence of the Greek notion of the absoluteness and transcendence of God," "the interval between the Infinite and the Finite." Alexandrian Judaism felt this difficulty, but the Palestinian problem was ethical, not metaphysical—the barrier between the holy God and his sinful world. Even in the unsettled condition of the problem of the title Son of Man, it seems hardly well to use that expression as setting forth the human nature of Christ as contrasted with his divine nature as Son of God (pp. 209, 231). The self-revelation of Jesus has given a new content to the latter title which makes it a fit expression for our conception of his divinity. But he has not infused a Hellenic significance into the other Messianic designation, and it seems to contribute to confusion of thought for us to use it to express our belief in the ideal humanity of our Lord. It is difficult, furthermore, to accept the suggestion that Paul's doctrine of original sin is quite independent of contemporary Jewish thought (p. 288).

A few slips of the proofreader are noticed, in addition to those which are mentioned in the list of errata. On p. 171, sixth line from top, Rom. 8:39 is misquoted—"me" for "us;" p. 189, tenth line from top, *μορφή* lacks its accent. On the same page, second line from bottom, is it not a slip that refers to the late Bishop of Durham as Canon Lightfoot? P. 212, note<sup>1</sup>, "*Dogmen Geschichte*" would look more natural if printed as one word. P. 217, note<sup>2</sup>, the so-called second epistle of Clement is quoted with the formula "The words of Clement of Rome." They are certainly not his. P. 238, seventh line from bottom, the synoptic gospels seem to be assigned to a date subsequent to the gospel of John. Can this be intentional? P. 243, second line from bottom, "most" should read "must," should it not? P. 268, seventh line from bottom, Rom. 1:3, should be Rom. 1:4. P. 287, seventh line from bottom, "Apocalypse of Esdras" (*cf.* "Book of Esdras," p. 288, fourteenth line from top), should read "Fourth Book of Ezra" or "Second Esdras," while "Book of Baruch" on p. 288 should read "Apocalypse of Baruch." P. 319, note, "Vorträge" should read "Vorträge."

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THE OXFORD DEBATE on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament, held at New College, on May 6, 1897; with a preface explanatory of the rival systems. London: George Bell & Sons, 1897. Pp. xvi + 43, 8vo. 2s. 6d., *net*.

THE Oxford debate grew out of a desire on the part of Prebendary Edward Miller to secure from Oxford biblical students a fresh hearing for the case of the traditional text of the New Testament—which is preserved in the great mass of our MSS., and on which the Authorized

Version is based—as against the critical text, derived by a genealogical study, chiefly from a few early uncials. This desire was met by Professor Sanday's invitation to a debate. The debate was thus between the school of Dean Burgon on the one side, and the followers of Dr. Hort on the other. The speakers were six: Miller, Gwilliam, and Bonus, as advocates of the traditional text, and Sanday, Allen, and Headlam, for the historico-critical method of Dr. Hort; the two sides being represented alternately, and Mr. Miller closing the debate. With participants so able and so deeply interested in the advocacy of their respective views, the debate could hardly have failed of interest, and the record of it has all the value of a plain and outspoken presentation of the two positions and methods, by eminent representatives of each. In some sections, however, there is a disappointing lack of coherence and grasp, which even the exigencies of public debate are not sufficient to explain. As to the upshot of the discussion, which must have been exhilaratingly vigorous and informal, Professor Sanday's side certainly seems, at least to a follower of Dr. Hort, to have had all the best of it. The book is edited by Mr. Miller.

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DIE ZWEITE RÖMISCHE GEFANGENSCHAFT DES APOSTELS PAULUS. Eine kirchenhistorische und neutestamentliche Untersuchung. Von Lic. theol. RUDOLF STEINMETZ, Pastor zu Neuenkirchen. Leipzig: A. Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung Nachf. (Georg Böhme), 1897. Pp. viii+244. M. 3.60.

A FULL and careful résumé of the arguments which have been urged by many scholars in support of Paul's second Roman imprisonment. The book contains nothing new, but is written clearly and in a candid spirit, and constitutes perhaps as good a defense as could be written of the author's thesis that Paul was released from his Roman imprisonment, and, after a journey to Spain and to the Orient, was again arrested and imprisoned. The first part of the book is devoted to the grounds, exclusive of the pastoral epistles, upon which the assumption of a second imprisonment is based; the second part to the pastoral epistles themselves as witnesses to such an imprisonment. The author pursues the proper course in endeavoring to show a second imprisonment probable on other grounds before considering the evidence of the pastoral epistles; but, as a matter of fact, his effort serves only to show again how little there is to be said in favor of the traditional opinion,

and how strikingly inadequate it is to destroy the tremendous presumption against that opinion furnished by the absolute silence of Luke and of all other early Christian apologists — a silence, the significance of which the author evidently entirely failed to realize.

In the second part the author defends at length the authenticity of the pastoral epistles, rightly regarding their evidence, if they be authentic, as conclusive. But here again his argument serves only to reveal the weakness of his case. As a matter of fact, the pastoral epistles are so un-Pauline in their general conception of Christianity — a conception which the author has failed to grasp in its totality — that they could not be regarded as authentic in their present form, even though Paul's second imprisonment were granted. And so both parts of the author's argument seem to us to break down as they have broken down before, and we fear that only those who are already convinced that the traditional opinion is correct will find the present defense of it convincing.

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A CRITICAL AND EXEGETICAL COMMENTARY ON THE EPISTLES TO THE PHILIPPIANS AND TO PHILEMON. By REV. MARVIN R. VINCENT, D.D., Baldwin Professor of Sacred Literature in Union Theological Seminary. (International Critical Commentary.) New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1897. Pp. xlv + 201. \$2, net.

WE have now five New Testament volumes of this series; and, unequal in some ways as the contributions of the different writers necessarily are, it is becoming increasingly evident that this is to be the standard English commentary for the student of the opening years of the twentieth century. The present volume follows the plan of the preceding numbers. A paraphrase of each paragraph or shorter section of the epistle is followed by very full notes upon separate words and phrases. The notes are, in some cases perhaps, too elementary, as, e. g., on 1:12, *κατ' ἐμέ*, where it is explained that "*against me . . . would require ἐμοῦ*." On the other hand, a grammatical note is occasionally insufficient, as on 1:10, where, besides the statement that "*ἐς governing the infinitive with ἵνα is frequent in Paul*," we should expect a reference to the question whether the phrase expresses purpose or result.

The introductions to each epistle are clear and satisfactory. Dr. Vincent accepts the chronology of Harnack and others, and dates the apostle's arrival in Rome in the spring of 56 A. D. On the question whether *Philippians* is to be placed early or late in the imprisonment, he speaks doubtfully; although he characterizes "Lightfoot's constructive argument" as "illogical in method," his last words leave us with the impression that he himself inclines to accept the earlier date.

Three important excursus are introduced: one of fifteen pages, on "Bishops and Deacons;" one of twelve pages, on chap. 2:6-11, and one of six pages, on "Righteousness by Faith." In the first of these he traces the development of church government in the apostolic age. The "little fraternities" of which "the primitive Pauline church consisted" he regards (with what some would think an ignoring of apostolic oversight) as "self-governing." The apostles, prophets, and teachers "set by God in the church" "do not represent offices resting on the appointment of the church," but upon a "special divine endowment." Bishops and deacons are the officers of the local church; but they are more than financial officers, for, as he well says, "it can hardly be supposed that, in associations distinctively moral and religious, one who bore the title of overseer should have been concerned only with the material side of church life." With regard to the relation of the New Testament "presbyter" and "bishop," instead of identifying the two as has commonly been done, he accepts the new theory of Sohm and others (the converse of Dr. Hort's), that "presbyter" is never an official title, but always a designation of the older members of the Christian community; and that when it is said, *e. g.*, that Paul and Barnabas "appointed *πρεσβύτεροι* in every city," the meaning is that they appointed elderly men to be "bishops." It may be doubted whether the last word has been spoken upon this point. The pastoral epistles seem to be regarded by him as "representing an advanced stage in the development toward the episcopal polity." In the Ignatian epistles (for which he gives the date 100-118 A. D.) "we find a clear recognition of three orders of ministry," "the strongly marked beginnings of monarchical episcopacy," "a system more than foreshadowed in Clement, sharply defined in Ignatius, and an accepted fact in Irenæus, Tertullian, and Cyprian."

In his excursus on chap. 2:6-11 he takes *ἀπραγμός* as equivalent to *ἀπραγμία* ("the awkwardness of regarding a *state* of being as an *act* of robbery needs no comment"); *μορφή* he defines as "that 'form,' whatever it be, which carries in itself and expresses or embodies the essen-

tial nature of the being to whom it belongs," but holds that the *μορφή*, as well as the "being on an equality with God," was laid aside at the incarnation; of *ἐκένωσεν* he says: "Its most satisfactory definition is in the succeeding details which describe the incidents of Christ's humanity, and with these exegesis is compelled to stop. The word does not indicate . . . a break in the continuity of self-consciousness."

In the excursus on "Righteousness by Faith" (chap. 3:8-10), he accepts the position of Liddon. "The righteousness of faith," he says, "is an actual righteousness in the man . . . Paul does not teach, nor is it anywhere taught in Scripture, that the requirement of personal righteousness is fulfilled for man by someone else, and that man has only to accept this righteousness by faith." Faith does not count *instead* of righteousness; it counts as *making for* (*eis*) righteousness." The "righteousness of God" in Rom. 1:17 he interprets as that "which resides in God as his attribute," and not as synonymous with the "righteousness which is from God."

A few points of interpretation deserve special remark.—1:15: Those who "preach Christ even of envy and strife" he inclines to regard, not as Judaizers, but "as Pauline Christians who were personally jealous of the apostle."—1:22 he translates: "But if living in the flesh—(if) this is fruit of toil (fruit which follows toil and issues from it) to me, then what I shall choose I do not declare;" and he explains it thus: "Paul says 'to die is gain; but if the case is put to me that it is for your interest that I should continue to live, then I have nothing to say about my personal choice.' Possibly he felt that, under the strong pressure of his desire to depart, he might be tempted to express himself too strongly in favor of his own wish."—Of 2:21 ("they all seek their own") he says: "A satisfactory explanation seems impossible."—3:5, "A Hebrew sprung from Hebrews" he understands in the strict sense: "Though born outside of the Holy Land, yet, as a child of Hebrew ancestors, and the 'son of Pharisees,' in speech and habits of life he remained allied to the people of Palestine."

A strange explanation of the asterisk in the symbol D\* is given at the foot of p. xxxvii; and on p. 63 the apparent inclusion of Mark among writers who use *ὁ κύριος* of Christ more frequently than Matthew is, of course, an oversight.

The volume seems freer from misprints than most of the preceding volumes of the series. But it may fairly be asked why an entire volume should be given to these two brief epistles. In the interest of the theological student, for whom these books are prepared, it is to be

hoped that we are to have no more volumes of less than 250 pages, but that, by following the scale set in the 560-page commentary on Romans, the commentaries upon the epistles may be brought within seven volumes, and the whole New Testament within thirteen.

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J. H. BARBOUR.

DER CHRIST UND DIE SÜNDE BEI PAULUS. Von Lic. theol. PAUL WERNLE in Basel. Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr, 1897. Pp. xii+138. M. 2.50.

THIS little book is the auspicious public introduction of a young theologian of evident ability. Among recent studies in Pauline theology it deserves more than ordinary notice. Ritschl, it seems, was the first, at least among German theologians, seriously to take up the same inquiry as a problem of biblical, and specially of Pauline, theology. It was through the study of Ritschl's *Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung* that Wernle was brought to the theme, but his treatment of it is thoroughly independent, and his results differ very considerably from those of Ritschl.

After an introduction, in which the problem is clearly stated, Wernle proceeds to inquire into (1) "the apostle's witness concerning himself" (pp. 5-25), (2) "the practice of the apostle in the churches" of Thessalonica, Corinth, and Galatia (pp. 25-78), (3) "the theory of Paul concerning the relation of the Christian to sin" according to Galatians, Romans, Philippians, and Colossians (pp. 79-123). An appendix discusses (1) "Paul's catalogue of vices" and (2) the passage, Rom. 14:23, "Whatsoever is not of faith is sin." The book is full of discriminating exegesis and fine observations. Nevertheless, the whole discussion seems to be in no small degree vitiated by being too much controlled by certain ruling ideas, whose importance in the theology and missionary activity of Paul the author greatly exaggerates. The first and most important of these ruling ideas is Paul's "enthusiastic hope of the parousia." Paul's eschatology is the main key to the understanding of his theology and preaching. In this there is doubtless much essential truth, but Wernle pushes the application of the idea to the utmost limit. The second ruling idea with Wernle is that Paul's preaching, being almost wholly missionary in purpose, was always in the first instance "of a purely religious character"—a preaching of a salvation from the judgment at the impending parousia—while the ethical import of the gospel was made apparent only in a

supplementary way. In the light of these two ideas everything is set, and the results reached are consequently vitiated in proportion as these ideas are overworked, and that, too, in spite of the author's evident care to be thorough and just in all parts of his work. The chief results of the investigation are as follows: (1) In his testimony concerning himself Paul exhibits the firm persuasion that he has left no duty undone, and that sin has no more part in him. There are, indeed, "limits to this perfection." He has not yet reached the goal. Sometimes, it may be, he betrays a sense of something in himself akin to sin. But, in any case, such a feeling is but faint and transitory. The enthusiasm of Paul's faith expels it forthwith. (2) In the churches Paul often found sins to blame, but he always regarded them as inexplicable anomalies, and in his inextinguishable optimism he regarded them as but transitory. He firmly trusted that all believers would be found without fault at the Lord's appearing. (3) Finally, as to the apostle's theory, "this is the most important — and most regretable — result, that Paul, although he had knowledge of sin in the life of Christians, as theorist denied it. That he was able to do this is to be comprehended from his enthusiastic hope of the parousia, from the faith that the shortness of the time until the judgment day would permit believers to keep free from sin." "That the look into the near future rules the whole life, that it makes sin impossible, or, if it exists, immediately expels it, this is the fundamental characteristic of the whole Pauline theology."

The main fault of the book is that it makes of the predominantly sober, practical Paul, who was distinguished above all the other apostles by the tact with which he ever accommodated himself to concrete conditions, "an abstract idealist and *doctrinaire* enthusiast, who understood, as few have done, how to frame theories without any regard to reality" (Clemen), and (we may add) to continue to apply them in the face of the most stubborn facts. And this fault is really fundamental. Nevertheless, the book has many marked excellences and will certainly repay a careful study.

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ANCIENNES LITTÉRATURES CHRÉTIENNES. I: *La Littérature Grecque*. Par PIERRE BATIFFOL. Deuxième édition. Paris: Victor Lecoffre, 1898. Pp. xvi+347, 12mo. Fr. 3.50.

THIS volume, which now appears in a second edition, is a contribu-

tion to the "Bibliothèque de l'enseignement de l'histoire ecclésiastique." It is intended to be an introduction to the subject, a handbook for students, not an exhaustive treatise. The changes from the first edition are not numerous, being restricted to the correction of typographical errors, the addition of some literature, and notices of recent finds, such as the *Logia*. The discussions cover the literature down to Justinian, or to about the middle of the sixth century, the date of the beginning of the Byzantine literature. But within these limits the Greek writings alone receive attention, the Latin being reserved for another volume.

Following the lead of Krüger, and perhaps influenced by ecclesiastical and dogmatic reasons of his communion, the author has included in his treatment the books of the New Testament, thus bringing them into organic connection with the writings of the following periods. Against this procedure no valid reasons can be urged except such as find their basis solely in dogmatic considerations quite different from those of the author. The whole period till about 550 A. D. is divided into three sections, Hippolytus and Anastasius furnishing the dividing points. Inside these periods the literature purports to be divided according to topics, but the classification is erroneous in many respects and at a number of points, writings being grouped together which have no connection. Here the author's plan is quite the reverse of Krüger's, which is based upon the geographical distribution of the writers and shows the literary activity of Christianity in many widely distant fields. Batiffol, on the other hand, adds nothing but a faulty classification and brief expositions of sections of that activity and of the wide scope which it took. He, however, covers about two hundred years more than Krüger.

The fact that the book is written from the Roman standpoint does not conduce to a scientific treatment, and this character is, in fact, quite lacking. The author has gathered a good many facts and has set them down in readable form, but as an introduction or a students' handbook his performance is distinctly inferior to Krüger's "History." The lack of a complete index, and the meagerness of the citation of the literature of the subject, rob the present volume of much of its value as a book of reference or as a *vade mecum* in the deeper and more exhaustive study of patristic literature.

CHARLES R. GILLETT.

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New York.



IGNACE D'ANTIOCHE, ses épîtres, sa vie, sa théologie. Étude critique suivie d'une traduction annotée. Par ÉDOUARD BRUSTON, Pasteur. Paris: Librairie G. Fischbacher, 1897. Pp. 283.

THE sources of information respecting the Ignatian question are the letters which Ignatius is supposed to have written. This question has claimed the attention of many distinguished scholars for centuries. Its importance for early church history is well understood. Any new light, either from discovery or from reëxamination of old material, is cordially welcomed.

M. Bruston has given the subject a careful reconsideration, and in the volume before us we have his reasoning and his conclusions.

The book is divided into three parts. In the first part the author considers the letters of Ignatius and the views concerning them; in part second we have his treatment of the life of Ignatius and the state of Christianity in the East in his time; in the third part we find the theology of Ignatius. At the end of the volume are the six letters which M. Bruston considers genuine. These letters are in two groups: (1) those from Smyrna—*Ad Magnesios, Trallianos, Ephesios*; (2) those from Troas—*Ad Philadelphenos, Smyrnæos, Polycarpum*.

In the third chapter of part first he takes up the six epistles of Ignatius and the epistle to the Romans. After a careful examination of all the evidence, both external and internal, he reaches the conclusion that the six epistles and the epistle to the Romans could not have been written by the same author.

From the internal evidence he concludes:

1. The historical conditions of the epistle to the Romans contradict those of the six letters.

2. There is a contradiction in the sentiments expressed in the two parts of the correspondence. The epistle to the Romans expresses only the desire to be thrown to the beasts, and the variations on this theme become disgusting. The six epistles, on the other hand, express a longing for the supreme test because the writer's only dread is lest he may succumb to the temptation of a denial. This is only peculiar to Christian humility.

3. There are grave inconsistencies in style. Renan is quoted as follows: "The style of the epistle to the Romans is extravagant and enigmatical, whilst that of the rest of the correspondence is simple and insipid." To the last clause of this quotation the author takes exception. Nevertheless the quotation sustains his position. Moreover,

many phrases from the six letters are reproduced in the letter to the Romans, slightly modified, but badly joined to the context.

4. There is a contradiction of ideas. For example, in the epistle to the Philadelphians we read: "Care for your body as a temple of God." But in the Romans we read: "Nothing which is visible is good."

Having shown that the identity of authorship of the two parts of the correspondence is inadmissible, our author takes up in the fourth chapter the question: Which of the two has Ignatius for its author? He finds the following objections to the Ignatian authorship of the letter to the Romans:

1. The epistle is in part a work of imitation, in which the literary defects of Ignatius are exaggerated.

2. In the light of facts, the impassioned seeking after martyrdom found in the epistle is one of the best evidences of its inauthenticity.

Other proofs are given going to show that the epistle to the Romans is of later origin.

The conclusion is: "The epistle must have been composed at Rome and at a time after the *Pastor* of Hermas, which is not so ancient as Zahn has striven to show. It dates at the very least from the end of the second century, and belongs to the ascetic strain noticed by Clement of Alexandria."

Then, turning to the six letters, he finds no difficulty in showing from internal evidence that they are genuine.

If the conclusions reached be true, many of the unfavorable features supposed to belong to Ignatius have been removed.

M. Bruston begins the part on the life of Ignatius with a vivid description of Antioch and the general condition of Christianity in the East. The narrative is charming and discriminating throughout.

The part on the theology of Ignatius is equally admirable. "It would be difficult," he says, "to find in the epistles of Ignatius a system of theology rigorously coördinated. But the religious ideas expressed there are interesting to notice, especially because they were without doubt common to all the orthodox Christianity of that period. . . . The person and work of Jesus Christ are at the center of his theology. He distinguishes between the economy prior to the coming of Christ—'the ancient order of things'—and the economy inaugurated at the birth of Christ, which he calls the economy for the new man, Jesus Christ."

The author's discussion of the ecclesiastical ideas of Ignatius is

full of interest, but the limits of this note do not permit even a mention of them.

It is our conviction that this book is a valuable contribution to the Ignatian literature.

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STUDIEN ZU DEN KOMMENTAREN HIPPOLYTS ZUM BUCHE DANIEL UND HOHEN LIEDE. VON G. NATH. BONWETSCH. (Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur. Archiv für die von der Commission der Kgl. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften unternommene Ausgabe der älteren christlichen Schriftsteller. Herausgegeben von Oscar v. Gebhardt und Adolf Harnack. Neue Folge, I. Band, Heft 2.) Leipzig: F. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1897. Pp. iv + 86. M. 3.

THE first half of Vol. I of the edition of the "Christian Greek writers of the first three centuries," which the Königlich Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften has undertaken, has been issued by Professor Bonwetsch, of Göttingen. It contains, as the title indicates, the commentary of Hippolytus on the book of Daniel, and the fragments of his commentary on the Song of Songs. The author is fortunately able to publish the complete commentary on Daniel, not, to be sure, wholly in the Greek original, yet in an old Slavic version, which he has rendered into German, and has thus given the oldest exegetical writing that has come down to us from the early Christian church. It need hardly be said that this commentary is of the highest value for the history of the church, and it is, therefore, cause for congratulation that Bonwetsch himself has in the volume before us brought out the material which is to be derived from it for church history and the history of dogma. In the nature of the case, the contribution made by the commentary on the Song of Songs is less than that which is derived from the commentary on Daniel, and it is, therefore, rather illustrative of, or supplementary to, the results obtained from the study of the commentary on Daniel. Of the other works of Hippolytus Bonwetsch has made but little use, though not altogether neglecting them.

Chap. 1 (pp. 1-19) deals with the contents and character of the commentary on Daniel. It is now proved that it began with the interpretation of "Susanna," that it did *not* contain an interpretation of "Bel and the Dragon," and that it did *not* consist of homilies. The

division into four books comes from Hippolytus himself. Of the contents and character of the commentary on Song of Songs nothing can be said, only a few fragments being extant, and the genuineness of the Armenian fragment containing the interpretation of Song of Songs, 1 : 5—5 : 1, being doubtful. It is possible that we may enlarge our knowledge of the commentary on the Song of Songs from outside sources. It is certain that other commentaries on this book drew from that of Hippolytus, and it is, therefore, highly probable that they used it in passages of which the text of Hippolytus is no longer extant. Bonwetsch calls attention to some of these passages, but with his characteristic caution abstains from drawing any rash conclusions. Concerning the date of composition (pp. 81-5) not much can be said respecting either commentary. In the case of the commentary on the Song of Songs, we can only say that one of its fragments was a part of a homily for Easter. The commentary on Daniel was written, we know, after the author's *De Antichristo*. It is more probable that it belongs to the earlier period of his life than to the date commonly assigned, about 235 A. D.

Chap. 2 (pp. 19-34) deals with the use of the Old and New Testaments in the commentaries. Hippolytus had in addition to the Old Testament a New Testament which contained the gospels, the Acts, the epistles, and the Apocalypse. It cannot be proved that the Pauline letters are just in the process of attaining canonicity. Bonwetsch shows clearly that the conception of the prophetic significance of the Sacred Writings occupies a central place in the thought of Hippolytus. It should be added that he, by no means, doubts the historicity of the narrative portions, and that it would be a mistake because of his exegetical method to classify him as an allegorist (pp. 6, 7).

His views respecting redemption and the Redeemer (chap. 3, pp. 34-44), eschatology (chap. 4, pp. 44-53), and the church (chap. 5, pp. 53-62), show that he stands on the border line between two periods, and shares the points of view of both. For example, he no longer holds the eschatological views of Irenæus and Tertullian ; while he still cherishes an eschatological expectation, yet he has cut the nerve of all such expectation (p. 53). In his ethical conceptions (chap. 6, pp. 62-9) he is equally averse, on the one side to Montanistic extravagance, and on the other to Roman laxness.

Of especial interest is Bonwetsch's investigation of the contemporary conditions reflected in the commentaries (chap. 7, pp. 69-81). I do not observe that he has overlooked anything. And in general it is

to be said that throughout he has brought out all that is of importance for church history and the history of dogma, and has set it in its true light.

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FRACTIO PANIS. La plus ancienne représentation du sacrifice eucharistique à la "cappella Greca" découverte et expliquée par MGR. JOSEPH WILPERT. Avec 17 planches et 20 figures dans le texte. Paris: Firmin-Didot et C<sup>e</sup>, 1896. Pp. xii+130 and Index. F. 30.

THE book before us is a comprehensive archæological demonstration concerning a newly discovered fresco in the catacomb of S. Priscilla at Rome, deserving careful attention from cover to cover. The author, a private secretary of Pope Leo XIII, is not only the most brilliant of the younger workers in Christian archæology at Rome, but combines a most painstaking and severe German scholarship with French acuteness; thus, though preparing this work entirely in his native German, he publishes also in French expressly to give it a wider circulation.

The title of the book is the name he has given to a certain fresco representing the miracle of the loaves and the fishes. Centuries long it lay hidden under a stony veil of stalactitic growth, which Wilpert's curiosity, faith, and triumphant perseverance safely removed. It held the place of honor above an arcosolium in the well-known chamber nicknamed by workmen not long ago the *cappella Greca* because of Greek inscriptions found near by. Wilpert not only regards this little room with its adjoining parts a tiny subterranean church of the early second century, but, what is still more noticeable, interprets the fresco as depicting symbolically the eucharistic feast at the moment when the bread is being broken by the bishop; hence the christening of the fresco *Fractio Panis*, one of the very oldest names for the sacrament of the Last Supper.

The accompanying series of frescoes in the little double chamber he explains as parts of an intentional dogmatic symbolism. As he proceeds, therefore, he makes use of various familiar historical references to confirm his judgment and to interpret his archæological discovery. The work is not that of a hasty enthusiast nor of an idealist; but, with the earnestness of conviction, it exhibits scholarly accuracy and balance.

In the main, Mgr. Wilpert has reached accurate conclusions. There was here surely a place suitable for worship. There are elsewhere in the Roman catacombs similar miniature basilicas or churches, if one rightly uses so marked a term for such humble structures. There is full reason to believe that this was such a place of Christian assembly.

The chronology also may be positively accepted. It is close reasoning, all must admit, and the links are many and small instead of startling evidence; but no faithful historical student can resist the aggregation of such circumstantial archæological detail. The primary construction must have been early in the second century, possibly even in the first. A wholly similar chronological problem approached quite independently in the Flavian crypt of the Domitilla complex yields the same result. So does the study of the Lucina crypt in Callixtus. The work in the *cappella Greca* is unquestionably of a very great antiquity.

Nor should we wonder that one so surrounded as is the writer of the *Fractio Panis* by liturgical services and ecclesiastical procedures should read into the early frescoes a liturgical meaning. And in a way he may be quite right in doing so. Even from our Protestant viewpoint, looking backward over centuries of sacramental church history, a sacramental thought in the frescoes is very easily discernible. But the meaning must be read from the viewpoint of the early believers themselves. May there not have been more directness, more biblical simplicity, and less of symbolic mysticism in the frescoes of the *cappella Greca* than Mgr. Wilpert would have us believe? The central thought, take them all together, is not the exaltation of the sacrament, but the exaltation of Jesus Christ himself. The loyalty of the early Christians to him in innumerable martyrdoms was a marvelous exhibit of faith. They believed, not like reasoning theologians, but like trustful children. Jesus Christ was supreme in their thought, but rather as a positive historic reality than as a mystic sacramental presence. There was nothing mystic in the picture of Daniel. It suggested an almighty deliverer, not a sacramental food. The Lazarus fresco signified a triumphant conqueror supreme over death. He who saw it thought of actual death and a positive resurrection near at hand when Christ should come, not a spiritual resurrection from sin through a mystic sacrament. There is no immediate evidence that the early church as a body apprehended the deeper subjective conceptions of the gospels. The sacrament of the *fractio panis* was a most precious memorial of Jesus Christ; through it he verily came near them, into them, with

mysterious mighty power of inner love and personality; but how do we know that they grasped it theologically in that early time? Even the apostles themselves, daily with him, by that very objective nearness, were prevented from that deep subjective participation of him, which the Holy Spirit gave them later, it is true, but to the church as a whole more gradually and progressively through the centuries. The early brethren were deeply spiritual in their attachment to the Lord, Jesus Christ. Mind, will, and heart, they were devoted to him. An intense personal loyalty filled them. Subjectively partaking him, the mass of them did not reason philosophically about this, for they felt him objectively near. True, Christ came through the sacrament, but they did not dwell upon the sacrament, but upon Christ himself. They knew and felt that Christ was the bread of life. That was the central thought, and they concerned themselves far less with the sacramental media. However mystically they were tempered by sacraments in all devotion and love, yet in the *fractio panis* fresco they saw and thought of the Christ-gift, not the hierarchic intercession; the fresco, with all its possible eucharistic meaning, was still Christ himself breaking bread, not the bishop presenting Christ.

And yet I am sorry to differ even thus much from Mgr. Wilpert, so important is it to encourage rather than disparage these pioneer efforts in archæological investigation into the Christian thought of the early second century. There should not enter into the criticism of such a work a single polemic syllable. In sending forth his volume, with its fine photographic illustrations and its remarkably clear, straightforward method, Mgr. Wilpert has performed a lasting service to Protestants as well as Roman Catholics.

This book is but a first fruit from the seed of the great De Rossi's incomparable preparatory labors in the field of Christian archæology. Ere long a mass of well-sifted historical facts will be forthcoming from the early Christian centuries. Another discovery, made this very winter, is warrant enough of what is certainly to come. Christian graffiti have been found in the traditional places of martyrdom near the Stadium and in the Forum, by the keen eyes of Dr. Broderick, an earnest American student. And close upon his discovery has followed, in January of this year, the remarkable identification, in the royal ruins of the Palatine, by Professor Marucchi (though even here Dr. Broderick should share the credit) of what purports to be graffiti of the first century itself.

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THE STORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH. By GEORGE R. CROOKS, D.D., LL.D. New York: Eaton & Mains, 1898. Pp. xiii + 604. \$3.50.

THIS volume reproduces in an enlarged and revised form the lectures given by the late author to his classes in Drew Theological Seminary. In important respects it makes a worthy handbook of church history. The style is lucid. The standpoint is conservative, but not in the most ultra sense. A judicial spirit is in general manifest in dealing with the data falling within the field of vision.

As a detraction from the serviceableness of the treatise may be mentioned the failure to reach the later church history. With the exception of the single topic of Arminius and the Arminian movement, the subject-matter ends with the close of the sixteenth century. This fact may be no serious objection to one who has a well-filled shelf of ecclesiastical histories; but of course it does limit the acceptability of the volume to those who think that they have room for only a compendium or two.

We judge that the personal interest of the author was a prominent factor in determining the relative amount of space assigned to different topics. Among the most adequately treated are the following: The organization of the church in the apostolic era, the view entertained of Sunday as the sacred day of Christianity, the apostolic Fathers, the Arian and christological controversies, Wycliffe, Huss, Savonarola, and the Protestant reformers. On the other hand, only a few pages are devoted to the rise of the papacy; scarcely two consecutive sentences are awarded to the administration of Innocent III, the most powerful exponent of ecclesiastical monarchy in the Middle Ages; a brief note is assigned to the rise and early history of monasticism; such themes of post-Reformation Romanism as the Jesuits and the council of Trent receive each but a few lines; and the history of the Protestant movement in the Romance nations is hardly touched. The best that can be said is that the omissions, by providing extra space for the favored topics, have contributed to the satisfactory treatment which these have received.

The absence of novelty in most of the author's conclusions leaves us little motive to review individual points. We are prompted, however, to confess that, after reading the candid account of the patristic and early Protestant conception of Sunday, we were poorly prepared for this sentence: "The first expounder of what we hold to be the true doctrine of the Christian Sabbath was the Rev. Nicholas Bownde,



an English Puritan." The grounds alleged in support of the view, thus traced back to the Puritan minister who wrote at the end of the sixteenth century, strike us as being precarious, not to say plainly arbitrary and artificial.

In spite of the judicial spirit which generally distinguishes the volume, it contains a few instances of statements that must be pronounced too broad. Some qualification ought assuredly to be imposed upon the following sentences: "The Holy Ghost had thus far [before Pentecost] only temporarily and sporadically visited the world to enlighten specially favored individuals." "Jewish Christianity was Jacobean or Petrine in its spirit; Gentile Christianity Pauline." "The spirit was spoken of [A. D. 100-325] as an effluence from God, and was only later conceived as a person."

We should not fail to add that the hearty sympathy of the writer with a spiritual ideal of religion combines with the other excellencies to make his treatise interesting and edifying. The sacerdotalist, it is true, will not enjoy it. A twinge of resentment will probably disturb his mind when he comes across the declaration that "the loss of the idea of the priesthood of the people was the first great apostasy." But not many others will find any considerable occasion for the contracted brow and the disapproving gesture as they peruse the pages of the volume.

H. C. SHELDON.

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THE ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY IN BRITAIN, from its Dawn to the Death of Augustine. By ANDREW GRAY, D.D. London: Skeffington & Son; New York: James Pott & Co., 1897. Pp. xxxv+143. \$1.20.

THE BEGINNINGS OF ENGLISH CHRISTIANITY, with Special Reference to the Coming of St. Augustine. By W. E. COLLINS, M.A. London: Methuen & Co., 1898. Pp. 209. 3s. 6d.

SAINT AUGUSTINE OF CANTERBURY AND HIS COMPANIONS. By FATHER BROU, S.J. London: Art and Book Co., 1897. Pp. viii+188. 6s.

IN A. D. 597—thirteen centuries ago—Augustine landed on the island of Thanet, sent by Pope Gregory to convert the Anglo-Saxons. The Roman Catholics and Anglicans have been engaged in the joyous celebration of this thirteenth century. It has been the occasion of numerous treatises concerning early Christianity in Britain and the

missionary labors of the monk from Rome. The relation of these beginnings to subsequent developments and to present ecclesiastical organizations has found a conspicuous place in these tractates, and it must be confessed that the view presented has in nearly every instance been determined by "something purely subjective—the mere result of prejudices and preconceived ideas."

Dr. Gray lives in the United States and is a member of the Protestant Episcopal church. His view is that "Christianity was brought into Britain by Joseph of Arimathara, about A. D. 36-39. He was accompanied by Lazarus, brother of Martha and Mary." The apostle Paul likewise "entered Britain and preached the gospel there between 58 and '61." It is to this independent British church, founded in the first century, having orders and a liturgy not derived from Rome, that the present Church of England traces her origin. To men of Dr. Gray's way of thinking it is a "point of the utmost importance to show that Augustine's mission was simply an incident and that the real inheritance comes from the British churches."

Dr. Collins lives in England and is a member of the Established Church. His view is that the attempt to trace the origin of the British church to Joseph and Lazarus and Paul is utterly lacking in historic warrant; and that there is no need whatever, in withstanding Rome, to insist that the Church of England sprang from the ancient British church. "Whatever the consequences, we should look to St. Augustine as our apostle, and, above all, to the noble-hearted pope who sent him forth, and lived to see his successes, Gregory the Great." When Augustine became a bishop, then Gregory's pastoral oversight of the mission came to an end, and the English church stood forth complete. The daughter church owes a debt of love and gratitude to the mother church from whom she derived her origin, but "this debt cannot be hardened down into a canonical obligation." "Spiritual ancestry created no relation of dependence." Such a "notion is nothing but an ignorant blunder."

Father Brou, a Frenchman living in Canterbury, is a member of the Roman Catholic church and of the Society of Jesus. His view is that St. Augustine was "the chief lieutenant of the papacy in its conquest of England;" that through his devoted labors the papal church was founded; that until the sixteenth century this church was in loyal subjection to Rome; that by that "ruthless tyrant," Henry VIII, she was broken away from her rightful allegiance; that there is some hope that through "the prayer which year by year the church pours forth on her

behalf," the Anglican church may be brought back to her obedience and consent "to forge anew the chain which bound her to Rome in the past."

Low-churchmen, high-churchmen, and Romanists construe the mission of St. Augustine to suit their modern ecclesiastical necessities.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

ERI B. HULBERT.

LA FACULTÉ DE THÉOLOGIE DE PARIS ET SES DOCTEURS LES PLUS CÉLÈBRES. Par L'abbé P. FERET, Docteur en Théologie, etc. *Moyen-Âge*. Tome quatrième et dernier. Paris: Picard et Fils, 1898. Pp. 453.

IN this fourth and last volume of his work, the author gives, in a somewhat sketchy way, the history of the university of Paris during the fifteenth century. The long struggle with England left the university in a sadly demoralized condition, from which it slowly recovered. During the fifteenth century two new colleges were founded, and some of the old ones were partially reformed. In 1452 a papal legate undertook to reform the whole university, while giving particular attention to the Sorbonne. He, no doubt, accomplished a good deal in the right direction, although we may infer that his reform was not so radical as it might have been, since he ordered that no one should be licenced to lecture on the Bible whose conduct was bad, or who had a notoriously evil reputation. The university was compelled to protect itself against the greed and ambition of the mendicant orders by refusing to licence more than a certain number from their ranks. In fact, the university was kept busy throughout the century resisting the constant encroachments of these arrogant orders.

The university had its share in the beginnings of the Renaissance. The first printing press in Paris was set up in the Sorbonne (1470), and was under the patronage of some of the leading professors. Greek and Hebrew were early added to the curriculum, and the university was honored in having Reuchlin as one of its students. It was here that he began the study of Greek.

Under the English domination the university sullied her name by servilely yielding to the English and by assisting in, and promoting, the condemnation of Jeanne d'Arc. For the latter, however, she in part atoned by aiding in the rehabilitation of Jeanne (1456).

The university took a prominent part in the conciliar movement, in the healing of the great schism, and in the condemnation of Huss

and his adherents. Gerson and d'Ailly were among the ablest men of the time and were leading spirits in the council of Constance.

From her location, the university was destined to make herself heard and felt in every question of importance that stirred Europe. She led in proposed reforms of the church. She opposed the infamous doctrine that it is permissible and even meritorious to kill an unjust ruler. She vigorously condemned all heresies. It is interesting, too, to find her endeavoring to procure a somewhat rigid observance of Sunday and ferial days. In short, she was a great power, keenly awake, and in touch with every movement of the century. M. Feret has given a good impression of the myriad-sidedness of her activity. About 250 pages are devoted to the lives and works of her most prominent professors during the fifteenth century.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

OLIVER J. THATCHER.

**DIE THÄTIGKEIT UND STELLUNG DER CARDINÄLE BIS PAPST BONIFAZ VIII ; historisch-canonistisch untersucht und dargestellt.**  
 Von Dr. J. B. SÄGMÜLLER, Professor an der Universität Tübingen. Freiburg im Breisgau : Herder ; St. Louis, Mo. : B. Herder, 1896. Pp. viii+262, 8vo. Bound, \$1.80, *net*.

THE work of Dr. Sägmüller exhibits, for the first time, the genetic processes by which was formed the powerful senate of the Roman church. Thomassin and Ferraris have treated the subject from an antiquarian or a canonical point of view, Phillips and Hinschius from both standpoints. Hefele, Duchesne, Gregorovius, Fabre, the editors of Jaffe's *Regesta* and the editors of the papal *Regesta* since Innocent III, have thrown much light on a multitude of minor points. Excellent manuals of canon law, like Vering, Laemmer, and others, exhibit the actual authority and status of the cardinals individually and as a senate. The biographies of the more famous may be found in the "*Purpura Docta*" of Eggs, in Moroni, and a host of encyclopædias or national ecclesiastical histories. But, until the appearance of this book, a work was wanting that offered the investigator a critical insight into the formation of the college of advisers and helpers who immediately surround the bishop of Rome, and govern under him the Roman Catholic church. The study, smaller in volume than in importance, is divided into two parts. The first treats of the range or scope of the activity of the cardinals in history. The second offers a conspectus of their actual rights, privileges, duties, functions, etc., individually and collectively.

The ceremonial service of the Roman church, the administration of its temporalities, and the general government of the Catholic church, are the three main lines along which has proceeded the development of the cardinal's office. The heads of the principal churches at Rome, and the bishops of the nearest municipalities, were regularly present, in weekly turn, at the public services of the Roman church, from a very early date. The Roman church acquired great landed wealth in the centuries following the triumph of Christianity. The affairs of the Catholic world, during the Middle Ages, drifted more and more within the cognizance of the Roman church. Thus there grew up a natural necessity of coöperation and counsel, which in turn were most easily had from the principal ecclesiastics within easy daily communication with the pope.

The distinction of the cardinals into deacons, priests, and bishops is, of course, of ceremonial origin, and signifies the "titles" or churches that they hold. These, *ab immemoriali* almost, are diaconal, presbyteral, or episcopal in their character. We know comparatively little about the office of cardinal before the decay of the Byzantine power in Italy, and the consequent elevation of the bishop of Rome as the principal political power in the peninsula. In the four troublous centuries that follow the downfall of the Ostrogothic rule, the authority of the (imperial) *palatium* at Rome is gradually transferred to the hands of the pope, through nomination to the great palatine offices, chiefly the judicial, administrative, and military. The creation of the papal state emphasized at once the antithesis between the *Ecclesia* and the *Militia*, the former representing the sacerdotal interests at Rome and the latter the interests of the local aristocracy, now Byzantine, now Frankish in tendencies, but always selfish and unreliable. Thus the mixed government at Rome, from A. D. 800, passes rapidly into the hands of the chief ecclesiastics, who are now universally known as cardinals. They administer justice, keep order, control the finances, while the local aristocracy is held in awe by the emperor, until such time as the fierce counts of Tusculum seize all approaches to the city, and hold it for more than a century against all comers. In the meantime the converted barbarians of Europe are bringing their doubts, troubles, and litigations to the chair of Peter, which furnishes a new line of activity for the counselors of the Roman bishop. The annual synods which once sufficed to clear up such work were no longer equal to its great bulk, and the frequent consistory was established for the weekly dispatch of business. Henceforth the cardinal has only a nominal con-

nection with his church ; he is swallowed up in the work of the curia, the bureau. With the widening of Rome's range of influence goes an extension of his occupations and responsibilities. Faith, discipline, foreign legations, the causes of bishops, the protection of monasteries, the administration of the temporalities of the Roman church—farms, villas, fiefs of every degree from a ranch to a kingdom, the matrimonial woes of kings and emperors, general councils, crusades, the vast game of politics, ever new and infinite and changing—all this furnished the mediæval cardinal with the widest field ever given to man for the display of genius in government and administration. He was the agent of an essentially peaceful power, without arms or ambition, governing by reason of love, esteem, and gratitude. Through him international law, statecraft, diplomacy entered into the world. Among rulers and nations he was the official *cunctator*. His mark is on every page of European history, and usually for good. From the college of cardinals the pope was usually taken, which meant that he was likely to be a man of virtue, knowledge, and experience, known to all the courts of Europe, and familiar with their relations to the Holy See. Such were Gregory VII, Alexander III, Innocent III, Gregory IX, Boniface VIII—all men long tried in the service of Rome before they wore the tiara. The cardinals are largely responsible for the stability of papal tradition—the popes passed away, but the senate of cardinals held on, and governed in the interval.

Perhaps the most useful chapters of this book are those which describe (pp. 114-49) this interim government of the Roman church. In them is treated the question of the form of the papal election and its final fixation by the decree of Nicholas II (1059), which practically secured to the cardinals, for all future time, the right of electing the pope. Hitherto the "clergy and the people," in accord with archaic Christian discipline, had the right. But present grave disorders and a very threatening future made necessary the act of Nicholas. It has remained since then in substantial vigor. It will be seen at once that such a step could only increase enormously the dignity and influence of the cardinalate—indeed, the length of the conclaves, the "election capitulations," the seizure of great fiefs, and other abuses that soon followed, were evidences that the later cardinals were as human as their predecessors, and that nothing is so capable of abuse as unlimited power.

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CHRISTIAN INSTITUTIONS. By ALEXANDER V. G. ALLEN, D.D., Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the Protestant Episcopal Divinity School in Cambridge, Mass. New York : Charles Scribner's Sons, 1897. Pp. xxi + 577. \$2.50.

THIS is the sixth volume of the "International Theological Library." It is worthy of a place with Professor G. P. Fisher's *History of Christian Doctrine*, the fourth volume of the same series. The contents of this volume are arranged in three books of very unequal size.

The first book deals with the "Organization of the Church." It occupies a little less than one-half of the volume. With much in this survey of a confessedly difficult and complicated subject most well-read students of church history will agree. Pre-Reformation divergence from the Roman church, the controversies between the advocates of episcopacy and English Puritans in the sixteenth century, and the theories of the origin of episcopacy held in the present century by Rothe, Baur, Ritschl, Renan, Hatch, and Lightfoot, are conveniently summarized.

Professor Allen is a close student, not to say a disciple, of Edwin Hatch, the effect of whose famous "Bampton Lectures," *Growth of Christian Institutions*, and *Influence of Greek Ideas and Usages upon the Christian Church*, is abundantly manifest in this volume. Careful attention has also been given to Harnack's coöperative and supplementary work. Though his statements are carefully worded, Professor Allen assumes that the weight of recent scholarship fully sustains his own adoption of the theory of Hatch and Harnack in opposition to the general consensus of earlier scholars, including Lightfoot, and also in opposition to the explicit testimony of Jerome that presbyter and bishop were identical in the apostolic age. The statement in the table of contents, "Dr. Harnack *demonstrates* that the office of bishop was from the first distinct from that of presbyter," and the declaration in the text, p. 19, that Harnack "has offered convincing reasons for holding that the office of bishop was from the beginning distinct from that of the presbyter," will certainly require substantial modification for many of Professor Allen's readers, if not for himself. He goes too far when he speaks of "the grounds on which this ancient theory has been questioned and *finally rejected* by later scholars;" as if the case were closed beyond the possibility of appeal or reconsideration. Harnack's view has by no means commanded the general assent of the most competent modern scholars. Some of the ablest German authori-

ties refuse to accept his conclusions, and stoutly maintain that the ancient theory is not antiquated, but represents historical truth. Of these German views Professor Allen gives no intimation.

The limits of this review do not permit a detailed criticism of what seem to be altogether inadequate grounds for ignoring the testimony of Acts 20:17 and 28, reversing the consensus of earlier scholarship and somewhat summarily rejecting the judgment of the ablest and most judicious English exegete of the nineteenth century. There should be no disposition to undervalue the great industry, brilliant attainments, and ingenious generalizations of either Hatch or Harnack. But surely Professor Allen must know, what he does not suggest to his readers, that the best recent church histories in Germany treat the attempt of Hatch and Harnack to trace "from the beginning" distinct offices out of diverse functions or gifts as a skillful theory rather than an established conclusion. Is not Professor Allen familiar with the pronounced dissent from Harnack's view of Professor Loofs, the successor of Jacobi at Halle, an early and appreciative pupil of Harnack, and one of the most learned and judicious church historians of Germany? In a very able article in the *Studien und Kritiken*, 1890, Loofs discusses the constitution of the primitive church with especial reference to the views of Loening and Harnack. Loofs firmly maintains that there was originally no official distinction between presbyters and bishops. He considers the attempt to build diverse orders of church officers in the first Christian century upon differences of functions or gifts as complicated and misleading. He holds that the original identity of bishops and presbyters is supported by the testimony of Jerome, Clement of Rome, and Polycarp who describes the duties of presbyters and deacons, in his letter to the Philippians; by the various designations of presbyters in the New Testament as shepherds, leaders, overseers, etc.; and especially by the testimony of Acts 20:17 and 28. It is impracticable to present Loofs' arguments in detail or to indicate their cumulative force. We cannot avoid the conviction that the value of Professor Allen's work is greatly lessened by his presentation as demonstrated truth of what German historians regard an unproved hypothesis.

By a generous and somewhat elastic interpretation of the title "Christian Institutions," the author devotes his second principal division to "Creeds and the Development of Doctrine." This is the shortest of the three books, and occupies only 120 of the 565 pages of the volume. It contains much valuable material which might with



equal propriety be embodied in a "History of Doctrine" or "Symbolics."

Those unfamiliar with the detailed discussions of Swainson, Hort, and Harnack will find a particularly lucid and concise résumé of the true history of what has long been called the Nicene creed. This, like the "apostles' creed" and the "Athanasian," is popularly known by a false name. It was in reality the creed of Jerusalem, or the confession of Cyril of Jerusalem, and, in its enlarged form, is first found in the *Ancoratus* of Epiphanius, written in 374 A. D. In addition to the original Nicene creed, that of Cyril was presented to the Second General Council at Constantinople in 381 A. D., and again at Chalcedon in 451 A. D. By some means, and "at some moment unknown, in the age that followed the council of Chalcedon, the latter creed was substituted for the former," and has ever since borne the venerable name of the genuine creed which it displaced.

The third book treats of "Christian Worship and Ordinances." According to the prevalent practice in the ancient church, the mode of baptism was immersion and the subjects were adults. It is admitted that, while possibly infant baptism may have been administered by the apostles, there is no conclusive proof of such a practice. "The rite of baptism has undergone many changes in the lapse of time." "Immersion has given place to sprinkling and pouring; the baptism of infants means something different from the baptism of an adult." "Yet beneath the variations the essential idea and purpose of baptism has been preserved." The prevalence of infant baptism from the fourth century is explained as a recognition of the solidarity of the Christian world. "The principle of individualism, the characteristic of the church of the first three centuries, was passing into desuetude." An element in this transition was the "belief that the salvation of the child was imperiled by any delay." With the union of church and state the system of catechumenical instruction declined, and the heathen flocked into the churches in masses. More emphasis might have been given to the powerful influence of the Augustinian doctrines of inherited guilt, racial unity and responsibility, and the inevitable doom of every unbaptized child. Infant baptism rapidly increased and prevailed throughout Christendom soon after the general acceptance of the teaching of Augustine.

The author's contention that the consecration of matter, "the principle for which the Neo-Platonists were struggling, that the world is good," not evil, "the emphasis upon the body of Christ as deified

matter," and the mediæval doctrine of transubstantiation, with its imposing ritual, are traceable to the influence of Neo-Platonism, radically changed from original Platonism, seems to be an exaggerated application of the recent tendency to magnify in an almost exclusive way the influence of Greek philosophical thought upon the development of Christian doctrine and institutions. It is scarcely correct to term that form of eclecticism which reversed the attitude of Plato toward matter Neo-Platonism. Notwithstanding Professor Allen's repeated qualifications, we cannot resist the conviction that his treatment of this subject is somewhat strained, and that it reveals the magnetic influence of Hatch and Harnack, under whose fascinating spell many modern scholars are impelled to make novel and daring generalizations beyond the limits of exact truth. Professor Fisher's suggestions in his *History of Christian Doctrine*, pp. 167 and 171, seem much simpler, and, so far as they apply, more certainly correct.

In antagonism to the Augustinian and mediæval emphasis upon solidarity, Abelard proposed a principle "whose tendency was toward individualism, as contrasted with solidarity, when he said 'that the essence of sin lay in motive.'" But not until Luther proclaimed the principle of justification by faith was the primitive principle of individual salvation effectively opposed to dominant, mediæval thought.

Aversion to mediæval ritualism was more characteristic of certain branches of the Reformed than of the Lutheran church, but the powerful German protest against the spirit and matter of mediæval discipline developed a large measure of individual religious freedom and established a secure place among Germans for personal conviction and experience.

The mild statement that "in England there was a tendency (?) to repress religious freedom, as under the Tudors and Stuarts" (p. 429), is safely within the limits of historic truth, if we recall that Henry VIII sent to Tyburn, on the same hurdle, Romanists for refusing to acknowledge his supremacy, and Protestants for denying transubstantiation; that Anabaptists were put to death under both Edward VI and Elizabeth; and that so late as 1593 Barrow, Greenwood, and Penry, and in 1612 Edward Wightman, were executed for their religious opinions.

In the discussion of the Lord's Supper there is no word respecting its institution in immediate connection with the paschal supper, a view very generally held by the best exegetical students. A proper explanation of the institution of the Supper of the Lord at the close of his

last celebration of the passover would give additional interest to the account of the *agape* of the early Christians. It would, moreover, furnish strong historical presumption, if not proof, that the bread and wine were at first regarded as symbolical, and not as miraculously transformed into the literal body and blood of Christ. But in the treatment of this, as with other subjects of the volume, definite demarcation between the events, authority, and example of primitive or apostolic Christianity, and of the deviations of post-apostolic times, is wanting. "The early church" is an elastic phrase which may include only the principles and practices of the apostolic age, or may embrace unwarranted aberrations of succeeding generations.

There is a tendency to represent as Christian what became the dominant practice or tendency during a large period of time and over many minds. The influence of heathen and secular thought is abundantly recognized, but sharp distinctions between what was really and essentially Christian, and what was only nominally Christian, are rarely attempted. Hierarchy, monasticism, and papacy are treated by implication as almost inevitable and necessary in the evolution of Christianity; not as radical perversions of the fundamental teaching of Christ and the apostles. In Professor Allen's book we find no such phrases, and apparently no strong inclination to use such phrases, as those of Professor Fisher when, writing of the fourth century, he declares that "there arose a degenerate Christianity, a partially debased type of religion — what has been called a Christianity of the second rank or grade."

The close of the discussion of the Lord's Supper and of the book is especially noble and worthy. Both the Greek and Latin rituals are declared to be unable to supply the deepest needs of thoughtful men, and the imperative demand for intellectual, no less than emotional, satisfaction is asserted. Paul confidently declared to the Corinthian church: "We have the mind of Christ;" and although his exhortation to the Philippians, "Let the same mind be in you which was in Christ Jesus," may refer primarily to the affections, his affirmation to the Corinthians must certainly include the mental apprehension of truth. Surely after eighteen centuries of victorious conflict, needed Christian gifts, graces, and attainments are not less potent than at the beginning. It is pleasant to realize that amid diversities of forms and administrations there is something better than the external union which seems distant, if not hopeless, namely, the essential *unity* of all who, seeking reality in religion, place supreme emphasis upon intelli-

gent and devoted loyalty, in thought, feeling, and conduct, to the "mind of Christ."

Professor Allen's *Christian Institutions* may be regarded as the most important permanent contribution which the Protestant Episcopal church of the United States has yet made to general theological thought. In a few particulars it will not command the universal, or even the general, assent of discriminating readers; but it will receive, as it deserves, the respect and the appreciation of those who rightly estimate the varied learning and the independent spirit of the author.

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BENJAMIN O. TRUE.

THE BISHOPS OF THE AMERICAN CHURCH PAST AND PRESENT. By WILLIAM STEVENS PERRY, Bishop of Iowa and Historiographer of the American Church. New York: The Christian Literature Co., 1897. Pp. lxviii + 396. \$5, net.

THE long introduction is broken into six divisions. In the first the historic episcopate is dealt with, and the author labors to show that "our Lord instituted in his church, by succession from the apostles, a threefold ministry." In the second he makes it plain that the American church enjoys the genuine episcopal succession, the Scottish and English lines having at last been happily united in the ordination of Bishop Claggett in 1792. In the third we are told that the Church of England gave the episcopate to British North America in the person of Bishop Inglis, consecrated in 1787. In the fourth the story is told of Wesley's irregular way of introducing a sort of superintendency or episcopacy into America, and a list of the so-called Methodist bishops is given. In the fifth we learn how the Roman Catholic hierarchy in the United States was founded, and a list of the bishops of that church is appended. In the sixth it is explained how the church in Haiti and the church in Mexico received the episcopate from the American church.

After this long introduction, the book gives sketches, biographical and bibliographical, of all the bishops of the American church. On one leaf appears a likeness or portrait of a bishop and on the opposite leaf is printed his biography. The book is of value, since within the compass of a single volume we have brief notices of all the bishops of the Protestant Episcopal church in the United States, accompanied by their "counterfeit presentments."

ERI B. HULBERT.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

OUR REDEMPTION; its Need, Method, and Result. By F. A. NOBLE. New York and Chicago : Fleming C. Revell Co., 1898. Pp. 202. \$1.25.

IN *Our Redemption*, Dr. F. A. Noble has given the public a volume of sermons which sustains the reputation obtained by his volumes on the *Divine Life in Man*, and on *Philippians*. In pointing out the need of redemption, its method, and its result, the nature of sin, its consequences, its punishment, the conditions and outcome of its forgiveness, are clearly and thoroughly treated. The truths made known through human experience are considered as well as the statements of the Scriptures. Those who desire a full and fair discussion of sin and salvation in their mutual relations will find it in the twelve sermons which make up this volume.

That the subject is far from popular the author clearly understands. No one better than himself knows that with many of his conclusions there will not be universal agreement. In his handling of the subjects of these sermons there is nothing dogmatic, nothing of the confidence of the class-room, nothing like theological discussion, but intense earnestness and an evident purpose so to present truth as to persuade men to accept eternal life in Jesus Christ. There are three groups of sermons. In the first group the fact and ground of sin, its universality, its self-registry and disclosure, and its punishment, are considered ; in the second group it is made clear that there are insuperable difficulties in the free pardon of sin, that such an atonement as our Lord has made is necessary, and that this atonement can become effective only when voluntarily received ; in the third group we see the redeemed sinner nourishing his spiritual life, following Christ day by day, serving in his kingdom, and finally rejoicing in heaven.

The wide sweep of the author's thought, as well as the practical nature of his themes, are apparent. These sermons are for man in his present condition, and were written to show him that condition and the deliverance which his Heavenly Father has provided for him.

The sermons which magnify divine grace in the forgiveness of sin and in imparting the new life which resists and overcomes sin are more attractive than those which relate to sin itself, or to the condemnation which follows its commission. Yet the latter are not less valuable because they deal with the great and awful subjects from which the contemplation of men so often turn away. All the sermons have been prepared with great care. Every statement has been duly weighed.

Not a sentence has been uttered for rhetorical effect. In clearness of expression, in the choice of language, in logical arrangement, in the steady progress of thought which each sermon, no less than the entire book, exhibits, in apt illustration, in felicitous quotation, and in the wise use of Scripture, few discourses surpass those now before us. We commend the volume without reserve as an antidote to much of the lax thinking of our day.

EDWARD F. WILLIAMS.

THE BAPTIST PRINCIPLE, in Application to Baptism and the Lord's Supper. By WILLIAM CLEAVER WILKINSON, D.D. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society. Pp. 368, 12mo. \$1.25.

THIS is a republication, with revisions and additions, of a book whose contents first appeared as a series of newspaper articles some twenty years ago. It was regarded, when first published, as a contribution of exceptional interest and value to the literature of the subject. That it still holds the field is an unmistakable testimony to its worth. Like most good books, it is the outgrowth of an experience. The author first learned that, for himself, all of Christianity is summed up in two words: "Obey Christ." Having learned this, it seemed to him a duty to make this clear to others, and to apply the principle in various practical ways. In the "seventies," it will be remembered, there was a general discussion of the teaching and practice that obtain among Baptists with reference to baptism and the Lord's Supper—a discussion by no means confined within denominational limits, but general in the religious press of the United States. With no intention of making a book, Dr. Wilkinson began to write, testing each question, as it rose for discussion, by this touchstone of obedience. There was a freshness in the thought of the articles that he produced, a pungency in their style, a cogency in their logic, that made them most effective. And, though they appeared at a time when strong feeling had been excited, and many writings were more distinguished for vigor and rigor than for sweetness and light, their distinguishing characteristic was the calmness, the restraint, the courtesy, with which the most uncompromising convictions were set forth. Though the book would naturally be classed among those writings known as "polemics," its spirit is notably irenic. Would that all religious controversy might be conducted after this manner, if there must be controversy!

Of the new matter in this edition, the most noteworthy is the

preface and the chapters on the "Teaching of the Apostles." With considerable ingenuity, but perfect fairness, it is attempted in these chapters to show that the testimony of this ancient document is by no means inconsistent with the contention that baptism in the apostolic age was always immersion, but, on the contrary, that the document confirms this view. Especially is the "Teaching" fatal to the theory that there is a special "sacred sense" of *βαπτίζω* in the New Testament and the early Christian literature.

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**HOMILETIC: Lectures on Preaching.** By THEODOR CHRISTLIEB, D.D. Edited by Th. Haarbeck. Translated by Rev. C. H. Irvin, M.A. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark; New York: Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons. Pp. xii + 382. \$2.75.

THESE lectures were delivered at the University of Bonn to a large and ever-increasing circle of believing students. They are admirably adapted to the wants of Lutheran ministers in Germany, but they do not supply the wants of ministers in this country so well. The analysis is too minute and teasing, and when the resources of the Roman and Arabic numerals and the English alphabet have been exhausted in marking divisions and subdivisions, the Greek and Hebrew alphabets are called in to assist. The text is often interlarded with a multitude of literary references which serve to show the wide acquaintance of the author with what other Germans have written on the subject, but which bewilder the American reader and impede his progress to no purpose. Much space is occupied in discussing questions long since settled here. No less than fifty-six pages are devoted to the question whether the preacher to the ordinary congregation should call on men to repent and believe, or should assume that all his hearers are Christians, and should direct his efforts exclusively to their edification. The author reasons his lengthy way to a fairly sound conclusion, though he maintains that infant baptism and confirmation have made a difference between the heathen and the hearers of the ordinary congregation, however godless their lives may be, and though he protests against Methodistic appeals to the unconverted. Six pages are occupied in showing that the preacher ought to possess "the personal knowledge and experience of salvation," contrary to a common belief in Germany, where "innumerable young homilists think that they can equip them-

selves for the calling of the preacher with homiletic rules learned off, and thus enter upon the most responsible of all offices without being inwardly qualified for it." Ten pages are devoted to the question whether it is proper for the minister to preach against the fundamental doctrines of the church to which he belongs and to which he owes his position and his living. Sixteen pages are devoted to the question whether the preacher should be allowed to select his own texts, or should be compelled to preach from those prescribed by superior authority. Ninety-one pages are occupied with directions concerning the kinds of sermons adapted to all the festivals and fasts of the Christian year and the kinds of addresses appropriate to baptisms, confirmations, marriages, and funerals. All these matters, very important in Germany, but of comparatively little interest here, leave but small space for the science of homiletics as taught by English-speaking Protestants.

The lectures present abundant evidence that the German pulpit is in a deplorable condition. They contain a good outline of the history of preaching in general till the Reformation, and of German preaching since that time. They contain also an admirable bibliography of German homiletic literature. The translation is excellent.

FRANKLIN JOHNSON.

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CATERGIAN. *Die Liturgien bei den Armeniern. Fünfzehn Texte und Untersuchungen*, herausgegeben von P. J. DASHIAN. Wien: Druck und Verlag der Mechitaristen-Congregation, 1897. Pp. 746, folio. 28s.

THIS volume contains a number of ancient liturgies of the mass which were translated into their tongue by the fathers of the Armenian church. The following is a list of them: (1) The Liturgy of St. Basil, in the oldest Armenian version; (2) the Liturgy of St. Basil, in a later version; (3) the Liturgy of the Armenians. Under this head, (*a*) the Anaphora of St. Sahak, (*b*) of St. Gregory Theologus, (*c*) of St. Cyril of Alexandria, (*d*) fragments of a liturgy ascribed to Chrysostom. (4) Mass of the Catechumens; (5) the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom; (6) the Anaphora of St. Ignatius; (7) the Liturgy of the Presanctified; (8) the Liturgy of St. James; (9) the Liturgy of the Romans; (10) the Liturgy of the Armenians from the eleventh century up to the present: in two principal texts, viz., that of St. Nerses of



Lambron, and that of ordinary MSS. and editions of the above liturgies or versions. No. 1 belongs to the beginning of the fifth century, for it is already quoted at some length by the historian Faustus of Byzant, writing during the first decade of that century. No. 2 is a version of the ninth or tenth century; Nos. 3 and 4 belong to the close of the fifth century; No. 5 is an early version, probably of the tenth century; No. 6 is a version made as late as the thirteenth century; No. 7 is a version of uncertain age, between the tenth and twelfth century; No. 8 is of the same date; No. 9 was probably translated by Nerses of Lambron in the twelfth century, perhaps for use among the Armenians of Cilicia, who had by then established good relations with the pope. The chief manuscript sources for Nos. 1-8 of these liturgies are two codices, one in the public library of Lyons, the other in the Royal Library of Munich. The former is an octavo volume (written in large minuscule), No. 15, of 212 folios parchment. In the binding are two folios of an old uncially written MS. of the fifth century by the historian of Armenia, Elisæus; and these fragments, containing an earlier text of this historian than other MSS., I published in the journal of the Mekhitarists of Vienna in 1893. The liturgies were copied in this book in A. D. 1314 by John the priest. Liturgies Nos. 6 and 8 of the above list I have myself copied from this codex in 1896. The other codex is in Munich, written A. D. 1427-32 on smooth paper in large minuscule. This codex is copied from an earlier one of the thirteenth century. This entire collection of liturgies was probably got together in one book about the year 1200. These two chief sources can occasionally be supplemented from Armenian liturgical MSS., and of all such additional evidence the editor makes use.

The zeal and care with which Dr. Dashian has edited these texts is above all praise; and his work on the common liturgy of his church, which in the Lyons MS. is given under the title of the Liturgy of St. Athanasius, is exhaustive and final. The oldest MSS. in Armenian libraries have been compared, and the two expositions of the sacrament written by Chrosrow in the tenth and by Nerses of Lambron in the twelfth centuries have been carefully used in order to establish the text of the Armenian liturgy as performed in those ages.

In addition to the texts Dr. Dashian supplies ample notes and prolegomena in which the Armenian texts are compared with the Greek or Syriac forms of the liturgies; and he translates into Armenian the Clementine liturgy found in the apostolic constitutions. It almost seems a pity that the fruit of so much study as Dr. Dashian has devoted to the

history of early liturgies should be locked up in modern Armenian. If everything except the Armenian texts themselves could have been given in a European language, and the texts themselves printed with a literal Latin or German translation, the volume would be of the greatest use to liturgical students, and would at once take its place alongside of such important works as Mr. Brightman's *Eastern and Western Liturgies*. In a future number of this Journal the reviewer hopes to be allowed to supply a literal rendering of the Armenian Liturgy of St. Basil, which, in this its earliest form, differs remarkably even from the best and earliest Greek codices. At the same time, the excerpts in Faustus of Byzant, *ca.* 400-410, show that this Armenian form of it was already in use in Armenia as early as 400 A. D.

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CHRISTIAN MISSIONS AND SOCIAL PROGRESS. A Sociological Study of Foreign Missions. By REV. JAMES S. DENNIS, D.D. 2 vols., 8vo., illust. New York, Chicago, and Toronto: The Fleming H. Revell Co. Vol. I, 1897; 3d edition, 1898. Pp. x+468. \$2.50.

THERE is no more striking proof of the welcome change that has in late years come over the spirit of Christian missionary enterprise than this monumental work. We have as yet but the first of what is to be a brace or a trio of volumes, but this volume is the signal proof that the merely dogmatic phase of Christian missions is rapidly passing away, if not already over, and that the Christian church is girding herself to the work of ministering to men as the Master himself did—to the whole man. He came that men might have life, and that they might have it more abundantly, and this work of Dr. Dennis is a shining commentary upon Christ's own explanation of his mission. Himself rich in experience of both the difficulties and the rewards of Christian missionary work, Dr. Dennis shows on every page familiarity with multifarious and many-sided actualities, as well as with the keenest thought and widest observation of a host of witnesses as recorded in books. It is a decided advantage to his readers that these chapters have been delivered as lectures and afterwards recast and furnished with all the bibliographical aids for which the earnest student so yearns. To each lecture there is appended a list of the choicest works on the subject treated.

This first volume contains four lectures — on the sociological scope of Christian missions, on the social evils of the non-Christian world, on ineffectual remedies and the causes of their failure, and on Christianity the social hope of the nations. The companion volume is to treat of "The Dawn of the Sociological Era in Missions and the Contribution of Christian Missions to Social Progress." A third volume will contain the statistics.

Appeal to the eye by means of pictures has been effectively made in other missionary volumes, but we think we are safe in saying that never with such abundance and power as by Dr. Dennis in this book. He has secured from many fields photographs of educational and medical edifices and houses of worship, of aboriginal people and of those of varied degrees of civilization, both in their ante-Christian condition and as modified under Christian culture. Thus faces are made to tell their own story, and the proportions of the great enterprise are displayed vividly before the eyes of those who have not been so fortunate as to see the work in foreign fields. It seems almost incredible that within half an hour's walk of the path trod by Dr. David Livingstone when he entered central Africa there is now a noble brick edifice, that would be an ornament to any city in the United States, built by native workmen under the direction of Rev. Dr. Clement Scott, of the Church of Scotland missions, at Blantyre.

Dr. Dennis opens his subject by ably arguing that Christian missions are a humanizing ministry. They not only touch and transform individual lives, but they reach and influence society as a whole. They not only make new men, with ennobled and purified characters, and give birth to new ecclesiastical institutions, but they also implant a new spirit and give a better tone to society, resulting in changed conditions, higher ideals of life, and remedial measures, which are indicative of a new era in non-Christian nations. They advocate and seek to establish a more refined moral code for the domestic, social, commercial, philanthropic, and even national life of mankind. The author fortifies his magnificent argument, not only by a wealth of illustrations, but by an appeal to the larger vision of God's purpose in missions, as revealed in the Holy Scriptures. Missions stand for social evolution, with Christianity introduced as a factor. World-wide social redemption is the culminating thought in the New Testament. The expansion of the kingdom is the crowning promise of Scripture. He pleads that mission service is the secret of inspiration and power to the church. Indeed, he might have quoted what a Unitarian critic once declared,

that it was the revival of the missionary spirit in the orthodox churches in New England at the opening of this century that saved them from formalism, and even death.

The longest, and perhaps the most effective, chapter in the book treats of the social evils of the non-Christian world. This part of the work of Dr. Dennis, we imagine, will be likely to influence most powerfully the reader who makes no claim to dogmatic prepossessions. It is an appalling picture of the world outside of Christendom, though the author is very far from saying that all these evils are all confined to heathendom. He handles the subject comparatively and with discrimination. Of evils affecting primarily individuals he notes intemperance, the opium and gambling habits, immoral vices, self-torture, suicide, idleness, improvidence, excessive pride and self-exaltation, and moral delinquency. In the group of evils affecting primarily the family he notes the degradation of woman, polygamy and concubinage, adultery and divorce, child marriage and widowhood, defects in family training, and infanticide. He shows clearly how society is affected through the individual and the family. The evils of the tribal group find their origin in the cruel passions and savage life, in the slave traffic, slavery, cannibalism, human sacrifices, cruel ordeals, cruel punishments and torture, brutality in war, blood-feuds, and lawlessness. It would be difficult, in our space, even to as much as catalogue the evils of the social group, which are due to lack of intelligence, or the force of depraved habits; the evils in the national group, which afflict society through misuse of the governing power; the evils of the commercial group, incidental to low commercial standards or defective industrial methods; the evils of the religious group, which deprive society of the moral benefits of pure religious faith and practices. Suffice it to say that Dr. Dennis shows keen critical judgment in sifting his mountainous mass of evidence and in summoning the most trustworthy witnesses. Though the opposer of Christian missions might answer by severe criticisms of individuals and society in Christian lands, it would be impossible to rebut the evidence in the text and abundant footnotes.

Most fascinating to the student of the practical problem is the chapter on ineffectual remedies and the causes of their failure. Here Dr. Dennis is very cautious in his statements. Yet he makes it very plain that, while recognizing whatever good there is in the ethnic religions, yet his conclusion is that whatever partial excellence may be in them is found more perfectly in Christianity. In setting forth to prove that Christianity is the social hope of the nations, his argu-

ment is largely historical. He lays great emphasis on the supremacy of the Christian motive, and shows that a master-motive in morals is the great need of the world. Christianity not only differs from the non-Christian religions in its estimate of man, but it introduces new moral forces into mission lands, and is among the first of civilizing agencies. He believes that historic Christianity is equal to the task which has been outlined, and that it need not compromise with the ethnic faiths, for it has a unique and exclusive glory. Universal mastery is the final heritage of Christ and his religion.

We have found very little in this work to criticise unfavorably. We confess a hearty admiration for an author who has, so to speak, created his subject and shown us, with surprising freshness and originality, how an old theme can be treated. We shall look with interest to the succeeding volumes. Meanwhile we recommend this work to those half-hearted pastors whose views of missions are vague or narrow, and who need conversion to that phase of the gospel of Christ that commands the evangelization of the whole race and the whole world.

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WM. ELLIOT GRIFFIS.

THE RETURN TO THE CROSS. By REV. W. ROBERTSON NICOLL, M.A., LL.D., Editor of *The Expositor*, *The Expositor's Bible*. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1898. Pp. viii+320. \$1. [=Vol. XIX of "The Gospel and the Age Series."]

THIS is a collection of brief papers, to the number of twenty-eight, on various timely topics in religion, discussed under chapter titles generally well chosen and attractive to the reader. The majority of the papers, though by no means all of them, are animated by a common purpose such as brings them into a certain unity fairly expressing itself in the title of the collection.

We can sincerely praise the book in very high terms. It is admirable alike in matter and in manner. The thought is fresh and sweet. The style is answerable to it, being delightfully clear, and not without real distinction. It bespeaks in the writer a cultivated mind, a chastened spirit, a practiced pen. It is sufficiently incisive, but it never parts with a winning grace of amenity. You feel always in reading that the author holds his convictions with conscious firmness, but you feel likewise that he does so with every concession to difference that a just complaisance on his part can require. The intention with which he writes has thus every possible advantage to win way with the reader.

What is that intention? The title expresses it very well. Not perhaps perfectly well, for it might seem to imply that the author perceives a current movement in return to the cross which he hails and welcomes. That, however, is not quite the case. The case is rather that he feels a current need of return to the cross which he would point out and help convert into a conscious purpose and endeavor.

Mr. Nicoll presents a rare example of openness to new views, on the one hand, combined with fidelity to the old gospel, on the other. He rests the emphasis of his inculcation, where in religious teaching it should always be rested, on what is fundamental in Christianity. And the fundamental, the distinctive, the vital thing in Christianity, that which constitutes Christianity a gospel, is, Mr. Nicoll insists, the fact of Christ's death and the fact of Christ's resurrection as laying together the twofold immovable historic foundation for the doctrine of an adequate redemptive atonement. Preaching should, he thinks, return to this idea; that is what he means by "return to the cross."

It is in the highest degree refreshing and reassuring to come upon such teaching from such a source. We wish every preacher in this country could be got to read Mr. Nicoll's book. The present writer has found it often to be like drawing water from the wells of salvation to dwell upon its pages. Mr. Nicoll constructs a hypothetical sermon on this wise:

Christ has come to reveal the glory of the higher personal life. Our ideals have been too poor, too near, and too partial. Let us take Christ as the measure of the stature of the perfect man. Let us seek to drink in constantly the spirit of his life. Let our life be an everlasting ascent, through all failure and defeat, to the height on which he stands. Let us be impatient of everything that comes short of the highest, and let us spare no effort to attain it, though it be with wearied feet and bleeding brow and heart loaded with sorrow. Let us wait for the gales of the Spirit, and let us seek to be driven before them. If there is a virtue we would emulate or a fault we would discard, let us gaze on the one till our souls have risen under it as the tide under the moon, or scourge the other in sight of all our faculties till every natural sense recoils from its company. Let us never be stopped by falls. Let us arise from all these, and repent and address ourselves anew to the great task, until the yawning gulf between the actual and the ideal is bridged at last. So yearning, so striving, we are climbing the hill of God, and we are in the way of salvation.

He then asks: ". . . What is this but the righteousness of the law, by which no flesh can be saved?" "It is," he says, "the old falsehood which the whole strength of the apostles was spent in

refuting. . . . If this is generally preached, then the battle of the Reformation has to be fought over again."

The fine breadth and generosity of evangelic sympathy, the just spiritual sagacity perhaps not less, which characterize this somewhat "liberal" writer are well displayed in a striking remark of his about Spurgeon: "The church does not yet know what a great saint and doctor she possessed in Mr. Spurgeon."

With all our admiration and applause of this volume and this writer, we make, as in duty bound, our contribution toward keeping high the standard of public requirement from those who offer us books, by pointing out a few negligences observed in these generally fair and scholarlike pages. "Endæmonism" (p. 34) is, we suppose, an error of the press for "eudæmonism." "It meets the *whole wants* of the guilty" (p. 175) must, we judge, be a slip of the author's own. "That Balzac was free from follies it would be ridiculous to *deny*" (p. 294), is followed on the very next page by a solecism of the same sort, "How often, even in his *least ungenial* writing, when he seems abandoned to the spirit of cynicism, does his faith flash up and drive it out of sight!" Mr. Nicoll's choice of title for one of his papers, "Listening unto Death," seems to imply a wrong exegesis. "Listening" is Mr. Nicoll's substitution for "obedient" in the expression, referring to Christ, "obedient unto death," where evidently the apostle's meaning is, not, as Mr. Nicoll makes it, *until* death, but up to the extreme of dying, nay, of dying on the cross. But exceptions and abatements like those which we have thus noted count as nothing against the value and merit of this seasonable and wholesome book.

WILLIAM CLEAVER WILKINSON.

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SOCIAL AND ETHICAL INTERPRETATIONS IN MENTAL DEVELOPMENT: A Study in Social Psychology. By PROFESSOR JAMES MARK BALDWIN, of Princeton University. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1897. Pp. xiv+574. \$2.60.

PROFESSOR BALDWIN'S latest volume is typical of the current reaction against the artificial teachings of the older, individualistic psychology. The demands of Steinthal, Lazarus, and Lewes for a social psychology—for a study of the forest as well as of the single tree—has not been unheeded. The psychologists and philosophers, notably James, Royce, and Dewey, are insisting upon the fact that the content of con-

sciousness—whatever its abstract forms may be—is chiefly social, while the sociologists, with Tarde at their head, are affirming the same thing from a somewhat different point of view. Baldwin approaches the problems of social philosophy, ethics, and religion from the standpoint of genetic psychology. He attempts to interpret the phenomena in question with a conception which he describes as the “dialectic of personal growth.” He asserts that an analysis of the process by which human personality is gradually developed during infancy, childhood, and youth will give deeper insight into the nature of social organization. Baldwin like Tarde makes much of imitation as the process by which the developing individual appropriates elements of personality from others, until the maturer product is a bewildering complex of self and other selves. Professor William James, in his chapter on “The Consciousness of Self,” has pointed out this wide extension of the sense of self, but Baldwin offers an even more subtle and detailed analysis. In spite of a style that is almost always difficult and at times actually obscure, the author has strikingly set forth the fact that society is a vast plexus of interweaving personalities. Although individual growth is described in terms of a process far too simple, precise, even artificial, yet the reader realizes vividly that, by virtue of our common social life, “we are members one of another” in no merely sentimental, figurative sense, but as an actual psychological fact.

Professor Baldwin further describes the gradual growth in the child's consciousness of a sense of a social self—a general personality or “socius” common to the group in which he lives. Out of this notion of the social self an ideal self is little by little built up, and with it comes the feeling of obligation to attain this ideal—*i. e.*, the ethical life begins. But this is not all. Certain emotions characterize the attitude toward this ideal personality, a feeling of dependence and a feeling of mystery. These two feelings combine to form the religious sentiment, which is, therefore, itself a product of growing personality. The feeling of dependence is described as passing through three stages: (1) instinctive or spontaneous, (2) intellectual, (3) ethical. The early tendency of the child is to put unquestioning faith in other personalities, *e. g.*, to make divinities of parents. Later the child, perplexed by the problems of nature, social life, and conduct, looks up to others as all-wise and able to solve his difficulties. Finally, with maturity comes the sense of helplessness in the presence of the ideal and its demands, the sense of sin, remorse, guilt, etc. The sense of mystery also passes through corresponding epochs, from vague apprehension



in the face of surprises in the physical world to a feeling of awe and wonder in the presence of an ideal, divine personality.

Professor Baldwin's treatment may be regarded as supplementary to the work of the anthropologists and the students of religions. It affords another point of view and suggests many confirmations of generalizations reached from the side of religious philosophy and objective description. The book may well be read in connection with the works of Tylor, Spencer, Müller, Renan, Caird, and Guyau.

In summing up his chapter on "Religious Sentiment," Professor Baldwin offers a revision of Matthew Arnold's definition: "Religion is morality touched with emotion;" for which he would substitute: "Religion is emotion kindled by faith, emotion being reverence for a person and faith being dependence upon him." The task which the author undertakes is to show the growth of this ideal person in consciousness and the development of the sense of dependence. It is a detailed, if not always perfectly clear, examination of anthropomorphism. The cumulative effect of the argument is striking. It seems at first to threaten theological revolution, but ultimately resolves itself into a reinterpretation of familiar phenomena by means of searching psychological analysis.

It is to be noted that in Baldwin's view religion like morality develops directly out of social life and consciousness of social relationships. Stress is laid upon the essentially social character of both the ethical and the religious life. The individual of the old individualistic philosophy is shown to be a mere logical abstraction, a phantom without concrete existence. Yet individuality is not neglected. As imitation represents the uniforming force in society, so invention stands for personal contribution and initiative. Social progress is brought about by the widespread imitation of the new ideas of inventive individuals. In the ethical life most of the alleged antitheses between individual and social welfare have no real existence. By the very interweaving of personalities the *ego* cannot be sharply set off from the *alter*. The father does not think himself definitely apart from his family. Social regulations are accepted by the vast majority of men because they themselves embody these common standards as a part of their own personalities. In the case of exceptional individuals, or the exceptional judgments of ordinary individuals, oppositions do appear and are themselves the source of progress.

Professor Baldwin offers, therefore, a complete social philosophy. By means of the concepts, imitation, invention, opposition, he seeks to correlate all the phenomena of social life. It may be said that he

has succeeded in restating the problem in clearer terms. He has changed the labels on the mysteries. In doing this he has made an important contribution. It is to be regretted that his book is hard to read and that the treatment is not more thoroughly organic. But, in spite of these defects, it must be frankly admitted that the author has outlined a plan of campaign in the field of social psychology which should win him the gratitude of philosophers and psychologists generally.

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THE EPIC OF PAUL. By WILLIAM CLEAVER WILKINSON. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Co., 1897. Pp. 722. \$2.

TO HIS *Epic of Saul*, which was received with warm commendation a few years ago, Dr. Wilkinson has now added *The Epic of Paul*. The first presented the opening scenes in the Christian life of the apostle to the Gentiles; the second presents the closing scenes, beginning with his captivity at Jerusalem and ending with his martyrdom at Rome. It would be too slight praise to say that the reader will find in the second volume all the characteristic excellences of the first, for he will find more. The first was admirable, but in the second the author makes a flight so bold and so well sustained that he must be accorded a higher place among the poets of the English language than that which he had before reached, eminent as it was.

*The Epic of Paul* is a Christian poem. From first to last the reader of it breathes an atmosphere of devotion. But it does not plead for a lenient judgment from the critic on that account. It does not make its piety a cloak for deformity or inanity. It is a work of art, and will be admired by many to whom its religious character will be unwelcome.

First of all, it presents to us a plot of generous proportions. In this respect it stands almost alone among recent poems. Even Tennyson did not achieve any large construction. He attempted something like an epic in "The Idyls of the King," yet produced only a series of disconnected stories of chivalry, each charming in itself, but sustaining no organic relation to its fellows. Dr. Wilkinson, following in the main the last seven chapters of the Acts, has built a structure imposing for its extent, of harmonious proportions, and fitly framed together. He has not sought to make a poetic version of these chapters; he has selected his materials from them with skill, excluding

much which lay outside the limits of his purpose, and has filled in the biblical outline with many happy inventions of his own.

The personages who surround Paul in this poem, some friendly and some hostile, and each one distinct and lifelike, constitute a most interesting group. Gamaliel, learning of Christ in his last hours; Shimei, the villain; Simon, the sorcerer; Felix, the fallen politician; Drusilla, the voluptuous intriguante; Krishna, the Buddhist; Mary Magdalene, Stephen, and Eunice, appear frequently, and always in character. Thus the poem is readable from beginning to end; it is fascinating considered simply as a narrative, and some persons may overlook its poetic beauty in their interest in the story, so full is it of incident, of happy surprises, of stir, of onward movement. The poem would be admired as a romance of the first century, even if to the charm of its character studies and the variety of its plotting and counter-plotting it did not add the charm of poetic imagination and diction.

But the largeness of the plan and the romantic interest of the action would not save the poem from unfavorable criticism if it had no other excellence. It is instinct with a very high poetic quality. It abounds in pregnant sentences, in shrewd reflections, in graphic sayings, which are destined to be quoted much in sermons and essays. It often blooms out in passages of sustained imaginative power. Its ornamentation is never laid on artificially, but always appears as a natural production of the organization as a whole, to which it thus bears a vital relation. In his more successful passages of this kind Dr. Wilkinson exhibits the ability, possessed by few writers, of causing the reader to forget the language, and to see or hear or touch the very object of which it speaks. He transfers his visions bodily to others, so that they find themselves in a new world, and yet a world of realities on which they look, to which they listen, and which they handle with their hands.

One does not expect to find in a long poem like this the "faultily faultless" style of Tennyson, who spent his life in polishing small gems of expression. Yet the reader is gratified with the richness of the diction. It is evident that Dr. Wilkinson has mastered the choicest treasures of our language, and has learned how to display them to the most picturesque advantage.

The poem is in lines of ten syllables, the English epic measure. The versification shows a careful study of Milton, and, as in "*Paradise Lost*," about one line in four conforms to the typical accent, the accentuation of the others being varied in many different ways, so that the ear does not become weary. The diction is not always lofty, nor

is it intended to be so. Dr. Wilkinson appears to hold that, in a poem of considerable length, the language should fall nearer the level of the earth when the subject contains nothing intrinsically imaginative, and should rise with the thought and feeling. He has conformed to his theory in this poem. Hence he has given us some passages that seem bald, and that halt and limp. If he has lost anything in this way, he has gained in the variety of the effects which he has produced. Such passages are like those discords in a symphony with which the composer prepares the way for a burst of pure harmony.

Dr. Wilkinson might have sought a certain advantage by choosing a measure different from that of the "*Paradise Lost*," as Longfellow has removed much of his work from dangerous comparisons and contrasts by writing in meters which the other poets of our language have not tried. If *The Epic of Paul* had not great excellences, it would have fallen disastrously from its daring intrusion into a region so flooded with splendor; and it is high praise to say that, brought into the effulgence of this sun, it is not quenched, but continues to shine with a light of its own, though by no means so brilliant and overwhelming as that of the one supreme poem of our literature.

*The Epic of Paul* is not without faults. It contains too many inversions which add nothing to its beauty. It contains too many irregular sentences, constructed by the aid of parenthetical clauses, dashes, and other devices of a similar kind. It might well contain a larger number of passages of a sustained lyrical character, which would flow onward with a current unbroken by the boulders of indirect and involved sentences. The paraphrases of Scripture which sometimes occur suggest the incomparable music of our English version, but do not reproduce it, and might well be curtailed. Where the passage is from the Psalms, it might well be cast into the form of a hymn, which would be so far removed from the structure of the original that it would suffer less by comparison with it.

Yet, after we have made all such deductions, there remains so much to enjoy and commend that one scarcely thinks of these defects. It is impossible to predict the fate of any book with assurance. But it is my strong conviction that *The Epic of Paul* has come to stay, that it will occupy a permanent place in our literature, and that its rank will be high. It will charm both the common reader of moderate cultivation and the higher circles of those who are able to judge it critically and to understand and feel its many noble qualities.

*A Guide to Biblical Study.* By A. S. Peake, M.A., with Introduction by Principal A. M. Fairbairn. (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1897; pp. xvi+264; \$1.50) will be found of real value by those who desire suggestions as to the best helps and methods for the study of the Bible. The hints on the proper books to be selected as aids will meet the needs of a large class of students, Sunday-school teachers, and preachers who would like to be up to date in their understanding of the Bible, but do not know just where to begin. The book maintains a fair and judicial position on questions of criticism, while presenting both sides.—H. L. WILLETT.

*Die Kritik nach ihrem Recht und Unrecht.* Von Eduard Rupprecht. (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1897; pp. 63; M. 0.90.) This treatise seeks to separate between questions of fact and questions of hypothetical suppositions in the treatment of the problems of biblical criticism, and points out the dangers of subjectivism in such discussions. It contains sundry strictures on the positions of Wellhausen and Driver, and seeks to vindicate tradition which rests on external evidence as opposed to subjective theoretical and critical reconstructions of the historical records.—*La première page de la Bible.* Étude d'histoire religieuse. Par H. Vuilleumier. (Lausanne: F. Rouge, 1896; pp. 41; fr. 1.) The problem of the "reconciliation" of "science" and "religion," or "Genesis" and "geology," is productive of a constant succession of books and pamphlets. To this weighty problem this little treatise is devoted. It contains much that is interesting and suggestive, particularly on the relation of the hebdomadal framework of the account of creation to the substance of the account itself, and also on the relation of the Babylonian cosmogony to the Hebrew account of creation. The "last word" on this problem has not yet been said.—A. H. HUIZINGA.

*Jesus, Son of God.* By Rev. F. Warburton Lewis, B.A., author of *The Unseen Life*. (London: Elliot Stock, 1897; pp. 67; 2s. 6d.) The meaning, for us, of the title "Son of God" is to be found by going to the consciousness behind the words and acts of Jesus and learning what it meant to him. His life on earth was a natural progress, event flowing out of event, and experience out of experience. At the baptism (the dawn of day) he knows his relation to God and his call to the kingdom. In the temptation (morning cloud) he preserves it. At the feeding of the multitude (zenith) he chooses the lonely, dark, but

royal, way of rejection. And so on, through the experience at Hermon (toward afternoon), the visit with Zacchæus and the request of the Greeks (evening light and shade), Gethsemane (nightfall), till, on the cross (midnight), God's Son revealed the God that eternally beareth sin for men. Finally, in the resurrection (sunrise) he is manifested Son of God. This little book is a gem. Rich thought, fruitful suggestion, deep devotion are concentrated in simple, poetical expression on every page.—GEORGE CROSS.

*Über die Aussprüche Jesu an Petrus, Ev. Matth. 16, 17-19.* Von W. Beyschlag. (Leipzig: Buchhandlung des evangel. Bundes von C. Braun, 1897; pp. 24; M. 0.20.) A brief, but admirable discussion, occasioned by the papal encyclica *De Unitate*. Professor Beyschlag rejects the makeshift of making Christ's words refer to Peter's faith instead of Peter's person; also refuses to regard the saying as a later interpolation. The three crucial phrases, "the church," "the keys of the kingdom," and "to bind and loose," are carefully considered. An interesting statement of Döllinger's is quoted: "that of all the church Fathers who have treated the passage exegetically, not one applied it to the Roman bishops as the successors of Peter."—*Die Genugsamkeit und Vielseitigkeit des neutestamentlichen Kanons.* Von C. F. Nösgen. (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1897; pp. 40; M. 0.50.) A popular and spiritually appreciative address on the sufficiency and many-sidedness of the canonical writings of the New Testament. It proves from the testimony of Christ and the apostles that they regarded their gospel, which was afterward deposited in the canon, as sufficient for salvation. The many-sidedness is proved by an interesting inductive study of the New Testament books. The treatment is in accordance with the well-known conservative attitude of the author.—*Das Sakrament des heiligen Abendmahls.* Von S. Gemmel. (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1897; pp. 44; M. 0.50.) The paper is directed against the position of Jülicher and Grafe, that the Last Supper was not intended by Christ to be a permanent institution; and against the position of Spitta, Mensinga, and Brandt, that Christ did not refer to his death in the words of institution. The significance of the eucharist is set forth from the Lutheran point of view.—W. R.

*The Witch-Persecutions.* Edited by George L. Burr; pp. 36; paper, \$0.20. *The Early Christian Persecutions.* Edited by Dana Carleton Munro and Edith Bramhall; pp. 32; paper, \$0.20. (Being

Vol. III, No. 4, and Vol. IV, No. 1, of *Translations and Reprints from Original Sources of European History*, published by the Department of History of the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1897.) The first of these pamphlets contains a selection of original documents bearing upon the witch persecutions in Christian lands from the thirteenth to the eighteenth centuries. Leaving but little noted the various superstitions classed under the convenient term "witchcraft," it sets forth the origin, methods, and scope of these persecutions from English, French, Latin, and German material.—The early Christian persecutions extending from the time of Nero to the decree of Milan, 313 A. D., are traced out of important Latin and Greek sources in the second paper. Both papers are of high value in presenting to the student, in familiar language, a careful selection of the sources of the history of which they treat.—WARREN P. BEHAN.

*Görres.* Von Dr. Joh. Nep. Sepp. (Berlin: Ernst Hofmann & Co., 1896; pp. xv + 208; M. 2.40.) Jakob Joseph von Görres, publicist, politician, and professor, a man of great natural gifts, of high social standing, and an ardent champion of freedom, lived in stirring times (1776–1848), and it is not strange that he has been characterized by some of his contemporaries as a radical Jakobine in his youth and a bigoted ultramontane in his old age. In Dr. Sepp, Görres has found a sympathetic biographer, who claims a hearing by reason of an intimate acquaintance with him extending over a long period of time. While admitting that Görres' political ideals underwent considerable change after the downfall of Napoleon I, nevertheless, the biographer holds, there was one supreme idea which animated his life, and which he sought to realize: to aid in reuniting the fatherland once again. Because Görres thought ultramontanism could accomplish this, he joined that party. Dr. Sepp calls him the German O'Connell. The book contains valuable references to the political, social, and religious conditions of the ruling classes in the cities of Heidelberg, Strassburg, and Munich.—A. J. RAMAKER.

*Le Christianisme et l'Empire Romain de Néron à Théodose.* Par Paul Allard. (Paris: Lecoivre, 1897; pp. xii + 303, 18mo; fr. 3.50.) This is one of the early volumes of a series, the aim of which is to present a complete survey of the history of the church by various authors, all French and all Catholic. The completed series will contain about thirty monographs. M. Allard is well known for the exten-

sive work which he has done on the history of the early persecutions, and his studies in that field form a solid basis of scholarship on which to base the present treatise. The history of persecution naturally forms an important part of the subject-matter of a treatise on the relations between church and state from the time of the first official recognition of the existence of Christianity until its final establishment as the state religion of the Roman empire. This is not, nor does it pretend to be, an elaborate or exhaustive treatment of the subject, but a brief statement of results. One would expect, and in a work by a Protestant writer would probably find, more attention paid to the development of the constitution within the church. The change in the relation between the Roman empire and the church was brought about fully as much by the modification of the prevalent type of Christianity and of its organization as by the conversion of the Roman empire. The author, however, makes little attempt to interpret the history, but is content to recite its facts. This he does in a style of admirable clearness and vividness. The typical French virtues of diction and thought are found in abundant measure. No difficulties are broached; no lines of thought are started which cannot be followed to the end. There are no depths, no mysteries, no problems which give the author any difficulty in solution. On its positive side, it may be a virtue that every clew that is touched is pursued to the end, but one soon begins to suspect, with a suspicion that gradually ripens into conviction, that this comfortable completeness is purchased only at the price of a too narrow limitation of the topics discussed.—W. E. GARRISON.

*Die Gesta Caroli Magni der Regensburger Schottenlegende.* Zum ersten Mal ediert und kritisch untersucht von Dr. A. Dürrwaechter. (Bonn: P. Hansteins Verlag, 1897; pp. 225; M. 6.) The legends in honor of the Irish monks who labored on the continent, and, more especially, of those who settled in Regensburg, have long been properly estimated so far as their historical worth is concerned. Dr. Dürrwaechter had no thought of restoring them to the high position which they held before Aventin proved their legendary character. He has, however, done a very clever piece of literary criticism in discovering their sources and the date of their compilation. Without neglecting the main body of these legends, he has given special attention to that part of them which deals with the deeds of Karl the Great. These "Gesta Caroli Magni" he finds to have been made by fusing two accounts: the one, German, local, dealing with the history of Regensburg; the



other, of Italian origin, but tinged with French thought and influence. This French-Italian story was a glorification of Charles of Anjou, but was somewhat modified and transferred to Karl the Great, thus furnishing another curious case of the transference of a legend from one person to another of the same name. This was done and the legends put into their present form by some Irish monk in Regensburg about 1270 A. D. Dr. Dürrwaechter's critical method is of the sober, convincing kind, and his results, while not highly important, are extremely interesting. — *Historische Abhandlungen*. Herausgegeben von Dr. Th. Heigel und Dr. H. Grauert. XI. Heft. *Studien zur Geschichte der Kreuzzugs-idee nach den Kreuzzügen*. Von Dr. A. v. Hirsch-Gereuth. (München: Dr. H. Lüneburg, Verlag, 1897; pp. 176; M. 6.40.) It has long been known that, contrary to the common view, the efforts to create a crusade did not cease with the fatal expedition of Louis IX against Tunis in 1270. But it has remained for the author of this book to show how dear to the hearts of all the popes from Gregory X to Nicholas III the thought was, by tracing in all their details the herculean efforts which these men made to organize another crusade. Especially the two popes above named were unceasing in their attempts. In all their dealings with the rulers of Europe, and even with the Mongolian hordes that were then devastating Asia and Europe, they kept in view this one object. No concession was too great for them to make, if it would only bring them nearer the reconquest of the holy places. Their failure to realize their plans was due in a large measure to the devotion of the rulers to their own interests, and to intestine troubles and complications, as well as to the general apathy and distrust of the people in the success of such an undertaking. The author has done his work well, and has unraveled in a masterly way the intricate diplomacy of both the popes and the kings concerned. — *Die ehemalige Dombibliothek zu Mainz, ihre Entstehung, Verschleppung und Vernichtung nach gedruckten und ungedruckten Quellen*. Von Dr. Franz Falk. = Beihefte zum Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen, XVIII. (Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1897; pp. 175; M. 6.80.) Dr. Falk has given an excellent account of the fortunes and misfortunes of the once famous cathedral library of Mainz. The care which the archbishops of the city bestowed on it, the efforts of its librarians and of the local clergy to multiply its treasures, the gifts of books with the names of their donors, the losses which it sustained by fire and by siege, and its final destruction in 1793, are here faithfully chronicled. Excellent as the book is, however, it will appeal only to a

small class of readers, because the information it contains is, for the most part, of a local, antiquarian character. The present location of all the books and manuscripts known to have once belonged to the library is also given.—*The Mohammedan Controversy and other Indian Articles*. By Sir William Muir, K.C.S.I., etc. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1897; pp. x+220; 8vo. New York: Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons; \$3.) The first two essays of this collection (the one first published in 1845, the other in 1852) deal with the Christian and Mohammedan polemic and apologetic literature published in India during the first half of the present century. From them we learn that the Christians and Mohammedans of that country were engaged in a bitter and apparently fruitless controversy about the truth of their respective religions. Christian publication societies published garbled biographies of Mohammed and endeavored to refute his teachings with the emptiness of many of the Christian apologists and of the church Fathers. To these the Mohammedans replied with all the quibbles and inanities of their doctors. Sir William criticises the spirit and methods of both parties, and insists on the necessity of a saner and more effective apologetic method. The third essay (first published in 1858) is a résumé of the introduction to the third volume of Sprenger's *Life of Mohammed*. Two more essays are added, apparently without further justification than that something more was necessary to make a book of the required number of pages. One of them (published 1850) proposes certain changes in the Anglican liturgy for the use of the churches in India, and the other suggests a freer liturgical use of the Psalms. It is altogether questionable whether these articles of fifty years ago are worthy of republication.—OLIVER J. THATCHER.

*England and the Reformation*. By G. W. Powers, M.A. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1898; pp. 137; cloth, \$0.50.) This useful little work forms a part of the "Oxford Manuals of English History," the whole series to consist of six volumes. The design of the editor is to combine in a convenient form the virtues of a general history and an "epoch" or "period" book. Each part, though complete in itself, fits into the whole series. The work of Mr. Powers is highly commendable. He succeeds in setting before the reader a rich variety of historical facts in a style quite superior to that of the ordinary historical sketch. The social and constitutional aspects of the history are interestingly treated. The book contains three plans of

important battles, three genealogical tables, and an exceptionally fine index.—ALFRED W. WISHART.

*Zur Theorie des christlichen Dogmas.* Von Georg Lasson, Pfarrer in Friedersdorf (Mark). (Berlin: R. Gaertners Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1897; pp. iv+123; M. 2.80.) In this book of three chapters the author treats of the historical relation between science and dogma, Christian truth and dogma, the conception of dogma. In the first he considers scholasticism and Protestant orthodoxy, the *Aufklärung* and modern orthodoxy, and the dogmatic problem of the present; in the second, the faith of the subject and Christian certainty, Christian faith and ecclesiastical dogma, and the development of dogma; and in the third, the ecclesiastical character, the practical purpose, and the speculative nature of dogma. Lasson tells us that he is sustained in this work by two convictions: the one is that of the indestructible vital force and the unconquerable hold on truth of Christian dogma; the other is that of the unlimited supremacy of scientific thought within the total region of scientific activity. To accord to each its right, to estimate the worth of each, and to mediate between the two—this is the worthy aim of the author, worthily carried through. If it be not so brilliant, it is more compact and thoughtful than a similar book by Sabatier, entitled, in English, *The Vitality of Dogma*. — *Conditional Immortality. A Help to Skeptics.* A series of letters addressed by Professor Sir G. G. Stokes, Bart., to James Marchant. (London: James Nisbet & Co., 1897; pp. 93; 1s.) These letters are an endeavor to help the skeptic who cannot become a Christian because he thinks the "dogma of endless torments" is an article of faith once delivered to the saints. The intention is, accordingly, good; but the argument is characterized by the questionable presuppositions, the strained exegesis, the arbitrary literalism, and the logical fallacy of an ambiguous middle, which have ever foredoomed this movement in theology to failure. The reduction of empirical man to an animal in the interest of the fatherliness of God (which is done by the school, all denials to the contrary), is so opposed to present conceptions of the dignity of human nature that it is not likely to make much headway in the near future. Moreover, it is a fundamental error in the tendency to suppose that man's moral ruin and salvation are ontological instead of ethical.—*The Christ of God.* The Rationale of the Deity of Jesus Christ. By Charles H. Mann. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1897; pp. 118; \$1.) The author suggestively, if at times

somewhat fancifully, and at all times without appeal to Scripture, contends for an attitude to traditional doctrine of the church similar to that of science to the Ptolemaic astronomy. The shivering of Ptolemy's sphere broke the shell that cut man off from knowledge of the boundless creation. The creed of Christendom today is the same as ten centuries ago. These spheres hedge the average Christian's ideas of God and of the spiritual life. The world must attain to a Christianity commensurate with its science. As the old interpretation of the natural sky has been displaced by a better, so must it be yet with the spiritual sky. As on the basis of sense-impression we know nature, so on the basis of Jesus, image of God, do we gain a knowledge of God corresponding to our knowledge of the material universe. The point of the book is in the following sentence: "By a humanity which God assumed from man in the spiritual unfolding of the race, and which in the form of an historical man could be brought within the field of human vision; and by the divinely significant life which that man led on the earth, an image of God has been begotten and born in human history, and is forever fixed as an eternal Sun in man's spiritual sky, that He might through all time declare God whom no man hath seen." The author puts aside "the unscriptural and inconceivable idea of two equal, divine persons related from eternity as Father and Son, which has been taught in orthodox theology."—*Das Christentum und Nietzsches Herrnmoral*. Ein Vortrag. Von Professor D. Julius Kaftan. (Berlin: Georg Nauck, 1897; pp. 24; M. 0.50.) The contention of Nietzsche, a pathetic personality ever on the borderland between genius and insanity, the latter finally gaining the upper hand, is that the principles of Christian-democratic neighbor-morality do not pervade so-called Christian people; that if primitive Christian ideals really prevailed, they would lead with absolute certainty, not only to economic ruin, but to the disappearance of a people from the surface of the earth. He seeks to vindicate egotism against altruism, the pagan gentleman-morality against the Christian servant-morality. The widespread interest of the Germans in his works—as popular in Germany as *Quo Vadis* in this country—stirred Kaftan, a lifelong acquaintance of Nietzsche, to a public lecture, in which he gave the psycho-genetic history and exposition, and also a decisive refutation, of this new paganism. It is a noble vindication of the morality of love, self-sacrifice, and spiritual discipline as aid thereto, in opposition to that of selfishness, world-love, and self-indulgence. Now that so many of Nietzsche's works

are translated into English, it would be a genuine service to the public were someone to give us a translation also of Kaftan's *Vortrag*. — *The Theology of Luther*, in its Historical Development and Inner Harmony. By Dr. Julius Köstlin, Professor and Consistorialrath at Halle; translated, from the second German edition, by Rev. Charles E. Hay, A.M.; complete in two volumes. (Philadelphia: Lutheran Publishing Society; \$4.50, *net*.) Dr. Köstlin is universally acknowledged as the foremost student of Luther in the world. In this work he does not content himself with contemplation of the outward aspects of Luther's life, but notes the germination of those great initial conceptions which gave direction and form to all the subsequent thought of the reformer, and marks the natural stages of development by which this seed-thought grew until it covered the whole field of theological truth. Thus the book presents the inner life and the doctrine of Luther before the indulgence controversy; his great reformatory testimony from the promulgation of the ninety-five theses until the diet at Worms; points in which the advance is manifest in the doctrine of Luther after his retirement at Wartburg; then the doctrinal views of Luther presented in systematic order. This task, which the author set himself, was so admirably accomplished in his exhaustive work, published in 1863, that scarcely an effort has been since made to traverse the same field of inquiry. But the purpose of this note is to call attention to the translation, not to review the book. In its English dress it is clear and readable. Mr. Hay, the translator, has placed all students under deep obligation to him.—GEORGE B. FOSTER.

*The Facts and the Faith*, a Study in the Rationalism of the Apostles' Creed. By Beverley E. Warner, D.D., Rector of Trinity Church, New Orleans, La. (New York: Thomas Whittaker, 1897; pp. 243; \$1.25.) This book is placed at a disadvantage by its make-up. The pages repel the eye by excessive paragraphing, and the table of contents is so constructed as to be entirely unhelpful. It is an earnest book, sincerely and vigorously directed by the author to the confirmation of Christian faith. The faith that he seeks to maintain and extend is that of a liberal Christian who is not afraid of advanced conclusions, a broad-churchman who holds the statements of the apostles' creed and interprets them in the light of modern thought. He follows the order of the creed in his arrangement of topics, and takes its sentences for his texts. Whether he would seriously argue that the creed properly contains all that he seems to draw from it may,

perhaps, be doubted ; but he strongly claims the right to interpret the creed in harmony with the facts of life and the world. He seeks to show that "there is a rational approach to the consideration of every fundamental doctrine of Christianity," and thus to open the way for those who know and respect the facts but have not yet known the faith. The strength of the book lies in its sincerity of purpose, its ethical rightness, and its true religious feeling. It is not so strong in thought as in sentiment, and the style is not one that carries the reader along in continuous movement.—WILLIAM N. CLARKE.

*De Ethiek in de Gereformeerde Theologie.* Door Dr. W. Geesink. (Amsterdam: Kirchner, 1897; pp. 86; M. 1.20.) The above is the title of an important contribution to historical theology, the place assigned to ethics, and the relation of ethics to dogmatics in the various systems of the Reformed or Calvinistic theologians. The early Calvinistic theologians treated ethics and ethical questions incidentally, but did not give a systematic treatment of ethics as a separate science, or as a department of dogmatics. It was chiefly Ursinus, in his commentary on the Heidelberg Catechism, that strongly ethical and practical symbol, and Voetius who put the distinct treatment of ethics on a scientific basis for the Reformed theology. The latter theologian also attracts attention by his opposition to certain tendencies of the Puritan Calvinistic movement in England; its legalism or exaggerated and superstitious scrupulosity of conduct; its failure to discriminate between the temporary and the permanent in the laws of the Old Testament; and its erroneous exaltation of the will over the intellect, in which it follows the philosophy of Ramus.

Stress is laid on the correctness of the true Reformed position that morality must be founded on the confession of the sovereignty of God. Its aim, therefore, is the vindication of the claims of God.

It is this position that must provide the safeguards against the dangerous tendencies of current antitheistic and agnostic theories of ethics.—A. H. HUIZINGA.

*The Incarnate Saviour.* By Rev. W. Robertson Nicoll, M.A., LL.D. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark; New York: Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons, 1897; \$1.25.) This second and cheaper edition of a book whose first appearance was most warmly welcomed is an attempt, and a successful one, so far as such an attempt can be successful, to write the "inner life of Christ." The truth of the gospel

history is assumed, and thus the book separates itself from most works of recent years which, preliminary to any discussion of the life of Jesus, examine the truth or falsity of the records which embody it. Yet in the course of twenty-three chapters or studies covering the entire period of the life of Jesus, in a remarkably fresh and forceful way, three main propositions are illustrated, insisted upon, and shown to be necessitated by the gospel narrative itself. These are (1) that Jesus Christ was God and man in two distinct natures and persons; (2) that Jesus came to suffer in order that he might save; (3) that there is a most sweet and perfect accord of Christ's words, works, and thoughts. At present, when much study of the gospels seems to separate the real Christ from the Christ of the apostles, this book cannot fail to supply a much needed corrective to that criticism which, by exalting the Christianity of the gospels above that of the epistles, ends by proving "fatal to Christianity in every form."—*Sidelights from Patmos*. By George Matheson, M.A., D.D., F.R.S.E. (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1897; cloth, \$1.75.) This book is composed of a series of separate studies contributed originally to the *Expositor*, supplemented by others hitherto not published. The exegetical treatment of the passages chosen for study is for the most part sober and trustworthy, though occasionally dissent is evoked. One is, however, everywhere constrained to admire the true imaginative insight which is able to seize the truth often so obscurely veiled and to reveal its significance for modern life as it determines or is determined by the progress of the kingdom. The book is an admirable example of what careful study of even this most difficult part of the Bible can do to furnish the preacher of the day with fresh homiletical material valuable for inspiration, and for instruction which is in righteousness.—*The Protestant Faith; or, Salvation by Belief*. By Dwight Hinckley Olmstead. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1897; pp. iv + 80; \$0.75.) The Protestant faith is defined as practically the Protestant belief, that is, as mental assent to a system of doctrines or a creed; such belief is involuntary, therefore not blameworthy. Hence Protestantism, in insisting upon creeds as a test of church membership, has failed to comprehend its own history and disregarded the foundation principle upon which it rests, the principle of individual judgment and personal authority. The intelligent Protestant reader will hardly assent to either of the above propositions. In the thought of nineteenth-century Protestantism, faith is not assent to a creed, nor can a man be absolved from all blame for hold-

ing erroneous opinions. It is difficult to see how this essay can be of any real service.—*Forty Days of the Risen Life*. By Boyd Carpenter, Bishop of Ripon. *The Holy Father and the Living Christ*. By Rev. Peter Taylor Forsyth, D.D. (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1898; each \$0.50.) These two little books are worthy of a place alongside the others of this helpful series of "Little Books on Religion," to which they form the latest addition. The captions of some of the chapters in the former, "The Gospel of the Twilight," "The Moods of Sorrow," "The Consistent Inconsistency of Love," will indicate the method and suggestiveness of the treatment of the incidents of the Forty Days, but the sweetness of the message can only come from a meditative reading of the whole book. In the latter Dr. Forsyth insists upon a recognition of God, not simply as Father, but as holy Father, and shows in clear, trenchant language the necessity of Christ's suffering in the vindication both of the love and holiness of God. The second sermon, upon the "Living Christ," is a suggestive analysis of the real nature of faith. Both books are in the highest degree invigorating spiritual tonics.—*Aids to the Devout Life*. Reprinted from the *Outlook*. (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1898; pp. iii + 98; \$0.50.) These five short studies upon "The Pilgrim's Progress," "The Imitation of Christ," "Holy Living and Dying," "Browning's *Saul*," and "The Christian Year," each by a different writer, originally contributed to the *Outlook*, are valuable enough to warrant their preservation in this permanent form. Adequate characterization of these great classics cannot be expected in so short a compass, but these studies furnish an easy entrance into pleasant pastures, and point out clearly where the best feeding places are to be found.—*The Soul's Quest after God*. By Lyman Abbott. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., 1897; pp. iii + 29; \$0.35.) The author of this latest addition to the "What is Worth While" series, accepting as true the universal testimony of mankind as to the reality of communion with God, sets himself (1) to show what are some of the hindrances which render this communion impossible or imperfect; (2) to suggest those helps which promote success in this divine quest. To the sincere seeker after God these sympathetic words must prove most helpful.—*The Lord Our Shepherd*, and Other Addresses. By Rev. John McNeill. (London: James Nisbet & Co., 1898; paper, 1s.), is a selection of unrelated sermons preached upon successive Sundays in Regent Square Church, London, and addressed mainly to Christians. They are practical, pointed, pungent, especially adapted for edification, for



quickenings sluggish consciences, and for inciting to higher attainments in Christian living.—H. T. DEWOLFE.

*A National Church.* By William Reed Huntington, D.D., Rector of Grace Church, New York. The *Bedell Lectures* for 1897. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1898; \$1.) Even though Dr. Huntington's argument may not satisfy readers outside his own communion, there can be only one opinion as to the excellent temper in which he writes and the admirable purpose which inspires his lectures. This little book is another plea for a visible kingdom of Christ upon earth. Dr. Huntington finds the model which he would have us copy in the nation "organized under one civil polity, established upon a definite territory, and possessed of sovereign powers." For such a conception the Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century, by following lines of racial cleavage, became too narrow, and the Ultramontanist claim, by making the Church of Rome the supreme seat of authority, made itself too exclusive. For Protestant peoples certainly alike the Bible and current events must be interpreted by "that *communis sensus* of the church universal which somehow we contrive to get at, if only we are patient, and from which there is seldom, if ever, any going back." This national church Dr. Huntington dares to picture as established in America, where there are at present one hundred and forty-three distinct religious denominations, and he seems to be sanguine that, once established, by a kind of spiritual patriotism the religious forces would rally to its standard, and so a combination of harmonious elements would be formed which would be, "if nothing else, a great evidence of religion." The polity of this church should be American, territorial (*i. e.*, parochial), and liturgical. "In the field of dogma, theological and ethical, the watchword is condensation; in the field of polity, the watchword is coördination; in the field of worship, the watchword is classification." With certain unimportant concessions, it is not difficult to see that the author is pleading for a church which would be in the main the same as that of which he is so honored and useful a minister.—*Real Preaching.* Three Addresses to the Theological Students of Oberlin. By Nehemiah Boynton, D.D. (Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1898; 125 pp.; \$0.75.) If there is a suspicion of affectation in the title of Dr. Boynton's little book, there is assuredly no affectation in the book itself. In three brief, breezy addresses, entirely informal and unconventional, the author says to the students for the ministry who form his audience just what an active and successful

pastor can say. The point of view occupied throughout is not the class-room but the pulpit, and there are no doubt divinity schools where such a message would resemble the speech of the peasant bishop before the synod, and of which he said, "I produced on them the effect of an open door." Of the three lectures—dealing with the "Real Man," the "Real Sermon," and the "Real Audience"—the first is much the best, although the advice given in the second on the preacher's reading is fresh and suggestive. This quotation may illustrate the shrewdness of the lecturer's mind and the brightness of his style. He is dealing with the need that there is to carry the church over and reinvigorate it with modern methods, and he says: "This task brings the great temptation, especially to active temperaments, to become an executive; to spend one's major forces in bringing things to pass; to be transformed into a 'religious promoter,' a church 'captain of industry.' 'Small considerations are the tomb of great things,' and many a preacher is being ruined today to make an overseer or a floorwalker, an entry clerk or petty accountant in the church."—*Village Sermons Preached at Whatley*. By the late R. W. Church, M.A., D.C.L., sometime Dean of St. Paul's, Rector of Whatley, Fellow of Oriel College. Third Series. (London and New York: The Macmillan Co., 1898; \$1.75.) These simple sermons follow the circle of the Christian year, and are marked by the quality of instructiveness which many preachers seem so anxious to avoid in their discourses. Dean Church was a great scholar, and in the estimation of his closest friends a great man. There were no honors which his church did not desire to put upon him; but from them all he shrank. His ambition was to be a parish minister, and it was with genuine reluctance that he accepted the appointment which took him from his quiet village to the great London cathedral. These sermons seem to show that in his preference for a retired life, where he could dwell among his own people, Dean Church was not mistaken. It has been the distinction of the Church of England that from the pulpits of its country churches so many of its foremost men have been content, not only to preach, but to preach their very best. Newman, and Keble, and Hare, and Charles Kingsley aspired after nothing better than to speak to rustic congregations. Dean Church, even more than any of these men, craved the common round and trivial task of a country parish. The result is seen in this volume, where the sermons, if never brilliant, are full of wise and sound teaching, and impress us with the solid dignity of the Christian religion rather than with its grace and beauty.—*The Christ*

*of Yesterday, Today, and Forever, and Other Sermons.* By Ezra Hoyt Byington, D.D. (Boston: Roberts Bros., 1897; pp. xv + 322; \$1.50.) Although these discourses are inscribed to the three churches which Dr. Byington has served, we are relieved to find that he does not publish them by their request, but on his own responsibility, and because he believes that, having done their work in the pulpit, they may still be of some use in a new form. We think that he is warranted in his confidence. As he says, the preaching of today has to be different in form rather than substance from that of the last generation. Dr. Byington is persuaded that it must aim at deepening the sense of personal freedom and responsibility, and that, while setting forth the unchanged gospel, it must be adapted to relieve the difficulties of those who are oppressed by honest doubt. The sermons in this volume, nineteen in number, are good examples of this high ideal of which the preaching for the twentieth century should be. The themes are, as a rule, excellently worded and fairly deduced from the texts—although we do not like the term “evil” as applied to the young man whom Jesus loved—and the sermons themselves are at the same time serious and genial, such sermons as would be likely to interest college students, to whom it is probable the most of them were addressed. As a minor error we may notice that it was not “Mr. Tennyson” but Lord Tennyson who wrote “Crossing the Bar,” and we may suggest that no title is needed to prefix to a name so famous as his.—F. HARWOOD PATTISON.

*The Validity of Papal Claims.* By F. Nutcombe Oxenham, D.D. (London, New York, and Bombay: Longmans, Green & Co., 1897; pp. xv + 112; \$1.) The evidence submitted by the pope and the Vatican council, in support of papal claims, is subjected to a searching criticism and the result presented in a popular form. The conclusion is that “a legitimate claim to honorable preëminence has been developed into an illegitimate claim to supreme dominion.” While the author disclaims originality for the views presented, yet the student will find the discussion of Scripture texts, decrees of councils, and sayings of the Fathers, bearing upon the subject, decidedly interesting.—*A Short History of the Book of Common Prayer*: with an Appendix containing the Prayers of “The Book Annexed.” By Rev. William Reed Huntington, D.D., D.C.L. (New York: Thomas Whittaker, 1897; pp. 74; cloth, \$0.50.) This brief but careful review of the evolution of the *Book of Common Prayer* closes with three lessons

drawn from its history: (1) kind words can never die, and many words of the prayerbook are kindly; (2) the duty of being on our guard in the religious life against the "falsehood of extremes;" and (3) "We are not to confound revision with ruin, or to suppose that because a book is marvelously good it cannot be conceivably bettered." While the origin of Christian liturgy is found, by the author, in the apostolic age, he is far from maintaining that this binds liturgical worship on the church for all time. There is a refreshing lack of dogmatism in the discussion.—ALFRED W. WISHART.

*Michael Solomon Alexander, der erste evangelische Bischof in Jerusalem. Ein Beitrag zur orientalischen Frage.* Von Lic. J. F. A. de le Roi. (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1897; pp. viii+230; M. 3; bound, M. 3.60.=No. 22 of "Schriften des Institutum Iudaicum in Berlin.") This book is a real contribution to modern missionary biography. It is the story of a good man whose amiability and spotless character were recognized by all who knew him. Of Jewish birth, converted to Christianity at the age of twenty-six, he labored for twenty years for the conversion of his Jewish countrymen. He was a Hebrew scholar of high attainments, and for nine years professor in King's College, London, which position he relinquished to become a bishop of the Anglican church in Jerusalem. His life was not filled up with great deeds. The most remarkable event in connection with it was the interest Frederick William IV of Prussia showed in his appointment as a Protestant bishop in Jerusalem, and the opposition this appointment called forth by ritualists like Pusey and Newman. The book has copious extracts from Dr. Alexander's sermons and addresses. In what way this biography should be a contribution toward the solution of the "oriental question" the author leaves his readers to infer.—A. J. RAMAKER.

*Christianity and the Progress of Man, as Illustrated by Modern Missions.* By W. Douglas Mackenzie. (Chicago: The Fleming H. Revell Co., 1897; pp. 250; \$1.25.) For strong grasp, clearness and vividness of statement, and breadth of view, this book could hardly be surpassed. We are just now getting vastly improved study of, and consequently a vastly deepened respect for, the movement known as modern missions. The day is passing, if it has not already passed, when the shallow and flippant opinion of the casual traveler, or the would-be liberal, is accepted as final authority in the estimate of the

value and success of modern missionary effort. Professor Mackenzie's strongest chapters are toward the close, in which he discusses the missionary in his relation to civilization, to other religions, and to the individual man, and thus the book is cumulative in the best sense of the word. It is courage-strengthening reading for either the pessimistic Christian, or the Christian who thinks the old methods of preaching the gospel must be abandoned. It would make an admirable campaign document for the missionary societies of all denominations.—JOHN F. FORBES.

*Die neueren Bemühungen um Wiedervereinigung der christlichen Kirchen.* Von Dr. G. Krüger, Professor der Theologie in Giessen. Durch Belege u. Erläuterungen vermehrter Abdruck aus der *Christlichen Welt*, No. 28, 2. Tausend. (Freiburg und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1897; pp. 38; M. 0.60.) The author of this pamphlet gives, first a statement of the attitude of the several divisions of the Christian church on the subject of the reunion of Christendom, and then a critique of the union sentiment as found in each and as expressed in recent movements. The Roman Catholic church makes two conditions essential to reunion, namely, unity of faith and unity of government. The emphasis is chiefly upon the latter, which is of course equivalent to a demand for the recognition of papal primacy and infallibility. But this is just the point against which all the rest of Christendom raises its most earnest protest. The negotiations between the eastern church and the Old Catholic party are based chiefly on their common rejection of the pope. The differences between the two, as viewed from the point of view of the Old Catholics, are not important, but the Greeks and Russians lay more stress upon their distinctive characteristics and see no way to unite with any western Christians. The Anglo-Catholic or High Church party in the Church of England is making a constant approach to Rome on the ritualistic side, but not otherwise. The Old Catholics and most of the Protestant denominations, between whom there is a measure of sympathy on account of their common rejection of papal infallibility, Jesuitism, and Ultramontanism, hold such widely diverse views of the church that union is quite out of the question. The conclusion reached is that a general reunion of Christendom is not yet in sight, even in the distance.—W. E. GARRISON.

*Occasional Papers.* By the late R. W. Church, M.A., D.C.L., sometime Rector of Whatley, Dean of St. Paul's, Honorary Fellow of

Oriel College. (London : Macmillan & Co., Limited ; New York : The Macmillan Co., 1897 ; 2 vols. ; pp. xii + 416, viii + 492 ; \$3.) Dean Church was a voluminous writer. Besides his many other works, a collected edition of his miscellaneous writings fills nine volumes, of which these *Occasional Papers* fill Vols. VIII and IX. For nearly half a century the dean was a contributor to *The Guardian*, *The Times*, and *The Saturday Review*. Out of more than a thousand such pieces his daughter has selected fifty-four reviews and articles, which, in her judgment, are representative of her father's work and "deal with books and matters of permanent interest." Most of the works reviewed created a great stir in the religious world when they were published, and after the lapse of three, four, or five decades it is interesting to note the impression they made, when they first appeared, on the mind of this keen critic and stanch churchman. We call special attention to Carlyle's *Cromwell*, Stanley's *Jewish Church*, Ranke's *History of the Popes*, Lecky's *History of Morals*, Mozley's *Lectures on Miracles*, *Ecce Homo*, Renan's *Vie de Jésus*, Renan's *Les Apôtres*, Brooke's *Life of Frederick Robertson*, Coleridge's *Memoir of Keble*, Newman's *Apologia*, and Newman's *Eirenicon*. — ERI B. HULBERT.

*Antworten der Natur auf die Fragen: Woher die Welt, Woher das Leben? Thier und Mensch; Seele.* Von Constantin Haserl. (Graz : J. Meyerhoff ; 1896 ; pp. 262.) As the title indicates, the author seeks to give an answer to some of the fundamental questions of existence : the origin of the physical universe, the beginning of life, and man's place in nature. He does not appeal to Scripture, but to geology, biology, anthropology, and psychology. He contends that the most reliable conclusions of these sciences point to a personal God as the creator of the world and the originator of life. His quotations are mostly from German and French writers, and are very numerous. The book is clear in style, and, on account of the almost entire absence of technical language, will be specially helpful to the average reader. The chapter on evidences of design in creation is full of new and striking examples. The treatment of Darwinism, however, is hardly fair, in that the author refers only to the extreme positions of Vogt, Büchner, and others of that school. His aim is to show that science does not disprove the accounts of Scripture as regards man's creation and destiny. — A. J. RAMAKER.

*The Coming People.* By Charles F. Dole (New York : T. Y. Crowell & Co., 1897 ; pp. 209 ; \$1.) The "coming people" are

those described in the Beatitudes of Jesus. The doctrine of Darwinism is applied to human progress, and it is shown that natural and social selection work toward the production of the type of man which Jesus portrays, and to which he promises the earth—the meek, the pure in heart, the peacemakers. Yet not without struggle, pain, and self-sacrifice,—the price which must be paid for all high values. These thoughts are presented in a popular style and with a pleasant touch, and in a beautiful spirit. The papers composing the volume are popularly edifying rather than new revelations for scholars, and they are suggestive rather than systematic. There is a wealth of aphorisms of deep meaning and optimistic tendency. A wholesome, cheerful volume, not without an honest chord of sympathy for those who suffer in the process of the world's redemption and progress, and stern in its appeal to the sense of social responsibility in men of power and leadership.—*Social Facts and Forces*. By Washington Gladden. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1897; pp. v + 235; \$1.25.) "This book is an attempt to discover in what manner the well-being of the people is affected by the changes which are taking place in our industrial and social life. The intent of all these studies is primarily ethical; what kind of men and women we are getting to be is what I wish to know" (Preface). The topics considered are the factory, the labor union, the corporation, the railway, the city, the church. The distinguished author is well known for his popular expositions of current topics. He is an interpreter of the thoughts of specialists to intelligent men, and speaks as a preacher to the conscience. The style is clear and interesting, and the ethical quality is always noble and Christian.—C. R. HENDERSON.

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## ORIGEN'S THEORY OF KNOWLEDGE.

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Rocky Hill, Conn.

TWO QUESTIONS, broadly speaking, confront the investigator of noetic problems ; one is a question of fact, and the other is a question of explanation. Every man, when he says, " I know," allows the existence of these facts and takes up an attitude toward knowledge, and this it is the business of epistemology to study. The theory of knowledge is thus only an attempt to describe and explain the implications of the act of knowledge as known in self-consciousness.

Historically considered, this problem was not clearly raised until the time of Kant. But it is a mistake to suppose that he invented the problem itself. All pre-Kantian thought is more or less concerned with it, though it was mainly occupied with more general problems. In this sense, it is true that the data for a scientific treatment of knowledge did not exist before Kant's time, for the state of knowledge did not permit of it. Further, owing to the relatively unstable state of human affairs, the changing fortunes of states and individuals prevented knowledge existing for its own sake. It was subordinated either to ethics, or the church, or politics. In Kant, however, knowledge is a special field of investigation. In the light of these facts, it is clear that Origen has not worked out a theory of knowledge in the Kantian sense ; but it is also plain that, as a



systematic thinker, the noetic problem is implicitly considered. The study of the opinions and conceptions of the great church father centers, therefore, in the question: What contribution, if any, has he made to the development of historical epistemology, critically understood? And to this question this essay is devoted.

Such a study as is proposed should be inductive and deductive. We may, therefore, attend, in the first division of the subject, to Origen's views on the nature, economy, and metaphysics of knowledge; and, in the second place, endeavor to place ourselves *en rapport* with the time in order to estimate the influences amid which our author reached his views.

## I.

1. *Composition and nature of human knowledge.*—It would be more correct to speak of Origen's anthropology than of Origen's psychology. For it is true, as Denis has pointed out,<sup>1</sup> that he applies himself little, directly, to the science of mind as known in concrete experience. Owing to his peculiar *tour d'esprit*, he eagerly investigates the preëxistent state of the soul and its future blessedness. He held, indeed, that this was the only means of understanding its real nature. The substance of his teaching on the empirical phenomenon of knowledge may, however, be exhibited in the following observations.

Origen confines the possibility of knowledge to *man*. Brutes cannot be said to *know*. In an interesting anticipation of Descartes' theory of the relation of man to the lower animals, he says (C. C., 4:83): "What is the chief guide (τὸ ἡγεμονικόν) of men? Reason. And of ants? An irrational principle, moved by instinct, impulse, and imagination, but without reason, by a certain mechanism of nature." In this passage, and in others,<sup>2</sup> Origen argues exactly like the Cartesians, who find the end served by animal life in the admirable mechanism whereby they are suited to the service of man. To such mechanisms knowledge, inasmuch as it is always knowledge of the good, is impossible. The animal is but a machine (κατασκευή); man partakes

<sup>1</sup> DENIS, *La philosophie d'Origène*, Part I.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. C. C., Bk. 4, secs. 81, 86, etc.

of reason (λόγος), and therefore the good (τὸ καλόν) is alone possible to him. This fact, interesting on its own account, is also remarkable since, whilst theories of metempsychosis and reincarnation were common in his time, Origen does not accept them in his explanation of the appearance of reason in man. What he means by "reason" will be explained by and by.

Origen, like Paul, is a trichotomist in word, but a dualist in spirit; for purposes of exposition the latter aspect of his teaching will be emphasized. Now, Origen maintains that knowledge depends upon the union of body and soul and may be hereditary; knowledge is a function of the mind, but it may be greatly influenced by the bodily connection. Always remembering that knowledge and virtue are one (knowledge is always knowledge of the good), he held that sin renders us impervious to the light of the λόγος; so that knowledge depends upon the recovery of the body from its sinful isolation from reason and purity, and this result may be greatly aided by a good ancestry. In his *Commentary on John* (20:2, 3, 5, 25, etc.) he states (again anticipating more recent theories), "A father has his ancestors' traits transmitted to him," and teaches that one man has more virtue than another because his ancestors have been, like Abraham, men of worth. This fact seems at first sight contradictory to Origen's great contention that the real causes of knowledge and virtuous living are in ourselves, and if we place too much stress on such passages as the above, this impression will deepen; but the fact is that Origen does not attempt to reconcile personal responsibility for ignorance of virtuous knowledge with heredity; he simply claims that knowledge is influenced by heredity, and, since it is the union of matter and spirit which is the conditioning fact of knowledge, as known to us, it is therefore a factor in the individual's (τέκνον) experience.

Origen is, notwithstanding, far from being a sensationalist. Two of his observations on this subject will show this. (1) Body cannot think or know. "Mind for its operations needs no physical space, nor sensible magnitude, nor bodily shape, nor color, nor any other of those adjuncts which are the properties of body or matter;" but he also teaches that underlying every

bodily organ is "a certain peculiar sensible substance,"<sup>3</sup> by means of which the mind (*νοῦς*) has substantial relations with the senses and through them with the world of perceptible objects. Hence it is the *soul* that is chiefly implicated in sensuous knowledge; though, influenced by his subordinationism, Origen almost confounds it with the bodily organs, since for him the soul (not the *πνεῦμα*) is a rarefied, very finely attenuated substance, whose chief function is to be susceptible to individual objects. The soul is not concretely, therefore, the virtue-knowing power, but by purity it may become such; for *ψυχή* is the *νοῦς* degenerated through sin. (2) Sense-knowledge is imperfect, and must be transcended if virtue is to be attained. This is also the Stoical teaching, but, unlike the latter, our author takes higher ground. Planting himself on the validity of sense-knowledge, he would have the neophyte learn "to ascend from things of sense to those of the understanding." In discussing Rom. 1 : 20, he remarks that "though men who live on the earth have to begin with the use of the senses upon sensible objects in order to go from these to things intellectual, yet their knowledge must not stop short with the objects of sense." "The whole universe is God's temple;" but "the disciples of Jesus regard phenomenal things only that they may use them as steps to ascend to the knowledge of the things of reason."

Implicated in this doctrine, which is plainly non-sensational, is our author's theory of the "aids." Origen considered any agency valid that helped the student to get clear of sense. Knowledge grows by transcendence; through dialectic, through phantasy and all the movements of self-consciousness, but more particularly through the operations of what he calls the divine sense (*αἰσθησις θεῖα*), or consciousness in its higher cognitive activity, which is immediately cognizant of a world of reality unknown to mere sense. Great were the powers attributed to this function of the mind. It is the arbiter amid the confusion of the sensuous-continuum; settling the claims of the images that crowd in upon the understanding, it revives in us our

<sup>3</sup> Rufinus has: "substantia quædam sensibilis propria."

active consciousness of the truth; it is cognizant, under the Holy Spirit, of the "deep things" of God and the preëxistent state. This conception of thought as an active factor in the growth of knowledge came from the Gnostics; for the Gnostic *νόησις* is the equivalent of Origen's *αἰσθησις θεῖα*.

We tread on firmer ground, however, when we enter the ethical sphere, because, as already stated, knowledge and virtue are one for Origen. The immense influence of Christianity on the theoretical life of man will appear when it is stated that, according to our author, every genuine act of knowledge assumes the form of a moral judgment, the quintessence of which is the free act of the will whereby the substance of truth is appropriated (*πίστις*). The following observations are central: (1) The activity of the *will* is the heart, so to speak, of genuine cognition. Three kinds of activity are recognized: that which is *ἐξ ἑαυτῶν*, that which is *ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν*, and that which is *δι' ἑαυτῶν*. It is the last of these that describes the activity of will as known in consciousness. It is the spontaneous rationality which constitutes the peculiarity of the human species. (2) Rational power and *free* will involve each other, and each belongs to the essence of mind as cognitive. Free will is the core of the self. Thus *πίστις* is to be understood, in both Clement and Origen, in the sense of a free appropriation of the truth (*πρόληψις ἐκούσιος*), the reasonable acquiescing of the soul in reason (*ψυχῆς αὐτεξουσίου λογικῆ συγκατάθεσις*); for will is involved in the operation and conditions the act of faith. "Man is the master and father of his actions," as Aristotle put it. (3) The outcome of the activity of the rational will in cognition is a moral *judgment*. "The rational animal has, in addition to imagination, also reason, which judges the images (of sense) and disapproves of some and accepts others, in order that the animal may be led according to them." To this activity of judgment is attributed all the varieties and complexity of human life and opinion, such as national history exhibits—all depends upon the power of free moral judgment bestowed on us by the Creator. But, further, and specially, it is the cause of all progress in knowledge. *This is the heart of the Alexandrian epistemology*. Clement emphatically

declared that free will in man involved the possibility of attaining perfect knowledge. This idealism, which is even stronger in Origen, is the condition of any true conception of history or destiny, since all progress is the constant forth-putting of the will in new directions, the constant correction of error, failure, and moral defect. The ideal of knowledge ("the vision of all in God") can be attained only as the outcome of the conflict with sense, and the elimination of error and sin by free will.

Origen recognized the influence of feeling in cognition. "Love and mental grasp go hand in hand."<sup>4</sup> As he states in his Commentary on the Canticles: "If love be made for the good; if the good alone be worthy of approbation and consists, not in pleasure or bodily comforts, but in the possession of God and in the virtues of the soul, there is no love approvable but that which attaches itself to God and the virtues." In this passage feeling appears to be not unlike the λογικὴ ὄρεξις, or reasonable desire, of the Stoics. It is not a simple influence moving the will as a motive to act, but the movement of the will itself. Hence in the same work he distinguishes it from ἐπιθυμία (passion) and ὁρμή (impulse). The former belongs to the ψυχὴ (νοῦς fallen under sin) and is σαρκικός; necessary, indeed, to unite the soul to the flesh; but love is wholly spiritual; is a sort of understanding of the truth in its entirety; is a power in the soul of embracing with an unwavering, irreversible certainty the object of knowledge—God. The love of God, therefore, is the security and guaranty for the fulfilment of all that lies hidden in his reason. Ritter<sup>5</sup> has accused Origen of inconsistency at this point; it seems to us, unjustly. He thinks that this doctrine renders the pursuit and outcome of our striving after knowledge precarious and inconsistent with Origen's well-known views on the dependence of cognition upon free will. But the fact is that our author finds nothing inconsistent in the contradiction which declares that truth may be had by the heart for the love of it, and the dependence of that fact upon our own choice. The Logos, indeed, "by the immensity of his love," is

<sup>4</sup> Cf. LADD, *Philosophy of Knowledge*, chap. ii.

<sup>5</sup> *Gesch. der alt. Philos.*, in loc.

beyond the possibility of error, but even in this case freedom is involved. The only thing that is excluded is the so-called liberty of indifference. Love must rest on free choice, since it is the guaranty of the attainment of the true, as well as the good. One more observation before we quit—the observation on the nature and origin of knowledge.

Origen taught that all knowledge involved the conception of an end. It is a well-known statement of his that faith (the active principle whereby truth is apprehended in its simplest forms of realization) "knows the end from the beginning." The "end" of cognition is the good, and the good and God are one. Both exist in the unity of the absolute Reason, the *λόγος*. Thus, the highest attainment of cognition, the vision of all in God, must only fulfil the prophecy of the most elementary act of the morally determined individual. Thus, sense-perception ever seeks the end—the knowledge of the *λόγος*. As he says: "The dullest mind can understand the elements of knowledge, but what soul can perceive that Jesus is the *λόγος* by sense-perception?" The judgment of the moral will, brought under the universalizing of the Holy Spirit, is needed for this. Kant's formal will of the good, Plato's "idea," the "universal" of the Stoics, have been compared to this teaching of Origen; but, it seems to us, without aptness. The truth seems to be that Origen's "end" is the human reason in accord with its object, and the progressive assimilation of the object and the subject. "End" and means are characteristically united in the thought of this church father. The good (*τὸ καλόν*) expresses this, inasmuch as it also includes the true.

These teachings of Origen show us fairly well the conception he had of the nature of knowledge. The distinctive thing about them is the combination of subtle insight and sublime moral and spiritual conviction. What is lacking, from our more modern standpoint, is the clear perception of the order and relation of value in the topics discussed. But this was due to the influences amid which he lived, of which we shall speak later. We pass now to two other departments of Origen's reflections on this subject, namely, the economy and metaphysic of knowledge.

2. *The economy (οἰκονομία) of knowledge.*—Origen's theory of the threefold sense of Scripture was a thoroughly philosophical instrument. The thought underlying its formation and use is that there is a dispensation (οἰκονομία) in knowledge, providentially determined, suited to the various orders of understandings found in the world. The truth, Origen teaches, must be administered like medicine, *i. e.*, in judicious doses advantageous to the healing of the soul's diseases. He goes so far as to say that when they are harmless a pupil should be allowed to continue in error, when it is clear that there is no capacity for understanding the truth. "There are some [he says]<sup>6</sup> who are capable of receiving nothing more than an exhortation to believe, and to these we address that alone; while we approach others again, as far as possible, in the way of demonstration." Under the present heading we may conveniently consider the stages and limits of knowledge and the criterion of certainty.

Basing ourselves on the threefold sense, as above, three kinds or stages of knowledge are distinguished.<sup>7</sup> (1) The first stage (after the soul has left the preëxistent state and has entered the state of redemption) is concerned with the external, with "things which are the object of perception;" just as the somatic sense of Scripture has to do with the language and mere words, its grammatico-historical aspect. Upon this basis little can be built that is absolute and final. Hence our author underestimated the knowledge of "body" or "matter," and the sciences of form, logic, and mathematics. He speaks of the "show" of knowledge made by these knowledges, which he could skilfully use on occasion. On the other hand, our author also teaches that, inasmuch as "the working of the Father and the Son" takes place universally, even these sciences are worthy of study as embodying truth. This underestimating of the sciences of matter, and this contradictory exaltation of them, when viewed in the light of the "end," are a characteristic turn of mind in Origen. This knowledge is full of illusion; yet it is true in the light of the end served. (2) By "perpetual activity and voli-

<sup>6</sup> *D. P.*, Bk. 1, preface.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *C. C.*, Bk. 4, chap. 13, and *D. P.*, Bk. 1, chap. "Threefold Wisdom."

tion" a deeper kind of cognition becomes possible—"the innate longing of the mind for the thing itself" (*ov̄ola*), *i. e.*, the knowledge of the soul and its destiny. But first the mind needs clearing, and for this purpose Platonic dialectic, the use of certain intellectual forms supplied in Aristotle's logic, the systematic reading and study of the Scriptures, the trials of piety, the aid of the Holy Spirit, must be employed. The mind cleared from the influence of permitted sin, the knowledge of the soul may be traced. In this there are certain well-marked stages, beginning in the preëxistent state. At its creation the soul is innocently perfect, but by degrees it comes to know the difference between good and evil; finally it *desired* this knowledge and fell. This is the first stage. Then the soul thickened into a body.<sup>8</sup> In the body man has occasional monitions of the state whence he came, and in Christianity these were consummated, thus revealing the true source of his origin. For Christianity reveals the unity of spirit throughout the universe. This is the second stage. Then it is possible to rise into fulness of knowledge, beginning with conviction of sin and going on to the true knowledge of nature, the principles of providence, the end of things—in fact, everything that may be useful to piety "in the middle of things." Such a knowledge has been revealed through the *λόγος*, and the Scriptures tell the story thereof. But this kind of knowledge is also deficient; falls short of divine completion. Even the moral sense of Scripture has much in it that is contrary to merely human understanding. The aid of allegory, or the poetic and symbolic imagination, is needed to bridge over the contradiction here between ordinary and revealed truth. But still deeper knowledge is possible. (3) The third kind of knowledge is "the knowledge of the perfect." It is the business of this kind of knowledge to instruct and train men with reference to perfection through "the athletics of piety." Perfection, indeed, exists in degrees. The spirits in mid-air have opportunities of knowledge denied to us. But the unquenchable idealism of Origen teaches that the hum-

<sup>8</sup> It should be borne in mind that the soul is a finely attenuated substance, of different degrees of density according to the worth of the individual.



blest of our fallen race is not an archangel, not because he is *unable*, but because he is *unwilling*. The pneumatic man is in the way, at any rate, of obtaining perfect knowledge; and, as his knowledge is not separated from the other kinds of knowledge, he carries with him all his "birth scars" when he passes through the grades of discipline; for even in the hereafter the soul will still be engaged upon its problems and the understanding of things and events, "as the very food on which it feeds." The soul's longing for truth, indeed, can never be satisfied until it sees the vision of all in God, which is perfect knowledge.

Thus, then, kinds of knowledge are distinguished. In another way he distinguishes the knowledge of "the existent, the rational, and the perfect;" knowledge of this world, that of the princes or powers of this world, and that of the perfect.<sup>9</sup> The principle of differentiation in this doctrine is not clear; but light is thrown on it by the needs that caused the invention of the theory of the threefold sense of Scripture, which were partly philosophical and partly practical. The "end," or the knowledge of the good in God, is, of course, the most potent of the factors modifying the current conceptions of the kinds of knowledge, and in this the element called *πίστις* is the most original. We shall see more clearly, later on, the influences which led to these modifications. Let us now consider the limits of knowledge.

Our senses, under the influence of sin, impose limits to knowledge; but we have power to transcend sense; the understanding (*νοῦς*) can be delivered from the thralldom of sense; whilst, towering above all, is the *πνεῦμα*, which, when compared with the *νοῦς*, is as a lamp to the sun. Even the *πνεῦμα* does not attain to perfect knowledge; there is something higher than knowledge, *i. e.*, the *vision* of God. Knowledge, properly speaking, is confined to man, and, in this connection, Origen teaches a doctrine of final purpose as the test of the limit of knowledge. He teaches that, inasmuch as the end must be as the beginning, man is always actively gaining knowledge, even beyond the present state of existence. His arguments for immortality,

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *D. P.*, Bk. 4, chap. "Threefold Wisdom."

final salvation, or the complete assimilation of human nature with the divine nature, is thus one of the conditioning elements of his theory of knowledge; *i. e.*, he finds in the inextinguishable desire for truth an index of the permanence of the thinking substance. He states<sup>20</sup> in language of great clearness: "Now, since the heavenly virtues are incorruptible and immortal, the substance of the human soul should be incorruptible and immortal. And not only is it for this reason, but much more because of the nature of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, from whom every creature draws his participation in the intellectual light which is unique, incorruptible, and eternal. It is a necessary consequence that all substance that participates in this eternal nature endures always, and is itself incorruptible and eternal, so that it recognizes itself in the eternity of the divine goodness. . . . Observe now if there be not impiety in the supposition that intelligence, which is competent to know God, perish in its substance: as if the fact itself of being able to understand and know God did not suffice to its perpetuity, above all when one considers that intelligence, even when it falls and does not receive God into itself purely and perfectly, preserves no less the germs of renovation and reparation to recover a better state. For the interior man (*intellectualis natura*) renovates itself in the image of God who created it." "It follows that those who have in this life a certain rough sketch of knowledge . . . would, in future ages, possess the perfect and finished picture in all its beauty."

In the same way the criterion of certainty in knowledge seems to follow from the structure and nature of knowledge as such; inasmuch as it is the intercourse of finite reason with the λόγος that is the postulate differencing ordinary from "true" knowledge. This is as far as he goes in telling us how to distinguish the true from the false. Now, inasmuch as the Scriptures are the highest revelation of reason, it follows that they are the criterion of validity and certainty; but very little is said of the process of sifting the certain from the uncertain. Complete and certain knowledge rests, therefore, on revelation, and, in the last

<sup>20</sup> *D. P.*, Bk. 4: 34.

resort, wholly on the latter, though the teachings of the church, so far as they accord with reason, are also to be determinative of faith. Thus, the criterion of certainty, his postulate of validity, is the *ipse-dixit* of Scripture, in harmony with a certain freedom of speculation on the objective criteria thus provided. This position must not be confounded with the Augustinian or post-Reformation theory of church authority; Origen teaches that faith and reason can never be opposed to one another. The mind, *i. e.*, cannot find the test of valid knowledge wholly within itself or outside itself, but in coördinate action.

To sum up: Knowledge exists in an economical dispensation; hence there are stages corresponding to the orders of reality with which the mind is brought in contact. Origen's theory of knowledge is thus a theory of transcendence; *i. e.*, he teaches that the object of cognition is not a phenomenon merely of the subjective consciousness, but exists as objective to the self, yet in living relation to it. To know it, to attain to genuine cognition, one must transcend the sense data. It is no *Ding-an-sich*, as Kant taught; the mind has no "blind windows" according to Origen. It was a daring speculation that led our author to the postulate upon which his metaphysical monism rests, the postulate, namely, that reason and the revealed will of God are one; for in it so-called secular knowledge finds its justification, as it were, and the philosophies of the schools their place in the same categories as those of the faith of the church. The fertility of this suggestion is proved by the fact that hardly ever since Origen's day has the relation of faith and reason been correlated so successfully.

3. *The metaphysics of knowledge.*—The following brief exposition of Origen's views will show the chief positions on this subject. As already stated, the ontological postulate of Origen's system is the reality of the idea of the good. Knowledge, in its inmost nature, is a revelation from, and of, the divine goodness. It is a gift, in the appropriation of which reason is active, specially in its ethical and æsthetical aspects. God and the good are, therefore, equivalent ideas, and human knowledge is the derivation of this ontological fact. The object of knowl-

edge, accordingly, as a material presentation, counts for little in the noetic life ; counts for little, except as it is seen in connection with this postulate. Things have existence and extension for our minds through the bestowal on them of God's thought. Matter is the mirror of spirit, and as the product of God's will it is never separated from its ground ; God eternally creates it, until it shall become the adequate expression of the spirit. Matter, in this view, is no dead core of unmeditated stuff, but the living product of creative energy, containing the germs (*σπέρματα*) of the potential will of the good.<sup>11</sup> The peculiar nature of matter, as opposed to spirit, is thus obliterated and subordinated to the spiritual demand for unity, and knowledge is connected, contentwise, with this spiritual reality which absolutely fills all space and time with its presence.

This reality, with which we are cognizant in knowledge, is a personal will, with which we are in continual commerce : knowledge and personality thus implicate each other. To know is an act only of personal beings ; metaphysically, it is a species of transaction between personal wills. The metaphysics of knowledge owes much to Origen for this conception, which struck at the fundamental weakness of ancient philosophy, its failure to determine the idea of God's personality. Not only has Origen demonstrated the absolute immateriality of God where others assumed it ; this was one of the greatest tasks that the human mind could have undertaken in Origen's day ; but he has carried this thought out in the logical implications of personality : unity, absolute intelligence, etc. To quote<sup>12</sup> : "He is, then, neither a body, nor in a body ; but he is an intelligible nature, of absolute simplicity, who admits in himself nothing that is borrowed *ab extra*, and who, in being susceptible of more or less, is absolutely a monad (*Μονάς*, *Ενός*), a unity, a supreme understanding, source, and principle of all intelligent nature and of all understanding." Origen here insists less than his predecessor, Clement, on the incomprehensibility of God, and this is the more remarkable when we reflect that absolutism was a sort of catalepsy in those days. Our author teaches that it is only

<sup>11</sup> *D. P.*, Bk. 4 : 35.

<sup>12</sup> *D. P.*, Bk. 1 : 1.

personality in man and God that can give us the ultimate ground of the knowable or the possibility of knowledge. As Windelband<sup>13</sup> rightly points out, this conception was due to the immense influence of Christianity, the central postulate of which was, in the Alexandrian theology, that God had become man. Henceforth, indeed, for centuries, the problem of thought becomes the problem of human personality in its historical evolution, and from this standpoint the metaphysics of reality and knowledge, as a concrete affair, as a definite growth, has been regarded ever since. The essential identity between reason and the revealed will of God in the Scripture thus finds its metaphysical guarantee in this further idea of the identity of the self-revealing reason of the absolute personality and finite rational personality.

We may now briefly sum up the more distinctive views of Origen somewhat as follows:

All knowledge rests on the postulate of the reality of the idea of the good; human knowledge is the equivalent of the divine idea revealed as reason. Here insight is more than argument (*πίστις*).

Faith, which freely receives the truth, coöperates with reason, in the attainment of knowledge. These two activities are not separate, but express the operation of the unitary, active soul of the seeker after knowledge. The transcendent object of knowledge is known only by a rational faith.

We may, by the power of free will, direct our minds toward the source of truth; thus valid moral judgments and illogical conduct depend upon the use we make of the soul's power of choice. Rooted in love, the will may permanently choose the attainment of perfect knowledge, which is, as frequently stated, the vision of all in God.<sup>14</sup> It is our duty to rationally desire truth above everything else, and freely to accept the revelation of God.

More obscure "momenta" in the products and processes of knowledge, some of which have been presented, concern the place of animal intelligence in the scale of reality. He has

<sup>13</sup> *History of Philosophy*, Eng. tr., *in loc.* <sup>14</sup> *Cf. D. P.*, I, 5; I, 6; II, 1; II, 4, etc.

shown that knowledge and virtue are one, and denies this to the lower creation. Some of the happy suggestions of Origen are to be found in this connection. On the whole, however, the above express the more formal and impressive of his teachings on the subject of human cognition. This brings us face to face with our next inquiry: What were the influences which determined Origen in forming his theory of knowledge? which will occupy us in the balance of this essay. These may be roughly divided into immediate and remote.

## II.

Among the remote influences conditioning Origen's conception of knowledge, those may first be considered which modified the general problem. These are partly philosophical and partly religious.

I. The problem was complicated by the readjustment of racial temperaments, which had been going on under the Roman ascendancy. The *Zeitgeist* of Origen's day was founded on this amalgamation of races; through the fusion of races their peculiarities tended to become assimilated with each other, and thereby new features of mind were formed, which, whilst these races lived in comparative isolation, were not greatly developed. Thus the prevailing emotional tone of the Aryan group came in touch with the broad intellectuality of the Greek races; and both these were profoundly modified by the dominant will of the Roman-Italian. And this fact led to the fusion of languages, ideas, and culture; for under the general *mélée* of races Romans learned Greek and Greeks learned Latin. Thus Greek thought was enabled to penetrate east and west; thus oriental philosophy found lodgment through Greek channels in the middle West; the Greek language becoming, like the German in modern times, the language of intellectual people and the dominant tongue of the cultured world. In this way, by this fusion of races and languages, the culture of the second century admitted every standpoint, from the mythological to the nihilistic, according to the preference of the student. The scientific spirit was exhausted; since Aristotle (384-22 B. C.)

no great additions had been made to the stock of scientific knowledge. The old dogmatism collapsed, by reason of its failure to meet the pressing claims of the individual. In brief, the age of Origen saw all the main lines of Greek speculation—the Platonic-Aristotelian, Epicurean, the Stoic, the skeptic, the Pythagorean and Platonic Eclectics, and the Jewish-Greek—concentrated in the general movement of thought. Philosophical dogmatism failing, recourse was had to the practical and religious interest for inner satisfaction. A peculiar susceptibility to ideas founded upon authority, knowledge based upon the assumption of special religious inspiration, rapidly developed in society. Philosophy itself gave up its dialectical method and metaphysical thinking. Knowledge becomes more and more identified with vision; other channels than sense-perception and thought are admitted; intuition, mystical exaltation of the spirit, becomes more and more prominent. The old demand for a method of proof is displaced in favor of theurgic rhapsody. Knowledge and religious insight are identified.

This condition of things was also favored by the state of religion. Polytheism was still the popular cult; but Euripides and Sophocles, not to mention Anaxagoras, Metrodorus, and Euhemeros, had long since dissipated the Homeric, and, for that matter, all popular traditions, regarding the gods. But with the increasing consciousness of ethical needs came a craving for a satisfying unity in experience. The exoteric demand was met by allegorizing the myths and mixing them with the Greek philosophemes; the esoteric demand was met among the cultured few by mixing together Jewish ethical monotheism, Stoical pantheism, and Platonic idealism, thus opposing the allegorical compromise. But it failed. And no more instructive lesson can be learned from this epoch than this: our ethical and theoretical interests can never be divided and give us peace. Polytheistic naturalism ceased to be a power as soon as personality and conduct became problems of thought, but the syncretism of philosophic and religious opinion, in Origen's day, only exhibits the human spirit preparing to take flight to more satisfying *Weltanschauungen*.

It is the eternal distinction of Christianity that it took this *blasé*, worn-out age in hand, and practically made it over again, by a process of inward renewal and quickening. The story of the first three centuries is simply the story of the way the human spirit delivered itself from its swaddling clothes and began to clothe itself anew with garments suited to its youth; or, to drop metaphor, the intellectual life of those years was a struggle with religious skepticism. Christianity, to which modern philosophy owes an unpaid debt of immense proportions, supplied the world with a new spirit and hope, so that it "went at" its problems with an energy that shows no abatement after nineteen centuries. This is the significant and unparalleled work that the introduction of the personality of Christ into men's lives, and their contact with him, accomplished. It is, therefore, fitting that we should briefly estimate the influence exerted by this new force on the noetic problem.

We have to notice that, as early as the time of Paul, the need of converting *πίστις* into *γνώσις* was felt, and the germs of the great doctrine, which took shape later, especially in Clement's *Christian Gnostic*, are already visible on the pages of the New Testament. There it is taught that truth is validated in the faith of the "pure in heart," who are conscious therein of their union with God. This faith rests on love, which brings with it a convincing *γνώσις* of the truth, of the ethical personality, and especially of the ideal of perfection, which is the most distinctive of all the ideals held up by Christ. Christ is thus the norm or law of all worthy cognition, since through him deliverance from sin, regeneration, and redemption become for the first time practically possible to all. The New Testament thus teaches that *it is character that determines true insight*, and in character *πίστις*, as including the kenosis of the whole ethical personality, subjectively and objectively, is the *sine qua non* of knowledge of the truth.

Two causes impelled the more precise emergence of thought on this subject within the church, with the mention of which we may conclude our account of the more remote influences determining Origen's conception of knowledge. One of these resulted



from the relation of Christianity with humanity, which gave birth to the activity of Christian and non-Christian Gnosticism, and their counterpart, the activity of the Apologists. Too little credit will be done to the former movement if a pure love of truth be not admitted; too much, if the Gnostic systems be regarded as anything more than *attempts* at a unification of *πλοτις* and *γνώσις*. Now, to this mode of speculation we owe the first systematic use of the conception of self-consciousness (*παρὰ-κολουθεῖν ἑαυτῷ*), and out of it was derived the thought of reason as an active element in knowledge. Hence the Christian Gnostics were the first theologians of the church.<sup>15</sup> Their object was to present Christianity as a rationally defensible content after the manner of the Greek, Jewish, and oriental cults. There was this difference between them, however, that the Gnostic movement derived its standpoint from a syncretism of religious beliefs on a New Testament foundation. The apologetic movement had much the same object; but it was content to move strictly within the sphere of the Christian facts. Their contribution to philosophy lay, therefore, more in the effort to determine the nature of revelation; knowledge being the rational unity of morality and religion, of which the dogmas of Christianity are the highest expression.

The second impelling cause may be described as the growth of the scientific spirit in the church, which arose out of the need of a scientific dogmatic. When the speculation of the school of Irenæus is considered, we observe the conservative and judicial tendency asserting itself against the extreme claims of the "Hellenizers." It would, indeed, be unfair to judge the whole school by Tertullian's saying: "Credibile est quia ineptum est; certum est quia impossibile est—credo quia absurdum;" but it is equally true that they resisted the speculative use of reason. The need of system, in their judgment, was more historical than theoretical; they thus carried the Hellenizing of Christianity forward in its milder phases. The gradual fixing of a scientific dogmatic was assisted only negatively, therefore, by this school. It was far otherwise with the Alexandrian school; for in Alex-

<sup>15</sup> Cf. HARNACK, *Hist. of Dogma*, Vol. I, pp. 222 ff.

andria the speculative interest attained its highest activity. Confining our attention to the problem of knowledge, we notice that to Gnosticism Clement opposed a *γνώσις* more profound and discrete, respecting alike the tradition of the Old and New Testaments. In this thinker the problem is closely connected with the conviction, which he shared with the whole Alexandrian "school," that extra-scriptural, especially Greek, knowledge contained truth. He borrows the Stoic distinction between *πρόληψις* and *ἐπιστήμη*, to designate the distinction between *πίστις* and *γνώσις*. Faith is defined as *πρόληψις ἐκούσιος*, which, with the aid of philosophy, leads to *γνώσις*; philosophy (*σοφία*) being the mediating term in the equation, and the distinctively new element. Indeed, the Alexandrians give to philosophy greater influence in the construction of scientific dogmatic than any other early school.<sup>16</sup> In Origen this tradition was carried forward and reached a perfection, in this respect, which no previous Christian thinking shows.

These, then, were the remote influences operating through the spirit of Origen's age and helping to modify the views of thinkers on the subject of knowledge. Of these the most potent was the influence of religion and practical life, in which a channel was prepared for the infusion of the new life of the Christian revelation in Christ. In turning to the more immediate conditions which surrounded Origen, therefore, these profound general considerations have to be kept in view, if we would explain the features of his conceptions.

2. The first of the immediate influences was undoubtedly our author's living grasp on the central fact of Christianity—the incarnation. In this fact God is present in person, and it was the knowledge of this that became the master-passion of Origen's soul; for which he mutilated his body. In it is already postulated the unity of God and man, subject and object, truth and knowledge, letter and spirit, without which his advance in systematic reflection would have been impossible. As already stated, faith is a way of knowing, no more to be separated from reason than from truth itself; and from this fundamental pos-

<sup>16</sup> Cf. *Strom.*, 7 : 10, 12, and "The Christian Gnostic."

tulate, notwithstanding the strictures of Neander,<sup>17</sup> we think he never seriously departs. There was, indeed, much in his practical and religious life to prevent a serious departure from this position: his relations with missionaries and pastors, who looked to him as their theological leader solicitous to preserve the purity and simplicity of their faith; his relations with men of the stamp of Celsus, the philosophic skeptic and scholar, who can be reached only by an argument drawn from the historical and practical effects of the faith on the average mind; his relations with his pupils and heathen inquirers who made frequent inquiries on this very matter—all this was a deterring influence from straying wilfully from this fundamental datum of the Christian consciousness. The knowledge of God in Christ, specially as seen in the tragedy of Calvary, was, indeed (so Origen held), limited, incomplete, and, standing by itself, is but germinal (*σπερματικός*); but it is a genuine *γνώσις* notwithstanding, a true starting-point for all cognition; it is the point at which we begin to "partake" of the *λόγος*.

The word "partake" brings us to the second of the immediate influences conditioning Origen's reflection, viz., Greek ideas. To begin with, he places himself in full sympathy with the noble thought of Plato that the craving for truth is divinely implanted in us all and cannot be repudiated by any. More positively, Origen borrows from Platonism his philosophical argument for the unity and spirituality of God.<sup>18</sup> God, who is described as "simplex intellectualis natura" (in all parts *Μονάς* and, so to speak, *Ἑνός*), is the source of all mind; in whom is all wisdom. This is, as we have already seen, the ontological postulate of Origen's epistemology. So the spirituality of God is conceived; the *τὸ ὄν* of Platonism is the equivalent of Origen's *ἀσώματον*. To quote on this point: "God is a substance in which neither color, nor form, nor touch, nor magnitude is to be understood as existing visible to the mind." From this source the ideas, eternal in the *λόγος*, emanate by way of revelation. A similar idea is to be found in the *Theætetus*, a fact

<sup>17</sup> Cf. *History of Christian Religion*, in loc.

<sup>18</sup> *D. P.*, Bk. 4: 1, 17; Bk. 1: 1, 6, etc.

which Origen explains by the theory that it was revealed by the eternal Word to the Greek mind. Another Platonic conception prominent in Origen's formal treatment of the subject of knowledge is the idea of the participation of all things and minds, according to their degree, in the "ideas;" or, as Origen epitomizes them, in the λόγος. Plato also taught that sensible objects partook of the intelligible essences ("ideas"), and by virtue thereof they possessed character as things. Plato, however, never clearly proved the manner of this participation; the one and many remain in fundamental isolation in his system. Origen, availing himself of the Jewish scriptures and of Philo, makes use of the idea of an intermediate being, the μονογενής, who is related, on the one hand, to the unrelated Monad, and, on the other hand, to the dependent world of things and minds; and this being it is that imparts immanent rationality to things. This idea of participation (μέθεξις), however, is always used by Origen subject to the profound teleology which influenced him; things partake of the "only begotten" as they are worthy. A mind cleared from the influence of sin by dialectic and faith "partakes" more worthily than a less prepared mind; so of things in their degree.

Turning to other Greek influences, we have to observe the influence of the Stoic philosophy. The Stoical spirit suited Origen's ascetic temperament, and it is in this fact, rather than in any extensive adoption of Stoical ideas, that we have to notice Origen's dependence on this school. Now, among the Stoics wisdom and virtue are practically synonymous. Their division of philosophy into logic, physics, and ethics shows their conception of the relation of the knowledges to one another. We have already seen that, in like manner, knowledge is ethical to the core in Origen's mode of philosophizing; indeed, we may go farther and identify the search for the good (*summum bonum*) of the Stoics and Origen's "end." In the details, as well, we observe similar coincidences of view. For example, in justifying the lie of Lot, our author employs the Stoical division of actions into good, bad, and indifferent, and, like a Stoic, adopts the doctrine that the essence of the virtuous

act consists in its intention. For Origen, therefore, as for the Stoic, the wise man, the man of knowledge, is the virtuous man; for the vicious and ignorant can never be said really to know; and neither the Stoics nor Origen scruple to lay the burden of responsibility for a lack of knowledge on the shoulders of the abusers of moral freedom.

We turn now to the third influence in view of which Origen formed his conception of knowledge. It is well known, among scholars in patristics, that to Gnosticism belongs the credit of inciting Origen to philosophical reflection; though it must be acknowledged that much credit is also due to the oriental syncretism, which flourished in Alexandria. Much time and pains have been spent in the attempt to prove that Origen's universalism was the direct product of the latter influence, especially in the Syrian modification of Zoroastrianism. In general the influence is obvious enough; but the comparative study of these influences leads the writer to the conclusion that our author owes much more to Greek philosophy in this matter. In Gnosticism, however, we come into closer contact with those systems, after which much of Origen's own work was patterned, particularly those of Valentinus and Basilides. But it is quite certain that Origen's conception of *πλῆτος* excluded the *γνώσις* of these thinkers. Origen, as we have seen, recognized stages of *γνώσις*, ranging all the way from simple faith to full vision; but at no time is knowledge the fanciful product that appears in Basilides. The difference seems to lie in the fact that Origen's thought moves largely, if not wholly, within the sphere of the Scriptures and tradition, whilst Gnosticism did not accept the permanent validity of the Scripture canon or the authority of the whole church. Indeed, our author was not slow to criticise his Gnostic opponents. He utters his amazement<sup>29</sup> at the spectacle of intelligent men teaching the fortuitous origin of matter; and as for the crude dualism and emanationism of Gnosticism, it was rejected as repellent to the demand for unity, as well as opposed to the teaching of Christianity. Yet Origen out-Gnostics the Gnostics in the question of the transcendental quality of knowl-

<sup>29</sup>*D. P.*, Bk. 2 : 1, 4.

edge. An extreme statement of his position is, perhaps, that where he says: "Those who have received the charisma of *γνώσις* and *σοφία* no longer live in faith, but in sight;" by which he seems to mean the same thing as the Platonic absorption into the "idea;" *i. e.*, such absorption as every seer and prophet experienced when under divine inspiration; or when the love of truth burned so purely on the altar of the soul that the external trappings of word, symbol, etc., became unnecessary to sustain the spirit in the contemplations of reality. What is obvious is that Origen looks at these systems through their relation to the practico-religious interest; this "adamantine" man will show Basilides and Marcion that Christian knowledge does not exclude, but comprehends, the truth of Gnosticism, and along with this even the more refined Buddhistic and Hindoo religious theories. For Origen the speculative proposition that God had revealed himself in Christianity included all human wisdom; his one task was to carry the implications of this central thesis to their logical and necessary results.

It remains that we speak of Philo and Jewish Hellenism. The influence of this school was the most direct, perhaps, of any, as the study of the terminology of this school and Origen's writings shows, and the secret of this influence lies in the fact that Philo was completely Greek and completely Jew. On the Greek side he was affiliated with Plato, the later Pythagoreans, and the Stoics; he was, therefore, for Origen a sort of epitome of philosophical opinion, a convenient emporium of weapons, in the shape of terms, against the opponents of revelation. On the Jewish side he was both a Palestinian and a Jew of the dispersion; and from this side Origen draws extensively, notably in the so-called argument from prophecy. These general characteristics, however, are only the indices of Philo's position on the problem of knowledge. On the latter subject he held that the knowledge of things human and divine was contained in its purest form in the Mosaic Scriptures, which are the most authoritative part of the sacred book. Hence everything that is right and good in Greek philosophy has been better taught in Moses' writings. Both Philo and Aristobulus before

him, as well as many of the Christian Fathers, including Origen, believed that the Greek philosophers borrowed from the Penta-teuch. But Philo's conception of knowledge is unpsychological and vague; had the inflexible hardness which belonged to his rigid belief in authority. This is one of the points of divergence between him and Origen. For Origen, as we have already seen, the Scriptures are the criterion of certainty in knowledge, since they contain a revelation of the divine reason; but Origen never forgets the imperfection of the media of revelation and has the temerity to say that there are "scandals and offenses and impossibilities," as well as mistakes, in them, in consequence. Again, in both, the ground and source of inspiration and of the thought of the prophet is said to be the λόγος. But the λόγος of Philo is a hypostasis standing apart from God and the world—a dualism corresponding to the Greek dualism of sense and reason; whilst in Origen there is an ontological unity underlying all reality; and the result is, in Philo's case, a teleological dualism, visible in his theory of the transmigration of the soul—a result which Origen's profound monism caused him to avoid. Moreover, Origen's λόγος is never a mere hypostasis; he, indeed, combats the idea mainly on the ground that knowledge would be impossible on the principles of a fundamental dualism. Origen's λόγος is, primarily, a historical person, in whom are "all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge," by whom we come to know the "how and why" of all things. Philo's λόγος is patterned after the Stoic theory of forces; Origen's after the self-conscious soul. The key to these differences lies in the fact that Origen's reflection arose out of experiences such as Philo never had. Both were monotheists of the most pronounced kind; both adopted the argument of prophecy as an epistemological datum; but Origen was a Christian, and the incomparable richness of Origen's conception of knowledge, its nature, processes, and results, was doubtless partly due to this fact. The closeness of the connection between the two must not, however, be lost sight of. A good illustration of this is found in the fact that Origen answers the strictures of the Jew, introduced by Celsus in his *True Discourse*, just as a Hellenistic

Jew, like Philo, would have done, and actually used the weapons of the Jewish school of Alexandria in conducting his argument.<sup>20</sup> It is also highly probable that he also made use, in this connection, of certain Jewish apocryphal books, in which Zoroastrian tenets and Jewish religious ideas were mixed; but, with Dénis,<sup>21</sup> we feel compelled to deny that Origen was indebted to these sources for his main data; for these were derived from Christianity, from the traditions of the church, the *regula fidei*, and from Greek philosophy in the main.

These, then, were the influences which helped Origen to form his conception of knowledge. In obedience to these influences, which contributed to make up that complex which we conveniently call the *Zeitgeist*, we may see why our author's views came to possess the character they have. Basing himself on the speculative view that in Christ we have the unity of subject and object, he thinks that herein is also given the unity of all the scattered knowledges of the nations; the precipitate, so to speak, amid all the seething influences, mention of which has been made in the second part of our study. Knowledge is not a reasoned process, though reasoning may lead to knowledge and is an integral part thereof; but Origen, in common with the time, emphasizes the intuitional aspect, and therefore knowledge is a gift, a surprise, a charisma, from the Absolute Mind; absolutely unattainable without free will, yet entirely independent of the action of the will. Knowledge is Christianity; the *revelation* of the love of God to a fallen world. Subjectively, knowledge is the content of the moral will of the good. This content, which Christ embodied objectively in his person, is no other than the content of the universal moral judgment made explicit and universal. Error, therefore, is a matter of *will*. Motived by love, which is the movement of the will toward the truth, it (the will) progresses toward the goal of all cognition, viz., the complete envisagement of the good (τὸ καλόν), or the vision of all in God. This activity between the finite personal will and other will expresses our author's conception of all knowable reality. Thus the principal element concerned in knowledge is the will,

<sup>20</sup> C. C., Bk. I.

<sup>21</sup> *Op. cit.*



and, as error is essentially the perversion of the will (from the morally good), the goal of all cognition must be the loving, unhesitating grasp of the reality of the idea of God's goodness. This is possible only slowly; "economically," so to speak; but the depth of Origen's optimism may be measured from the statement, already exhibited, that immortality and cognition include one another. It follows from this that that is authoritative which is declared true by the church in its highest experiences; but Origen's conception of authority is never hard, but resembles the position of more recent times, subsequent to the reign of the Augustinian theology. Authority can never quench reason.<sup>22</sup>

In conclusion, we may admit that the value of these conceptions is historical. The study of Origen's philosophy is, in the opinion of the writer, of value in the broadest sense, and especially in our day. He is the best type of the rational Christian philosopher who is also a dogmatic theologian; a man who ever called for a larger use of reason in the affairs of faith. This study of his theory of knowledge may serve to show a portion of a philosophy of spiritual monism, the nature of which deserves to be more fully set forth, as not a few of our present theological and philosophical controversies wait, for their solution, upon it or its equivalent.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. ALLEN, *Continuity of Christian Thought*, pref. of first ed., p. ix and chap. I

## THE AID OF CRITICISM IN THE INTERPRETATION OF THE PSALMS.

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THE overpowering force of the arguments of modern Old Testament criticism has compelled many to give up the traditional view of that volume, and, to a greater or less degree, to acknowledge the correctness of the results of these scientific researches. Such persons will doubtless have observed that the various results of these researches have made varying impressions upon them—sometimes agreeable, sometimes quite disagreeable. Among the results that bring a certain sense of relief must be mentioned, before all others, the recognition of the fact that the historical books of the Old Testament are composed from various sources and of various layers; for this frees us with one stroke from the annoying efforts at harmonizing, which are at times flat and rationalistic, and at times, according to their own claims, deep and keen. Still more thankfully can we recognize the fact that some prophetic passages—as, for example, Isaiah, chaps. 40–55—now for the first time stand out in their full glory, after their date has been correctly determined. On the other hand, we must number among the results that have a painful effect the knowledge that the text of the prophetic books in our hands is not always in its original condition, but has been wrought over and filled out. We may have ever so little sympathy for these anatomical studies, as Reuss sarcastically called them, but, nevertheless, there are cases in which, beyond doubt, there is such working over of texts and such interpolations (for example, Hos. 2:1 ff.; Jeremiah, chap. 3) that it is not possible to reject blankly all such criticism. Yet we have, at the same time, the disagreeable feeling that we are gradually losing a secure foundation for our text, and that in our proof texts we are constantly in danger of quoting a passage whose genuineness is already doubted or soon will meet that fate.

In no department, however, do the enriching and furthering fruits of criticism show themselves to such an extent and with such clearness as in the interpretation of the Psalms. Here the church has every reason to be thankful for recent researches, for they have made the religious content of these songs much more clear, and have made it much more easy for us to apply them to ourselves devotionally than was the case before. We see here the peculiar phenomenon that Hengstenberg's conception is essentially recognized and confirmed by modern criticism. In contrast to the historical exegesis of the single songs which Ewald called for and which Hitzig carried out almost by way of parody, Hengstenberg found in all psalms only "the ideal just man" introduced or described as speaking. Modern critics formulate it differently by calling the "I" of the Psalms a personification of the congregation of the pious, or a pious man who speaks in the name of all the pious; but the thing is essentially the same. Of course, Hengstenberg's view was a total impossibility so long as people followed his example in insisting upon the Davidic authorship of the Psalms, and the critical school of that day was perfectly right in demanding a concrete historical explanation of such psalms as had their origin at the time of David or in the period of the earlier kings. But when scholars resolved to bring down certainly the great majority of the psalms to the period beginning with Jeremiah, this difficulty was obviated, and the foundation was laid for a true and deep conception of the religious songs of Israel. The great advantages of this conception can be appreciated only by those who have plagued themselves with the endeavor to combine the religious significance of the Psalms with some historical explanation of their origin. Is it not most delightful to be freed at one stroke from purely personal enmities and strifes as the occasion for the Psalms? The foes of the psalmist are enemies of faith and of the law, and the hostile feeling is, therefore, a just thing. Saul, on the contrary, to whose persecutions the traditional titles often point, was a man mentally ill, whose battles for his people claim our sympathy, and whose tragic death awakens our pity. And Absalom had, we must confess, a disagreeably egotistical disposition; but

David himself was not at all without blame for the false development of his (Absalom's) character. And how unworthy, and even offensive, are many of the relations spoken of in the Psalms, if we insist upon bringing them into connection with David! After his great sin against Uriah and Bathsheba, how could he declare: "Only against God (and not against men) have I sinned" (Ps. 51:4)? Whereas these words are altogether true if they refer to ill-treatment which the heathen nations inflicted upon the Israelites, without any provocation on their part, and which Israel in these psalms, nevertheless, owns as a just divine punishment. How pointless the two last verses of this psalm are, if they are to be referred to David's building projects! How the sixteenth and thirtieth psalms lose value, if they are to be attributed to an illness of David, which prevented him from moving into his newly built palace, as even Delitzsch supposed—to say nothing of Hitzig's supposition that Ps. 16 was written when David sent to the chiefs of families in Judah the booty which, after Yahweh's counsel (vs. 7!), he had secured by plunder from the Amalekites! Such examples show that the critical results in this sphere mean, not merely a scientific, but also a religious gain, for which Christians cannot be thankful enough.

This is the fundamental position from which proceed the following small contributions to the consideration of single psalms, in so far as they aim to prove by single examples how much clearer and deeper the Psalms become, if they are brought into connection with the thoughts and the feelings of the later Israelites.

*Psalm 8.*—The thing that strikes us first in this psalm, and which has so much busied the exegetes of the church, is its application in the New Testament. If the poet has simply made the position of man in the world the object of his contemplation, how can, then, the author of Hebrews come to suppose that Christ is mentioned in this psalm? This question becomes the more urgent, if we bring Christ's own designation of himself, "Son of Man," into close connection with the eighth psalm. Was it not an unparalleled lack of taste to find christological thoughts in a

psalm which speaks of the rule of man over sheep and cows, birds and fishes? We only need to read the presentations of the exegetes of the church to see that here, in fact, there is, as Calvin puts it, a knot that is hard to loosen. Calvin himself seeks the solution in the fact that Christ was the *humani generis instaurator*, so that the restoration of human glory and power, lost through sin, became possible only by Christ's coming forward as a man, and by his letting this psalm apply to himself. But this explanation, which was renewed by Hengstenberg, is refuted by the fact that such subtle ideas are totally foreign to the New Testament, and especially to the author of Hebrews, for which reason, also, Hengstenberg consistently thrusts aside the use of the psalm by this author as a "homiletical application."

Yet, the difficulty lies not only in the New Testament application of this psalm, but just as much in the psalm itself. Apparently the psalm suffers from a painful lack of connection. It begins with a glorification of the God of Israel in the national sense ("our Lord"); and this is no secondary thought, as we see from the fact that this beginning is heard again at the end of the psalm. Hereupon follows, then, a very remarkable sentence, in which we read that Israel's God created for himself out of the mouth of babes and sucklings a defense that is able to bring opponents to silence. Then suddenly comes the account of the glory of the heavenly bodies and, as a contrast to them, of man, to whom, in spite of his insignificance, God has subjected all things. It is right, then, to ask here: If the poet only desired to express general religious reflections, how did he come upon the thought of emphasizing especially this point among the wonderful divine acts? Why did he not emphasize the other much greater miracles which are mentioned in Genesis, chap. 1, and which have found so glorious an echo in Ps. 104? Some answer must be sought for, and this answer is, at the same time, as we shall see, of such a kind that it will solve the riddle lying in the New Testament application of the words.

We only need to let ourselves be guided by the fact that the poet at the beginning and at the end of the song emphasizes so

strongly the national thought. We may conclude from this that the thoughts which occupy him are not of a general and philosophical nature, but practical. His purpose is to strengthen himself and his fellow-Israelites in their faith touching Israel's task and future. In fact, it required a strong faith not to be led astray by the paradox which lay in the history of Israel. This little people was a plaything in the hands of the great powers of the world; it was unimportant and despised as few other nations were. And, nevertheless, the belief lived in it that it was called to assume a lordship over the rest of the world. After the oldest prophets had awakened this expectation (Gen. 27:29), it did not again disappear. It gave to itself only the more energetic expression, the more the external circumstances of the Israelites were adapted to make this hope appear to be foolishness. During the misery of the exile an enthusiastic prophet describes how foreigners are to build the walls of Jerusalem and kings are to serve the nation as its slaves (Isa. 60:10). And as Judaism after Antiochus Epiphanes seems to be near death, another prophet speaks of the nation of the saints, to whom the rule and power and might of the empires of the world are to be given (Dan. 7:27). With these comforters the poet of the eighth psalm associates himself. In order to strengthen the belief in the paradoxical destiny of Israel, he points to the parallels in the whole world, which everyone has before his eyes. In comparison with the imposing wonders of the heavens, we can think of nothing more unimportant and tiny than man, the dust-born mortal, as the book of Job particularly delights to present him; and, nevertheless, this being stands almost like a god in the rest of the world, as a monarch, to whom everything is made over! We cannot, of course, call the psalm an allegory, but a parallel, which is intended to confirm the one paradox by means of another which no one doubts. The despised and insulted Israel is to recognize itself in the son of man (that is, man) of the psalm, which was the more easy because Israel in another psalm (80:18) is directly called *אִישׁ בֶּן אָדָם*. The intellectual contents of the psalm approach most closely the description of the servant of Yahweh, despised and neglected by all, by whom

nevertheless God intends to carry out such wonderful works (Isaiah, chap. 53).

The beauty of the psalm lies now precisely in the fact that this parallel is set up without a direct explanation. The contemporaries of the poet lived to such a degree in this realm of thought that an express *de te fabula narratur* was quite needless. The little psalm in its classical simplicity and certainty found an intelligent and joyful echo in its first readers without more definite explanation. It would be interesting if we could trace in the post-biblical literature of the Jews tokens of this conception of the song. So far as I know, this is not possible.<sup>1</sup> But the fact of the existence of such a conception is nevertheless proved precisely by the New Testament. If, as I am firmly convinced, the self-designation of Christ is founded on this psalm, the explanation for the fact lies in the circumstance that the paradox, which forms the fundamental essence of the history of Israel, comes forward in Christ in a new and more intense shape. The Son of Man has not where to lay his head, and yet all power is given to him, and yet the time will come when everything will own his sway. Jesus did not by this name designate himself as man in general, as Wellhausen thinks, but as the sign that finds opposition, as the one whose external appearance stands in paradoxal contradiction with his task and his future.

This conception of the psalm offers the explanation also for the third verse. It, too, expresses the thought that God's power is mighty in the weak. Numerous and strong foes

<sup>1</sup> In the Midrash Tehillim (Wünsche's translation, p. 80) the separate sentences are attributed to a series of Old Testament persons by means of all kinds of witty tricks: "What is man, that thou thinkest of him?" points to Abraham (Gen. 19: 29), and, "the son of man, that thou rememberest him?" points to Isaac (Gen. 21: 1); "thou makest him a little less than a god," points to Jacob, who determined the births of the goats according to his will; "with glory crownest thou him," points to Moses (Ex. 34: 29); "thou causest him to rule over the work of thy hands," points to Joshua (Jos. 10: 12 f.); "everything hast thou put under his feet," points to David; "sheep and oxen" points to Solomon (1 Kings 5: 13); "the wild beasts" points to Samson or to David; "the birds" points to Elijah (1 Kings 17: 6); "the fishes" points to Jonah; "what passes through the sea," points to the exodus of the Israelites. On the other hand, the unimportance of man is not referred to the external circumstances of the Israelites.

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arise against God, but his power is so superior that the praise of little children, of the weakest among men, is in a position to put his foes to silence. It would match very well with our general conception of the psalm if we might seek for a figurative presentation in this verse. As is well known, there has been no lack of attempts of this kind. In the Middle Ages Rashi explained the babes and sucklings as Levites and priests. Later M. Geier found in them the unlearned and simple Christians (Matt. 11:25). And of late Smend has expressed the opinion that this verse can only be understood of the Jewish prayer. But to designate the Israelites as "sucklings" would be far too odd, especially when we consider the abundance of expressions for the suffering and poor pious Israelites which were at the service of the psalmist. For this reason it is doubtless better to hold fast to the natural sense of the verse, and only seek in it a poetically beautiful and bold expression for the fundamental thought of the song.

It is clear that the conception of the psalm here urged, which solves all difficulties simply and satisfactorily, is only possible when we give up every thought of a Davidic authorship, and when we connect the psalm with the time at which the pious with all their might struggled to hold fast to the belief in the rule of Israel over the world, in spite of the humiliating external conditions.

*Psalms 2 and 18.*—The second psalm presents to exegetes a very hard problem. Of course, we cannot think of a foreign king, but even the reference of the song to one of the Hasmonean kings is for several reasons improbability itself. The thought lies at hand that we should seek a pre-exilic king in the anointed of the Lord. But that is combated on the one hand by the language of the song, which is strongly Aramaic, and on the other hand by the absolute form in which the presentation meets us, a form which is severed from all definite and limited historical relations. If we finally try to find a firm footing in the purely Messianic explanation, we discover that that is just where the difficulties increase the most. Nowhere else in the Old Testament is the Messiah introduced as speaking,



whereas in this psalm the anointed himself speaks. Besides, we have the unmistakable impression that the psalm has a definite historical motive, and that, in spite of its absolute form, it moves in the sphere of a relative, historical time. This shows itself above all in the fact that the possibility is opened up to the heathen, by self-command and humility, of saving themselves from the judgment of God, whereas in all other absolutely eschatological figures the judgment that falls upon the heathen is unavoidable, and even their uprising is induced by God himself. Since, then, all these courses lead to no result, the only possible explanation seems to me to be the conception suggested by Beer,<sup>2</sup> according to which the anointed is no king, but the people Israel itself. That disposes of all difficulties. The psalm can now have arisen at a later, post-exilic time, as the language demands, and nevertheless can have as its motive real historic relations. And, although this conception at the first glance has the effect of a surprise, it still permits a completely satisfactory confirmation. The psalm joins on to the Old Testament passages in which the Davidic kingdom is transferred to the people as the heir, because the royal power itself was altogether destroyed; cf. Isaiah, chap. 55, and Ps. 89. The name "the anointed of Yahweh" stands in several passages, without doubt, for the whole people (Pss. 84: 10; 89: 39, 52; Hab. 3: 13), so that there is no difficulty even in this respect. But above all we gain by this means a parallel for another passage, in which, likewise, the ideal people speaks and tells of what the Lord said to it at the beginning of its existence. "Yahweh called me from the womb and said to me: No servant art thou, Israel, in whom I glorify myself!" Thus, in Isa. 49: 1 ff., the servant of Yahweh speaks quite in the same way as the anointed Ps. 2: 7.<sup>3</sup> If we examine the words more carefully, we find that here, again, the world-dominion is in question, which the Lord has promised to Israel, and which makes the present attempt of

<sup>2</sup> BEER, *Individual- und Gemeindep salmen*, 1894, 2 f.

<sup>3</sup> Instead of the singular expression אֶל־יְהוָה HALÉVY, *Revue sémitique*, Vol. II, p. 216, proposes the reading מִיְיָיָהוּ: "a long time ago the Lord spoke to me." This reading is certainly worth consideration.

the heathen, to despise the Israelitic people, such a foolish undertaking. We see, then, that the two psalms, 8 and 2, which apparently are so totally different, really are closely related to each other when they are rightly understood. As for the situation which inspired the poet to write his song, we might conclude from the wording of vs. 3 that several heathen nations were then under the dominion of Israel and were thinking of freeing themselves from it. From this we then might argue as to the time of the writing of the psalm. That is, however, by no means certain. The occasion can also be an attempt of the heathen nations to attack Israel and to destroy it. In this case the bands from which the heathen wish to tear themselves loose might be the invisible bands with which the promises of the world-dominion of Israel bound the other nations to Israel. Such times occurred often enough in the post-exilic period.<sup>4</sup>

The case is the same with Ps. 18, as Cornill<sup>5</sup> and Coblenz<sup>6</sup> have rightly seen. That the Davidic authorship has been asserted with special energy in the case of this psalm is the consequence of the fact that the nation is here described with a conscious reference to David's example. But the emphasizing of the spotless purity of the speaker (vss. 21 ff.) proves of itself sufficiently that King David, who, in spite of all his nobility of soul, was by no means free from fault, cannot possibly speak here. Could David have mentioned the purity of his hands or his fulfilment of the commands of Yahweh without his hand trembling? Then, too, the expression עַם כִּנִּי (vs. 28) betrays clearly the real sense of the psalm. Compare, further, the vow to praise God among the heathen (vs. 50). Such words fit best in the mouth of the people, which we here find in an ideal form and in Messianic array. In this psalm, also, we light upon Israel's expectation of a world-dominion: "Thou makest me the head of the heathen

<sup>4</sup>The conception which we here favor appears unconditionally preferable to Cheyne's view (*Origin of the Psalter*, p. 239), according to which a later poet in Ps. 2 feigns a Davidic situation.

<sup>5</sup>CORNILL, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, p. 120.

<sup>6</sup>COBLENZ, *Ueber das betende Ich der Psalmen*, 1897, pp. 34 ff.

nations ; nations that were here unknown serve me ; when they hear of me they obey me ; foreigners play the hypocrite before me " (vss. 44 ff.). In distinction from Ps. 2, this song betrays no definite historical motive. It is a purely ideal picture, over which the pious grow enthusiastic ; it breathes the air of the Messianic period, in which all the expectations of Israel are fulfilled, and the sufferings lay in the past. If we familiarize ourselves with this conception, we shall soon see that the psalm comes much nearer to us and gains much deeper content than if we consider it as the victorious song of a royal conqueror.

*Psalms 1, 19, and 94.*—The presupposition of the Psalms is everywhere the law that the Lord has given to his people. This law consists of a number of single commands, and lay before the poets in a written form. The Psalms agree with the older prophets in laying stress upon the moral and religious constituents of the law. And there are psalms which combat the external worship and offerings in a manner that reminds us precisely of the polemics of the older prophets. Yes, these psalms go still farther than the usual prophetic polemics, in that they designate as worthless, not only the offerings of the godless, but also the offerings in themselves, even those of the pious (see especially Ps. 40). But the ordinary attitude of the Psalms in this respect is different. In the law presupposed by the bards, the rules for worship formed an essential constituent, and claimed, therefore, respect ; on the other hand, such rules had externally no value for the deeper feelings of the pious. This contradiction is solved in the Psalms by the fact that they made the forms of worship the object of an allegorical and spiritual exposition. As symbols, these laws contained a wealth of religious thoughts from which the bards drew in rich measure. The thank-offerings and the votive offerings transmuted themselves into thanks and praise (22 : 26 ; 50 : 14, etc.) ; the rules for the Levitical purity of the persons who officiated at altars teach that the pious man must be holy and pure, if he desires to remain in the presence of God (26 : 6) ; and so forth.

This deepening of the law of worship is connected with the circumstance that the bards in the first place know the law as

an object of zealous and loving study. The law teaches not only what man should do; it is a spiritual world into which the pious man plunges, and in which he lives a far richer and more intense life than in the external world. Blessed is the man, the first psalm says, who meditates upon the law day and night—that is to say, who does not merely act according to it. He ever finds in this book new treasures; his joy and enthusiasm over it are ever greater, until he at last sings a hymn to the law, such as we read in Ps. 19: 8 ff. This, too, is a clear feature of the later Judaism, for which the written law had become the basis of the Jewish life. The Psalms fill out the activity developed by the lawyers proper by winning for the law an infinitely deeper and more spiritual meaning. In view of the fearful pressure of the times under which the Israelites usually had to sigh, the Thora became for the pious a spiritual world full of wonderful harmony, into which they could take flight when the external world was about to drive them to despair. Here God's justice revealed itself in a transparent form, whereas they often sought it in vain in the historic reality. We meet this phase of the study of the law with quite especial clearness in Ps. 94. "Blessed is the man," it says here (vss. 12 f.), "whom thou instructest in thy law to give him rest in the face of the evil days, until a pit is dug for the godless;" that is, until at last the great judgment comes. The "rest" here, as the contents of the whole psalm show, can only be the spiritual rest which the pious man gains by plunging himself into the law, while the others fall a prey to temptations and lose their belief in a just God (vss. 8 ff.). It is a bath in which faith constantly renews its youth, the best gift of grace that the Lord has granted to his pious ones. If, then, the history of the post-exilic Judaism is to be written, the contribution that the Psalms give should not be overlooked; if we do not wish to give a one-sided picture of this time, we dare not forget that the law now found itself in the hands of sharp and hair-splitting lawyers.

*Psalm 15.*—The importance of this psalm lies in the fact that it teaches us the ideal of a genuine and correct Israelite, as he was pictured in the circles from which the psalms proceeded. It is

particularly instructive to compare the psalm with like ideals in other Old Testament writers. Ezekiel gives (18: 5 ff.) a picture of an upright Israelite. Precisely like Ps. 15, alongside of the general sentences, "do right, converse according to God's precepts," he emphasizes a few features which we may assume appeared to him to be especially weighty. These individual features are found in the prophets in the sphere of strict justice and in that of loving, beneficent charity, but also in that of Levitical purity in a more external sense (vs. 6). This point is completely lacking in the psalm, which only holds before the pious man a mirror of morals. On the other hand, we cannot deny that the ideal of the bard is somewhat prosaic, and that it therefore can stand no comparison with the noble and high-hearted picture that is portrayed in Job, chap. 31, and which belongs to the most beautiful passages of the Old Testament. The two descriptions, Isa. 33: 15 and Ps. 24: 4, stand about upon the same level as the representation of the fifteenth psalm.

Among the individual features which the poet of the fifteenth psalm especially emphasizes, two deserve particular notice: The pious honors, so says vs. 4, the god-fearing, but on the contrary he despises the sinners.<sup>7</sup> This warning lay close at hand at a time when the pious consisted chiefly of poor and lowly people, while the godless were mostly in possession of riches and worldly might (*cf.* Ps. 49). In comparison with Ezekiel, who demands only beneficent charity toward the poor, this is a very characteristic feature; compare, in the New Testament, Jas. 2: 2 ff. In the same verse we read that the genuinely pious man swears *לֹאֲרֵעַ* and does not change. Commonly people supply here: to (his own) injury; but in that case exactly the main thing would in a very singular way have remained unexpressed. Probably we have here an abbreviated form of speech (*cf.* a similar thing, Ps. 39: 3, where *מִשׁוֹב* is probably as much as *מִשׁוֹב עַד רֵעַ*, that is, "all without exception"), so that we should have to supply, according to Lev. 5: 4, "for good or for bad;" that is, without considering the consequences of the oath. But if

<sup>7</sup>The two words *נִמְאָס* and *נִבְזָה* give the impression of being a duplicate; probably we should read in one place with the LXX *מִרְעַ*.

we explain it thus, the sentence contains a hard ethical problem. The sense of the passage quoted from the law appears to be the following: If anyone in haste and levity promises by an oath to do something, and then afterward regrets his oath because he had not counted up the consequences, he may designate his oath as a hasty act, but then he must also offer a guilt-offering because of the breaking of the holiness of the oath. If Jephtha then had known of this law, he could have changed the offering up of his daughter into a guilt-offering.<sup>8</sup> In the realm of the religious vow a similar reversal of the promise was, of course, not gladly seen, and the pious made it a point of honor to keep their oath, even at great personal cost. Furthermore, the author of the book of Ecclesiastes (5:3 ff.) warns: "Say not softly to the priest, it was in haste, for why wilt thou load God's wrath upon thee?" If we understand the words of the psalm in this same way, there is no difficulty in it. But it says here, not "vow" (נדר), but "swear," which might also occur in many other cases, and the remaining contents of the psalm make the thought of an oath sworn to a fellow-man certainly more likely here than that of a religious vow. But if we understand the psalm in this larger sense, the words are not at all free from question. What would be the case if, for example, the promise sworn were such as Herod's oath (Matt. 14:7 ff.)? Should the pious man keep even such an oath? The answer can only be that the poet did not in the least think of such cases, and therefore his words are not to be employed in any such inquiries.

<sup>8</sup> Mohammed also allows the withdrawal of a thoughtlessly sworn vow (Sur. 5:91; 66:2).

## THE APOCALYPSE AND RECENT CRITICISM.

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THE present epoch in the criticism of the New Testament Apocalypse dates from the year 1882. Weizsäcker in that year first expressed his conviction that we have in the Apocalypse a compilation, some parts of which are of very early origin and testify to the wide exercise of the prophetic gift.<sup>1</sup> A little later in the same year Völter, then of Tübingen, afterward of Amsterdam, published the first edition of his *Entstehung der Apokalypse*, in which he divided the work into five different parts written at eras more or less remote from one another.

The idea that the Apocalypse was not a literary unity was not, however, then put forth for the first time. Hugo Grotius,<sup>2</sup> although he held that the apostle John was the author, thought that the Apocalypse consisted of ten different parts written at different times. Hammond,<sup>3</sup> Vogel,<sup>4</sup> Schleiermacher,<sup>5</sup> Bleek,<sup>6</sup> and Schwegler<sup>7</sup> held in various ways that the work was not all written at one time, and Vogel, at least, attributed it to two authors. Criticism had, however, for some years before 1882, regarded the unity and Johannine authorship of the Apocalypse as a settled question. The influence of the Tübingen school had contributed largely to this. Baur regarded the Apocalypse as one of the genuine apostolic writings, assigned to it a date prior to the destruction of Jerusalem, and made its peculiar style an argument against the Johannine authorship of the fourth gospel.

<sup>1</sup> *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1882, cols. 78-9.

<sup>2</sup> *Annot. in Apocalypsin*, 1644, I, 9; IV, 1; XIV, 1.

<sup>3</sup> *A Paraphrase and Annotations upon all the Books of the New Testament*, London, 1653 and 1659.

<sup>4</sup> *Commentationes*, VII, de *Apoc. Joh.*, Erlangen, 1811-16.

<sup>5</sup> *Vorlesungen über die Einleitung in das N. T.*, 462 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Berliner theol. Zeitschrift*, Bd. II, 1824, 240 ff.; his *Beiträge zur Evangelien-Kritik*, p. 81; and his *Vorlesungen über die Apokalypse*, 1862, pp. 119 ff.

<sup>7</sup> *Nachapostolisches Zeitalter*, II, 256.

This view prevailed among his followers; and what the Tübingen school, so radical in other respects, accepted as genuine few cared to call in question. Thus the apostolic origin of the Apocalypse became a postulate of the critics.

Völter's first attempt, though justly characterized by Briggs as "crude and ill considered,"<sup>8</sup> was in reality the beginning of a new epoch in apocalyptic criticism. At first Völter's work was met by a series of replies, the most thorough of which was that by Professor Warfield,<sup>9</sup> then of Allegheny, now of Princeton.

Though Völter published a second edition of his *Entstehung* in 1885, the subject did not enter upon its more scientific phase till 1886. In that year Weizsäcker set forth in his *Apostolisches Zeitalter* (pp. 504 f.) the theory at which he had hinted in 1882. In substance it was that a pupil of the apostle, in the name of his master, and shortly after the death of the latter, collected in this work the prophecies of the decades immediately preceding.

More important still was the work of Eberhard Vischer,<sup>10</sup> with its postscript by Harnack, which appeared in the same year. Vischer's work is too well known to need description. He held the Apocalypse to be a translation into Greek of a Jewish apocalypse, written before the year 70 A. D., with an introduction and conclusion, and with comparatively slight interpolation and interpretation throughout the narrative by a Christian hand toward the close of the century.

In the same year also Weyland, a Dutch scholar, published<sup>11</sup> a solution of the problem of the Apocalypse which he had hit upon quite independently of Vischer. Weyland held that there were two Jewish sources instead of one, and that they were written in Greek. The older of these sources he assigned to the time of Nero, the younger to that of Titus, and the Christian revision to the time of Trajan.

Of these theories that of Vischer is most widely known. Such critics as Harnack, Schürer, Dillmann, and Stade accepted

<sup>8</sup> *Messiah of the Apostles*, p. 285.

<sup>9</sup> *Presbyterian Review*, April, 1884.

<sup>10</sup> *Die Offenbarung Johannis — eine jüdische Apokalypse in christlicher Bearbeitung*

<sup>11</sup> *Theologische Studien*, of Utrecht, pp. 454-70.



it, and it gave an impetus to the critical investigation of the subject such as no other work has contributed. Völter in the same year published a sharp reply to Vischer,<sup>12</sup> and Beyschlag more leisurely and with more dignity made a more serious rejoinder in 1888.<sup>13</sup> Meantime Pfeiderer had, in his *Urchristenthum*,<sup>14</sup> in 1887 adopted the hypothesis, but more in Weyland's form of it than Vischer's, and so modified it as to see in the Apocalypse two Christian as well as two Jewish sources.<sup>15</sup>

In the same year, two French scholars, Sabatier<sup>16</sup> and Schoen,<sup>17</sup> reversed the hypothesis upon which the previous work had preceded, and argued that the Apocalypse is in basis and structure Christian, but that the author, writing toward the end of the first century, took up into his work parts of Jewish oracles which were familiar and sacred, and a part of which originated before the year 70.

The year 1888 witnessed the publication of three important contributions to the subject besides the article of Beyschlag already referred to. These were the expansion of Weyland's original article into an independent work, a work by another Dutch critic, Rovers, and an article by a French critic, Bruston. The work of Weyland<sup>18</sup> has been sufficiently described already. Rovers<sup>19</sup> felt and admitted the force of many of the considerations which Sabatier and Schoen had urged, but on the whole he leans to the Vischer-Harnack hypothesis and strengthens it with some arguments of his own. Bruston,<sup>20</sup> on the other hand, took a view still different from any hitherto proposed. He

<sup>12</sup> *Die Offenbarung Johannis keine ursprünglich jüdische Apokalypse*, Tübingen, 1886.

<sup>13</sup> *Studien und Kritiken*, Gotha.

<sup>14</sup> Pp. 318-56.

<sup>15</sup> For a list of the articles called out by the Vischer hypothesis within a year of its publication, see SCHOEN'S *L'origine de l'Apocalypse*, Paris, 1887, p. 11.

<sup>16</sup> *Revue de théologie*, Lausanne, 1887, afterward published separately, *Les origines littéraires et la composition de l'Apocalypse de Saint Jean*, Paris, 1888.

<sup>17</sup> *L'origine de l'Apocalypse de Saint Jean*, Paris, 1887.

<sup>18</sup> As published in 1888 it bears the title, *Omwerkingen en Compilatie-Hypothesen toegepast op de Apokalypse van Johannes*, Groningen, 1888.

<sup>19</sup> *Apokalyptische Studien*, Leyden, 1888.

<sup>20</sup> *Revue de théologie*, 1888. Reprinted as *Les origines de l'Apocalypse*, Paris, 1888.

found in our Apocalypse two previous apocalypses, but both by Christian authors. The earliest of these was, he held, written in Hebrew in the reign of Nero, before the year 68, by a Jewish Christian, while the second was written probably toward the end of the reign of Domitian and in Greek. The union of the two was accomplished near the beginning of the second century.

In the same year, an American critic, Professor Briggs, examined Vischer's hypothesis in the *Presbyterian Review* and rejected it. The examination was not lengthy, and the verdict pronounced is interesting because on some of the points involved its author has since changed his opinions. The ground taken as to the inadequacy of Vischer's criticism was in the main valid.

The great contribution of the year 1889 to the subject was made by Friedrich Spitta<sup>21</sup> in a book of nearly six hundred pages. Spitta made a new combination of the materials, though his theory has some relation to several of those which preceded it. According to him the Christian kernel of the Apocalypse is an apocalypse written by John Mark about the year 60. With this a Christian editor has united two Jewish apocalypses, one of which was composed in the time of Pompey, about 63 B. C., and the other in the time of Caligula. Each of these three sources Spitta believed to be complete apocalypses—not simply single visions or collections of visions, but works possessing unity of plan, which in each case treated of events from their own times to the end of all things. The three were not only alike, Spitta held, in that they ended in the overthrow of the world-power, but in that they contained a vision of seven judgments to take place before the end; for he assigned the seven Seals, the seven Trumpets, and the seven Bowls one to each of his three sources. The editor did not have much to do but to weave the sources together as best he could.

The next contributions to the subject were made in the year 1891. Dr. Edward C. Moore<sup>22</sup> in America and Simcox<sup>23</sup> in England then recapitulated for English-speaking readers the

<sup>21</sup> *Die Offenbarung des Johannes untersucht*, Halle, 1889.

<sup>22</sup> *Journal of Biblical Literature*, X, 20 ff.

<sup>23</sup> *The Revelation of St. John*, pp. 155-74 in the "Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges."

work hitherto done, and both assumed toward it the position of the Scotch verdict, "not proven," while Provost Salmon, of Dublin, in the fifth edition of his *Introduction*, vigorously opposed the analysis. Professor Schmidt, of Basel,<sup>24</sup> however, put forward yet another theory. He found three Jewish sources in the book, and left little to the Christian author except the introduction, the epistles to the churches, and the conclusion. Karl Erbes<sup>25</sup> also in the same year published a theory similar to that which Bruston had put forward in 1888. Erbes finds in the Apocalypse two previous sources, both written by Jewish Christians, the one in the time of Caligula, the other about the year 62, which were united by another Jewish Christian about the year 80.

The next considerable contributions to the discussion were made in the year 1893. Early in that year Professor Milligan,<sup>26</sup> of Aberdeen, opposed all the proposed analyses and argued for the unity and apostolic authorship of the work, while later in the same year Völter<sup>27</sup> came out with a new work of more than five hundred pages and more mature in thought than those which he had formerly published, in which he presented a theory more complex than any which had preceded it, unless his own original theory compete for this honor. Völter sought to show that the original Apocalypse, consisting chiefly of the Seals and Trumpets, was written in Palestine about 62 A. D. This was, he held, enlarged by editions written in the years A. D. 68 and 70, beginning with the vision in 10: 1-11, and including the description of the harlot city and its destruction, 17-19: 4. In the reign of Titus a new edition was issued, which embraced some new material from the hand of Cerinthus; this began with the vision of the Woman and the Dragon, 12: 1-10, and embraced the advent of the Messiah and the passages grouped about the millennium, 19: 11-21: 8. In the reign of Domitian another edition was

<sup>24</sup> *Anmerkungen über die Komposition der Offenbarung Johannis*, Freiburg, 1891.

<sup>25</sup> *Die Offenbarung Johannis kritisch untersucht*, Gotha, 1891.

<sup>26</sup> *Discussions on the Apocalypse*, London, Macmillan & Co.; New York, The Macmillan Co., 1893.

<sup>27</sup> *Das Problem der Apocalypse*, Freiburg und Leipzig, 1893.

issued, in which were numerous additions, including especially the war with the Beasts, 12:12—13:18; 14:9—12, the vision of the Bowls, chaps. 15—16, and the new Jerusalem, 21:9—22:21. These, he held, were written in Greek. Another and a larger edition was issued in the time of Trajan, in which the changes and additions were chiefly editorial. And, lastly, the final edition in its present form dates from the time of Hadrian, about 130 A. D. In this edition Völter thinks the epistles to the seven churches were first incorporated, together with some final editorial notes.

The year 1894 saw the production of two works of interest to our subject. These were by Jülicher in Germany and Rauch in Holland. The former, in his *Einleitung*,<sup>28</sup> holds that the Apocalypse was written about 95 A. D., and that the author has taken up into his work in various places fragments of older apocalypses; while the latter, in a work<sup>29</sup> which gives an excellent account in detail of the work of the critics who had preceded him, argues that the Apocalypse is not a work from one font, but is put together from different authors. Rauch agrees with Erbes in dating the earliest of these in the year 62, but differs from him in regarding it as of Jewish rather than Christian origin; this, he thinks, a Christian author worked over and enlarged about the year 80 or 81.

In the early part of the year 1895 the criticism of the Apocalypse was enriched by two most important contributions. These were Gunkel's *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit*<sup>30</sup> and Briggs' *Messiah of the Apostles*.<sup>31</sup>

The former of these works takes up the theme of an early essay of the present writer,<sup>32</sup> the Tiamat myth or Babylonian creation epic, and, following in the footsteps of that essay, but with a thoroughness never before manifested in the treatment of the subject, traces its influence through the Old and New Testaments. More than half of Gunkel's book of four hundred pages

<sup>28</sup> *Einleitung in das N. T.*, erste und zweite Auflage, 1894.

<sup>29</sup> *Die Offenbarung des Johannes untersucht*, Haarlem, 1894. The body of Rauch's work was written before VÖLTER'S *Problem der Apoc.* appeared.

<sup>30</sup> Göttingen, 1895.

<sup>31</sup> New York, Scribner's, 1895; cf. chaps. ix—xv.

<sup>32</sup> "Tiamat," in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, XV, 1 ff.

is devoted to a most thorough examination of the New Testament Apocalypse in connection with this Babylonian material. Though he was not the first to see its connection with Babylonian influence,<sup>33</sup> the treatment which he accords the subject forms a new departure in apocalyptic criticism.

Gunkel's discussion of the Apocalypse begins with chap. 12. He shows that by no satisfactory exegesis can this chapter be made to apply to the birth of Jesus, but that it must have come to the Christians through a Jewish source (herein agreeing with Vischer, Weyland, Pfeiderer, Rovers, Sabatier, Schoen, Spitta, and Rauch). He further shows that there is much in the chapter, and in like manner in the whole Apocalypse and in all the apocalyptic literature, which cannot be explained as historical allusion, and which cannot be the creation of a seer's fancy, but which must have been embodied in a tradition which the successive apocalyptic writers employed. This tradition, according to Gunkel, was believed to contain the key which was to unlock the mysteries of the last things, when the powers of evil were to be finally overthrown and the kingdom of God set up; and each seer applied something of its details to the historical events of his own time, often passing on other details, which he could not understand, as a part of the mystery of the sacred tradition. It is therefore futile, Gunkel urges, for us to hope to find in the history of any period a historical situation which will satisfactorily explain all the details of any apocalypse. Much must remain unsolved for us, as it did for the seer. In this category he puts the "3½ times" of Daniel, with its paraphrases in the New Testament Apocalypse, and the "42 months" of the latter work, together with other similar data. These, he thinks, were furnished by the tradition, and were taken by the seers to refer to some consummation which they did not understand.

Not the least merit of Gunkel's work is that it thus formulates a precise method of apocalyptic interpretation. The interpreter must not assume that the writer invented all his material, but must seek to find whether oral tradition influenced him in any degree, and, if so, in what form the tradition existed for him.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, XV, pp. 26, 27.

It becomes further the duty of the exegete to distinguish between allusions to historical events and mysteries which the writer did not himself understand; allusions to historical persons and events must not be assumed without clear proof. This canon certainly seems a sound one, and the widely divergent dates assigned to different parts of the New Testament Apocalypse by different writers who have tried to explain every detail historically affords abundant evidence of the usefulness of some such canon of interpretation as Gunkel proposes.

Having clearly traced the presence and influence of such a tradition among the Jews, Gunkel proceeds to inquire whence it came to them. It is certainly difficult in the Old Testament, or in post-biblical Jewish writings, to find, for example, the materials of the picture of the woman of Revelation, chap. 12, and her fortunes. Whence come the sun, moon, and stars with which she is decked? Why does the dragon cast down a third of the stars with his tail? How does he know the impending birth of the child? After Michael vanquishes the dragon, he still has power to persecute the woman and the rest of her seed. The woman, at first in heaven, is straightway described, without explanation, as being upon the earth, and she flees to "her place" by means of the wings of "the eagle." What eagle is this, and why cannot Michael protect the woman? These, and such features, Gunkel, by a wide induction of facts, seeks to trace to such material as is contained in the Babylonian creation epic, and, though here and there he presses a point too far, on the whole, it must be confessed, he makes out his case exceedingly well.

Jensen had shown, by means of the book of Esther,<sup>34</sup> that probably the Babylonians themselves applied the Tiamat-Marduk myth allegorically, and that the Jews were familiar with that allegorical application. Gradually, it would seem, the Jews came to apply the Tiamat-Marduk struggle allegorically to their own fortunes and hopes. Their enemies took the place of the dragon or were represented by hideous forms, such as Tiamat created

<sup>34</sup> *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, VI, 47 ff., 209 ff. For a criticism of Jensen's article and other similar theories, cf. TOY's "Esther as Babylonian Goddess," *New World*, March, 1898, pp. 130-44. WILDEBOER, in MARTI's *Hand-Commentar*, Lief. 6 (1898), pp. 173-5, agrees with Jensen.

for her helpers.<sup>35</sup> These enemies were to be overcome by a heaven-sent deliverer, who should inaugurate the millennial world; just as the first earth was created by a process of conflict, so the birth-pangs of the new earth would be "wars and rumors of wars;"<sup>36</sup> and as the sea dragon was conquered so that the present heaven and earth could be, so, before the new heaven and the new earth came into being, the "sea would be no more."<sup>37</sup> Gunkel thus attacked the problem from a new quarter, and the full effect of his point of view upon the literary or documentary criticism has not yet been reckoned with.

Professor Briggs treats the criticism of the Apocalypse, in the work referred to, only incidentally; his main purpose is to trace the Messianic idea. He approached the problem, however, with the advantage of a long experience in pentateuchal criticism, and the experience there acquired has borne good fruit in the ability he exhibits to appreciate the elements which constitute a literary unity, and in the sound discrimination he manifests in keen literary analysis. His experience enabled him to see such faults in the work of his predecessors that he could not accept the analysis of any one of them, while the literary facts which they brought to light compelled him, in spite of the marked evidences of unity which he had always seen in the book, to accept the documentary hypothesis. The outcome was a reëxamination of the whole subject which resulted in an analysis of his own.

It is to be regretted that Professor Briggs was compelled by space to withhold many of his reasons for his conclusions. The conclusions themselves are best presented in his own table.<sup>38</sup>

It will appear from the subjoined table that Briggs finds six quite complete apocalypses underlying our present book, and that he thinks that the Apocalypse has passed through four editions; the first edition embraced the three sevens—Seals, Trumpets, and Bowls; to these the Epistles were in the second edition added; the Beasts and Dragon were the new elements

<sup>35</sup> Cf. DELITZSCH's *Weltschöpfungsepos*, p. 96, ll. 119-24.

<sup>36</sup> Matt. 24 : 6; Mark 13 : 7; the "apocalypse of Jesus."

<sup>37</sup> Rev. 21 : 1.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. *Messiah of the Apostles*, p. 305.

introduced in the third edition, while the changes it underwent in passing to the fourth edition were chiefly editorial.

Fourth edition						
Third edition						Redactor.
Second edition				5. Beasts.	6. Dragon.	
First edition			4. Bowls.			
1. Epistles.	2. Seals.	3. Trumpets.				
1: 9 1: 10—3 (end)	1: 4-6 chaps. 4-6 8: 1  11: 15b-18  14: 1-5 7: 9-17	1: 7-8 7: 1-8 8: 2—9 (end) 10: 1a 10: 3-7 11: 14-15a 11: 19 14: 6-7 14: 14-20	chaps. 15-17 19: 1-8 21: 9-15 21: 16b, 17 21: 22-27 22: 1-2 (19: 9-10) 22: 6-9	10: 1b-2 10: 8-11 11: 1-13 12: 18 chap. 13 14: 8-13 chap. 18 19: 11-21	12: 1-17   chap. 20 21: 1-2 21: 16a, c 21: 18-21 22: 3-5 21: 3-5a	1: 1-3   and many notes throughout   22: 18-20
21: 5b, 7a 22: 16-17	22: 21	21: 6, 7b-8 22: 10-15				

The earliest of these individual apocalypses is, according to Briggs, the apocalypse of the Beasts, which he assigns to the time of Caligula; the next the apocalypse of the Dragon, which cannot, he thinks, be much later in time. Though the earliest strata of our present Apocalypse, they were not, he holds, introduced into it till its third edition. Of the apocalypses of the Sevens he holds that the apocalypse of the Trumpets is the earliest, while that of the Seals is next in point of time, and the apocalypse of the Bowls, which presupposes the other two, must be somewhat later. In its original form it dated from the reign of Galba, but an editorial note implies the reign of Vespasian, and still another the reign of Domitian.

The apocalypse of the Epistles is, Briggs holds, the latest of the series. It cannot be older than Nero and may be as late as Domitian. The four apocalypses of the Sevens were probably combined before the other two were united with them. The



final editing was near the close of the first century or early in the second. All these original documents, with the possible exception of the Epistles, were, according to Briggs, written in Hebrew.

In adopting this documentary hypothesis Professor Briggs holds it in entire consistency with the unity of the book. That unity is, he thinks, the work of the final editor, who so combined this material, taken from six different apocalypses, each with its own original literary organism, as to produce a series of seven visions, with seven scenes in each vision, the whole introduced by a prologue and concluded by an epilogue.

In the same year A. Hirscht, a pupil of Professor B. Weiss, published a work entitled *Die Apokalypse und ihre neueste Kritik*, in which he maintains the unity, the entire Christian character, and the apostolic authorship of the Apocalypse.

In the year 1896 a contribution was made to the discussion of the Apocalypse by the appearance of the fifth edition of *Die Offenbarung Johannis* (Part XVI of Meyer's *Commentary*), newly edited by Wilhelm Bousset. Bousset devotes above two hundred pages of his work to introduction, and examines many aspects of the subject. He finds by a thorough examination of the language (pp. 183-208) that this indicates a marked unity in the work. But he holds, nevertheless, that there are portions of the material which come from foreign sources. These are 7:1-8; 11:1-13; 12; 13:11 ff.; 14:14-20; 17; 18, and 21:9-22:5.<sup>39</sup> All these passages, he thinks, the Christian author worked over and adapted to his own purposes, and some of the material was, he holds, worked over more than once. Thus 11:1-13 has, he thinks, undergone two redactions,<sup>40</sup> as has chap. 17.<sup>41</sup> This material came, he thinks, from Jewish sources, though he agrees with Gunkel, of whose work he speaks in terms of praise, in thinking that chap. 12 could not have had a Jewish origin. Some of these elements, which he regards as foreign to the present work, were, he holds, united in the sources from

<sup>39</sup> See *op. cit.*, p. 164, and pp. 330-31, 382-7, 405-15, 431-7, 451-2, 474-80, 488-9, and 519-22.

<sup>40</sup> See p. 386.

<sup>41</sup> See pp. 479-80.

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which the writer drew. Bousset's theory is, therefore, similar to that of Sabatier and Schoen. He thinks, too, that the Apocalypse is connected, not with the name of John the apostle, but with that of John the presbyter.

Harnack, in the great work<sup>42</sup> which appeared early in 1897, says that the strict unity of the Apocalypse is given up; that it contains older writings, or at least an older writing. His treatment of the date is practically the same as in his postscript to Vischer's work<sup>43</sup> eleven years earlier. He holds that from 17:9-11 we have evidence that the earlier stratum was written under Nero or his successor, and that the final editing was done under Domitian. He now holds, however, that the final editor was "John the presbyter," not the apostle, and that his work was done between 80 and 110 A. D.

Weiss, in the third edition of his *Einleitung*, which also appeared in 1897, concludes a brief review of recent theories with the remark: "Das Wahre daran dürfte höchstens sein, dass die Abhängigkeit von jüdischen Vorbildern, welche im Princip nie bestritten ist, stärker zu veranschlagen wäre, als man früher annahm."<sup>44</sup>

During the same year, A. Meyer, of Bonn, gave, in the second and third numbers of the *Theologische Rundschau*, a review of the critical discussions of recent years. He concludes<sup>45</sup> that the Apocalypse is a compilation, either from older sources or traditions, but that we must wait for the strife of present discussion to quiet down, before we can assign to each investigator the measure of truth his work contains.

Professor McGiffert, in his *History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age*, also published in 1897, although bold with reference to books like the Acts which he has especially studied, is, like Meyer, skeptical as to the results of the criticism of the Apocalypse. He says of the author of this book: "In carrying out

<sup>42</sup> *Die Chronologie der altchristlichen Litteratur*, Vol. I, Leipzig, 1897, pp. 245, 246, and 679.

<sup>43</sup> *Texte u. Untersuchungen*, II. Bd., 3. Heft, pp. 139 ff.

<sup>44</sup> *Einleitung in das N. T.*, dritte Auflage, p. 359.

<sup>45</sup> *Rundschau*, Vol. I, p. 101.

his task, the author made large use of earlier apocalyptic writings, probably both Christian and Jewish. That much of the material besides the epistles to the seven churches was original with himself, there can be little doubt, but it is impossible to fix the limits with exactness, and the line separating the various sources from each other can be drawn only approximately."<sup>46</sup>

As a result of the discussions of these sixteen years, we are able to classify the opinions of scholars who have expressed themselves on the subject as follows :

1. With reference to the unity of the work, *a*) the following hold that it is not all from one hand : Weizsäcker, Völter, Vischer, Harnack, Weyland, X in *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*,<sup>47</sup> Krüger,<sup>48</sup> Overbeck,<sup>49</sup> Schürer,<sup>50</sup> Iselin,<sup>51</sup> Pfeleiderer, O. Holtzmann,<sup>52</sup> Sabatier, Schoen, Bruston, Rovers, Spitta, Erbes, Schmidt, Ramsay,<sup>53</sup> Jülicher, Räuch, Gunkel, Briggs (1895), Bousset, Meyer, and McGiffert. *b*) Those maintaining the unity of the work whom I have noted (though, no doubt, many others might be added) are : Warfield, Beyschlag, Briggs (1888), Hilgenfeld,<sup>54</sup> Salmon, E. C. Moore, Simcox, Milligan, H. J. Holtzmann,<sup>55</sup> Hirscht, and B. Weiss.

Of these latter E. C. Moore and H. J. Holtzmann might better, perhaps, be counted as neutral, since they do not so much argue for the unity of the Apocalypse as express the feeling that the contrary has not been proven.

2. Of those who maintain the composite character of the Apocalypse there are two classes : *a*) those who regard parts

<sup>46</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 633 ff.

<sup>47</sup> Vol. VII (1887), Heft I.

<sup>48</sup> *Göttingische gel. Anzeiger*, 1887, Heft II.

<sup>49</sup> *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1887, 28.

<sup>50</sup> *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1888, 135-7.

<sup>51</sup> *Theol. Zeitschrift aus der Schweiz*, 1887, Heft I.

<sup>52</sup> "Das Ende des jüdischen Staatswesen und die Entstehung des Christentums," *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*, bearb. von B. STADE und O. HOLTZMANN, 1888. Bd. II, Abteilung 2, pp. 658-64.

<sup>53</sup> *The Church in the Roman Empire*, 1893, p. 298.

<sup>54</sup> *Zeitschr. für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1890, pp. 385 ff.

<sup>55</sup> *Jahrbücher für prot. Theologie*, 1891, pp. 520-44, and *Offenbarung d. Johannes* in "Handcommentar," 1891.

of the work as Jewish, as Vischer, Harnack, Weyland, X, Iselin, Pfeiderer, O. Holtzmann, Sabatier, Schoen, Rovers, Spitta, Schmidt, Rauch, Gunkel, Bousset, and McGiffert; *b*) those who maintain the Christian character of the whole work, as Weizsäcker, Völter, Bruston, Erbes, Ramsay, and Briggs.

3. Again, the critics who accept divisive hypotheses may be said to fall into four classes: *a*) those who hold that it is a Jewish work, or Jewish documents, to which Christian additions have been made, as Vischer, Harnack, Weyland, X, Iselin, Pfeiderer, O. Holtzmann, Rovers, Schmidt, and Rauch; *b*) those who hold it to be a Christian work, which, in successive editions, has taken into itself Jewish elements, as Sabatier, Schoen, Spitta, Bousset, and McGiffert; *c*) those who regard it as comprising reëdited Christian documents, as Weizsäcker, Völter, Bruston, Erbes, and Briggs; *d*) those who find, not mere fragments, but complete and consistent apocalypses underlying our work, as Spitta and Briggs. These last two scholars belong in different classes, as has been pointed out above, but they constitute in the point in question a class by themselves.

It is apparent from this classification that hitherto those who have attempted to analyze the Apocalypse have reached no agreement among themselves. This is, of course, taken by scholars of the extreme conservative school as an evidence that the whole effort is without foundation and is destined to end in moonshine. This might conceivably be the case, but there are some phenomena, to be pointed out below, which strongly militate against it. It is more probable that there is an element of truth in the documentary hypothesis, but that the earlier critics did not hit upon the right solution of it. At all events, when we note that, though critics differ widely in their theories as to date, authorship, and circumstances of composition, they agree quite closely in the places where they find editorial seams and interpolations, we are prompted to believe that there must be some evidence here upon which to build. If there be such evidence, sixteen years of examination ought to have issued in some permanent results. Are there such results? I believe there are; and would enumerate them as follows:

## RESULTS.

1. *That there is in the material of the Apocalypse a Babylonian element.* This point, for which the writer argued 1890,<sup>56</sup> has, through the brilliant labors of Gunkel, been satisfactorily established. This element coming through a stream of tradition, upon which successive apocalypses were based, lodged in our Apocalypse as well as in others the driftwood of Babylonian fragments, which cannot be resolved into historical references, and by which its course may be traced. We recognize this driftwood: *a*) in the dragon of chaps. 12 and 20, with his multiform shape, his power over the stars, and the stream issuing from his mouth;<sup>57</sup> *b*) in the unearthly character of the woman in chap. 12, who is "arrayed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars," who has the wings of the great eagle and who is with child;<sup>58</sup> *c*) in the strife between Michael and the dragon, 12:7;<sup>59</sup> *d*) in the beasts which come up out of the deep, 13:1, 11; Dan. 7:3-7; *e*) in the conception that when sin is banished from earth "the sea shall be no more," 21:1; *f*) in the peculiar horses with tails like scorpions, and stings, in 9:10, and like serpents, vs. 18;<sup>60</sup> *g*) in the inexplicable numbers "3½ times," 12:14; Dan. 7:25, and 12:7; the "42 months," 13:5, and the "666," 13:18. These and other similar elements are best explained on the theory of a Babylonian origin. The Babylonian mythological combat between Tiamat and Marduk, probably allegorically applied to other struggles by the Babylonians themselves,<sup>61</sup> was taken in allegory by the Jews as the key to the last things, and furnished the point of departure for the apocalyptic impulse.

2. The recognition of this fact carries with it another result, viz.: that *there are elements of the Apocalypse which are undoubtedly*

<sup>56</sup> JOAS., XV, 26, 27.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. the dragon Tiamat.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. GUNKEL, pp. 379 ff., who shows that the imagery originated in the description of the birth of Marduk.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. the strife between Marduk and Tiamat in DELITZSCH'S *Weltschöpfungsepos*, Tafel IV, and ZIMMERN'S "Beilagen" to Gunkel's work.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. *Weltschöpfungsepos*, pp. 96, 119-24.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. JENSEN in *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, VI, 47 ff., 209 ff., and WILDEBOER in MARTI'S *Hand-Com.*, Lief. 6, pp. 173-5.

of Jewish origin; for this Babylonian element can only have come into the Christian church through Jewish sources. But at this point we are met with a difficulty which is very great. Are these Jewish elements of the Apocalypse so Jewish that they must have been written by a Jew, as most critics contend? Or may they have been written by a Jewish-Christian who had been steeped in Jewish conceptions until his whole thought moved in them, as Weizsäcker, Völter, Bruston, Erbes, Ramsay, and Briggs aver? The difficulty is to determine just how Jewish a first-century man had to be in order to preclude the possibility of his being a Christian. It is a psychological problem which will perhaps never be solved. But, notwithstanding the psychological difficulty, it appears most probable, for reasons which will be given at a future point, that parts of our Apocalypse were written in Jewish rather than Christian circles. These portions have, as their nucleus, chaps. 11, 12, 13, and 18, which have been most widely recognized as Jewish, but will be indicated more fully below.

3. Another result which we have to note is the *documentary character of the Apocalypse*. This has, I think, been clearly made out, notwithstanding Gunkel's arraignment of the critics, and in spite of our recognition of his main contention; for, while the recognition of Gunkel's canon of interpretation rules out of court many historical allusions which critics have seemed to find in the Apocalypse, it does not invalidate all of them, and does not even touch many canons of literary criticism which in a thorough study one is compelled to apply. No matter whence an author obtained his material, if it comes to him as oral tradition, as Gunkel supposes, and not in a definite literary form, his literary productions from the material may be expected to have unity of plan and consistency of representation. If they do not have these, one may then guess that a part of the material had previously been cast into literary form and was not thoroughly wrought over by the author. This holds true especially of a work of such literary power as the Apocalypse.

We find, for example, that the Apocalypse consists of seven visions, of seven scenes each, and that four of the visions are

marked off from the other three by distinct groups of sevens—seven epistles, seven seals, seven trumpets, seven bowls.<sup>62</sup> How is it that the author who molds his whole work and so many of its parts on the pattern of the holy number does not use it throughout? This suggests a documentary difference. This hint gathers considerable force from the fact that the first of the visions without the group of seven distinct objects begins in chap. 12, where, as we have seen, one of the most striking of the strata of Babylonian material begins—a stratum, too, which, in so far as it had any allegorical meaning, must have referred to times considerably prior to those represented in the preceding visions.

If we limit ourselves to the first three visions, we find that the vision of the Epistles has a Christophany and seven epistles, and seems practically complete in itself. It lacks as it stands only a fitting conclusion to make it a complete apocalypse.<sup>63</sup>

The vision of the Seals has as an introduction a Theophany, a Christophany, and six seals; between the sixth and seventh seal there are two scenes in chap. 7, which are usually regarded as episodes. The opening of the seventh seal is seen, but no event transpires.<sup>63</sup>

Can these episodes be original to the vision of the Seals? Have they not been inserted by a later editor? Was there not a fitting conclusion to the vision which followed on the opening of the seventh seal? Has it not been removed?

The vision of the Trumpets again begins abruptly with a scene in the temple, 8: 2-6, with no Theophany or Christophany to introduce it. The six trumpets follow in regular order. After the sixth trumpet two scenes in 10-11: 13 appear which are not announced by trumpets; then the seventh trumpet follows with its scene.<sup>64</sup> Can these two unannounced scenes be original to the vision of the Trumpets? Was it not more likely introduced from some other source? Taking as our guides the visions of the Epistles and Bowls, the episodes between the sixth and seventh seals and the sixth and seventh trumpets had no place in those visions, as the Epistles and Bowls have no episodes.

<sup>62</sup> BRIGGS, *Messiah of the Apostles*, p. 390.

<sup>63</sup> BRIGGS, *op. cit.*, p. 291.

<sup>64</sup> BRIGGS, *ibid.*

In chap. 10 there is a Theophany with a little book and a commission to a prophet, similar to Ezekiel's commission.<sup>65</sup> This looks as though it were originally the beginning of a vision, just as the Epistles and Seals begin with Christophanies.<sup>66</sup>

The two episodes of chap. 7, as Vischer clearly saw, are so strikingly in contrast in spirit and tone that they cannot have originally belonged together.

When we turn back to the beginning of the book, we find four different beginnings. Vss. 1-3 contain a general introduction to the work as it now stands; vss. 4-6 contain a salutation which refers both to the Epistles and Seals; vss. 7-8, introduced after one salutation has closed and before another introduction begins, might well come from another source; while vs. 9 begins with a proper introduction to the Epistles. All this is most easily explained on the documentary hypothesis. Such observations might be greatly multiplied. For a fuller statement of them the reader is referred to the work of Professor Briggs already mentioned, where most of those indicated above are given. These literary considerations apply quite as forcibly when we apply Gunkel's canon of interpretation as when we do not. They are independent of historical reference and compel us in my judgment to hold that the fact is demonstrated that the phenomena of the Apocalypse require a documentary theory for their explanation. They receive some confirmation, too, from the fact already mentioned that, while the critics differ widely in their combination of the materials, they agree closely in the places where they find literary seams.

The impression made by these literary facts is strengthened by the analogy of the other apocalypses. The composite character of Enoch has been recognized since Lücke published his *Einleitung in die Offenbarung Johannis*, in 1852, and is an axiom of current criticism. Fourth Esdras was shown to be composite by Kabisch in 1889,<sup>67</sup> and Charles has recently come to his support.<sup>68</sup> The composite character of the apocalypse of

<sup>65</sup> Ezekiel 2:8-3:3.

<sup>66</sup> BRIGGS, *op. cit.*, p. 292.

<sup>67</sup> *Das vierte Buch Ezra*, Göttingen, 1889.

<sup>68</sup> *The Apocalypse of Baruch*, London, 1896, p. lxvii.



Baruch was independently recognized by Kabisch<sup>69</sup> and de Faye,<sup>70</sup> and is strongly supported by Charles in his recent critical treatment of the book.<sup>68</sup> The composite character of Daniel has been held by various scholars since the days of Spinoza,<sup>71</sup> and has been recently advocated by Meinhold<sup>72</sup> and Strack.<sup>73</sup> It is doubtful whether the criticism of Daniel has hitherto been sufficiently thoroughgoing. The writer believes he is able to point out evidence for its composite character which has been overlooked by others. His results will soon be published.<sup>74</sup>

We may, with Theodor Zahn, decline to throw the apocalypse of John<sup>75</sup> into a sack with the other apocalypses, and nevertheless feel that the indications for the composite character of the work are strengthened by arguments from analogy. We hold, then, that recent criticism has shown that nothing short of a documentary hypothesis will satisfy the conditions of the problem.

4. Another point which may be regarded as settled is that the Apocalypse reached its final form about the end of the first century. Most recent critics make the reign of Domitian the last historical waymark which it reveals, and internal and external evidence unite in this testimony. The former finds expression in 17: 11<sup>76</sup> and the latter in Irenæus.<sup>77</sup>

When we come to the details of any of the proposed literary solutions, we tread on less certain ground. It may not, however, be out of place to state what in the writer's judgment may be accepted here.

<sup>69</sup> *Jahrbücher für protest. Theol.*, 1891, p. 66-107.

<sup>70</sup> *Les apocalypses juives*, 1892, pp. 25-8, 76-103, 192-204.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*, x.

<sup>72</sup> *Die Compos. d. B. Daniel*, 1884; *Beiträge zur Erkl. d. B. Dan.*, 1888; and STRACK AND ZÖCKLER'S *Kurz. Komm.*, 1889.

<sup>73</sup> *Einleitung in das A. T.*, second ed., pp. 69 ff. In the third edition he appears to have become non-committal; cf. pp. 141, 146.

<sup>74</sup> See *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. XVII (1898), Pt. II.

<sup>75</sup> RAUCH'S *Offenbarung d. Johannis*, p. 34.

<sup>76</sup> αὐτὸς ὁ ὄντων ἐστὶ must on the interpretation of the passage alluded to below (p. 798) refer to Domitian.

<sup>77</sup> V, 30, 3.

## PROVISIONAL RESULTS.

1. Here the writer would state his conviction that *the analysis of Professor Briggs must be in the main accepted*, for it makes its separations of the material in places which, on the whole, are more natural than those of previous analyses, and it shapes the material out of which the Apocalypse was formed into consistent and natural literary wholes, which impress the reader with their literary unity, whereas most previous analyses make upon one the impression that the material which they string together never could have stood originally in such connection as the critics place it.

Vischer's theory held to but one anterior apocalypse. By its removal of chaps. 1-3; 7:8-17, etc., it destroyed the symmetry of the present work, which is molded by the sacred number seven, and left wholly unexplained many of the literary difficulties pointed out above. Spitta made the following combinations: To his *Urapokalyptse* he assigned 1:4-6:17; 8:1; 7:9-17; 19:9b, 10; 22:8-18, and 20, 21. To J.<sup>1</sup>: 7:1-8; 8:2-10:7; 11:15a, 19; 12:1-14:11; 16:13-20; 19:11-21:1; and 21:5, 6. To J.<sup>2</sup>: 10:1b, 2a, 8-11; 11:1-13; 11:15b-18; 14:14-20; 15:2-8; 16:1-12, 17a, 21; 17:1-6; 18:1-23; 19:1-8; 21:9-27; 22:1-3, 15. This analysis escapes some of the defects of Vischer's, but not all of them; for a) it fails to distinguish between the tone of the visions of the Seals and the Epistles; b) chap. 12 can hardly have stood originally after 11:19. The vision of the Trumpets leads one to expect that when the seventh trumpet sounds the end will come; and it seems much more probable that the continuation of 11:19 is to be found, with Briggs, in 14:6-7, 14-20, than that the beginning of another long struggle should be announced. c) This analysis leaves in confusion the dragon and the beasts, whereas the sections referring to the two are easily separable from one another, and the terms are not interchangeable. d) It needlessly destroys the symmetry of the vision of the Bowls; and e) the reference of J.<sup>2</sup> to the time of Pompey is not tenable.

Völter's analysis (1893) is as follows: There was an *Urapokalyptse* written in 62 A. D., consisting of 1:4-6 (except reference

to the seven churches and seven spirits), 9*a*; 4:1-11; 5:1-10; 6:1-17; 7:1-8; 8:1-13; 9:1-21; 11:14-19; 14:1-3, 6-8, 14-20; 19:5-10*a*; the earliest additions in 68 and 70 A. D. were 10:1-11; 17:1-18, and 18:1-19:4; with the first reëditing in the time of Titus 12:1-10 and 19:11-21:8 were added; with the second reëditing, under Domitian, 12:12-17; 13; 14:9-12; 15-17:1*a*; 17:19, 20; 20:4*a*, 10*b*; 21:9-27; the third reëditing, under Trajan, consisted chiefly of editorial notes; while the last reëditing, under Hadrian, supplied 1:9-3:22 and many more editorial notes.

The analysis of Völter is open to objections similar to those urged against Spitta's. *a*) It destroys a literary unity by separating two scenes in chap. 12 which relate to the dragon and belong together. *b*) It needlessly destroys the literary unity of chaps. 15-17, the chief part of the vision of the Bowls. *c*) It fails to distinguish between the visions of Beasts and Bowls, leaving the material of the two in confusion and ignoring some of the clearest indications of date. *d*) It fails, like Spitta's analysis, to distinguish clearly between the visions of the Dragon and Beasts (19:11-11:8). *e*) Such exact dating as Völter gives is impossible; *f*) and that any of the Apocalypse comes from the reign of Hadrian is extremely improbable. The analysis of Briggs does not seem to be open to such objections as these. Many times I have tested its different parts in classroom work on the Apocalypse, and have always found that the primary recoil of feeling which was produced by what seemed at first an over-refinement of analysis has been dispelled by the reasonableness and the sufficiency of his work.

This, however, applies mainly to the analysis itself, but not always to details. For example, Briggs seems to regard all the original apocalypses as Christian, but an examination of the text of three of them, the Beasts, Dragon, and Trumpets, as he has himself translated it and annotated it,<sup>78</sup> fails, if we agree with him as to the probable editorial notes and additions, to reveal

<sup>78</sup> *Messiah of the Apostles*, pp. 309-90. I refer to the text with its footnotes, which point out glosses, etc., not to the comments interspersed in larger type, with much of which I cannot agree.

anything in the original that a Jew might not have written. These are the apocalypses which contain by far the larger part of the Babylonian material, which must have come to Christianity through Judaism, and when the interpolations, the existence of which the critics have demonstrated, are removed, I must confess that I cannot rid myself of the impression that these apocalypses originated in Jewish and not in Christian circles.

2. *With reference to the dates of the different strata, one must in the main commend the assertions and the reserve of Professor Briggs.* The historical situation of chap. 13 points with great clearness to the attempt of Caligula to compel the Jews to worship his image.<sup>79</sup> That the apocalypse of the Beasts dates from that time is, therefore, a reasonable conclusion.<sup>80</sup> The next reason-

<sup>79</sup> Cf. MOMMSEN, *Provinces of the Roman Empire*, II, p. 211; and SCHÜRER, *History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ*, Div. I, Vol. II, pp. 99-103.

<sup>80</sup> I cannot agree with Briggs that the words *καὶ ὁ ἀριθμὸς αὐτοῦ ἑξακόσιοι ἑξήκοντα* ξξ in 13:18 are a gloss. They seem, as Gunkel has shown, to belong to the original tradition as much as the *μῆνας τεσσεράκοντα δύο*, and came probably from the Babylonian source along with the "3½ times." It is probable that Gunkel is right in finding the origin of 666 in *תהום קדמנייה* (*i. e.*, the primeval abyss) = 666. See *Schöpfung und Chaos*, p. 378. It is, however, doubtful whether the beast, which Gunkel rightly takes to refer to the Roman power in general, and a head of his, which he rightly claims must mean an emperor as distinguished from the empire, were always kept separate in men's minds. Such clearness of thought is not manifested in modern exegesis, and why should we expect it in the ancient? Nothing would be more natural than for someone living under Nero to hit upon an interpretation referring to that monarch, *נרר קסר* = 666. Then someone might naturally spell it *נרר קסר* (= 616), and thus the variant, *ἑξακόσιοι ἑκα ξξ*, to which Irenæus (V, 30, 1) testifies, may have originated. It would be strange if modern interpreters were the first to see in the number references to historical characters which, as time went on, could easily be found in such a cipher. So many such references have been found that it seems more likely that the number was a part of the traditional apocalyptic material which underwent new interpretations from time to time. Perhaps even Völter's guess, Trajanus Hadrianus *טיריון אדריונוס* = 666, or *טיריון אדריונוס* = 616, *Problem der Apok.*, 1893, p. 215, may have been one of the ancient interpretations. After the document was translated into Greek, then interpretations like *Δαρείος* = 666, mentioned by Irenæus (V, 30, 3), would be natural. If, as Volter and Briggs claim, and as I believe, chap. 13 was originally written in Hebrew, ZAHN (*Zeitschrift für kirchl. Wissenschaft*, 1885, pp. 595 ff.) and SPITTA (*Offenbarung des Johannes*, pp. 392 ff.) are wrong in assuming 616 as the correct reading and *Τάϊος Καῖσαρ* as the original interpretation. We are rather to suppose that the original author in the time of Caligula passed it on as he did the "42 months," without applying it, and that historical applications of it were afterward made. In that case Spitta and Briggs are right in regarding 13:18a as a gloss.

able indication of date is found in 17: 9-11 in the apocalypse of the Bowls. Harnack and Briggs are, no doubt, right in claiming that the phrase, *οἱ πέντε ἔπεσαν*, brings us to Nero or Galba—Nero if we count the five kings from Julius, to Galba if we count from Augustus—for the original date of this writing, and in seeing in later parts of the clause references to later monarchs made by subsequent editors.<sup>81</sup> Thus Briggs dates the apocalypse of the Bowls under Galba. This gives us two fixed points. The sequence of apocalypses which Briggs supposes—Beasts, Dragon, Trumpets, Seals, and Bowls—has much to commend it. The apocalypse of the Bowls is certainly dependent upon the apocalypses of the Beasts and Trumpets, and probably the Seals, and is, therefore, later than they. The apocalypse of the Seals is more distinctly Christian in tone than that of the Trumpets, and hence is presumably later. The greatest question seems to be whether the apocalypse of the Dragon may not be older than that of the Beasts. The data for the determination of this are very slight, and in this point Briggs is perhaps right.

We may suppose, then, these apocalypses were composed from 40-68 A. D. in Jewish and Judæo-Christian circles. Who were their authors and at what exact times three of them were written it is now vain to inquire. The data necessary for the determination of this point do not exist.

With reference to the apocalypse of the Epistles, Briggs remarks: "It cannot be earlier than Nero. It may be as late as Domitian."<sup>82</sup> While this statement is true, it should be observed that the developed doctrinal tone and the Asiatic setting of the Epistles lead one to regard this apocalypse as a product of the later rather than the earlier portion of the period which Briggs holds open for it.

#### PROBLEMS.

1. The beginning of the apocalypse of the Epistles attributes it to some John (1: 9), who was well known to his readers. It

<sup>81</sup> Cf. HARNACK, *Nachwort* to Vischer, *l. c.*, pp. 135 ff., and *Chronologie der alt christlichen Litteratur*, I, p. 245; also BRIGGS, *Messiah of the Apostles*, p. 427.

<sup>82</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 304.

seems clear that the earlier apocalypses cannot have been from John, some of them for their Jewish origin, others for the objective way in which the apostles are spoken of. If we could trust the tradition which connects the apostle John with Ephesus and Patmos, we might suppose that he is the John who speaks here, and that it is his authorship of the apocalypse of the Epistles which led Justin Martyr<sup>83</sup> and Irenæus<sup>84</sup> to call him the author of the whole Apocalypse. There are, however, difficulties in the way of the acceptance of this tradition, some of which will be discussed a little farther on. One which we may mention now is the silence of Ignatius, who, early in the second century, traveled through that very country and wrote letters to five of the Asiatic churches, but makes no mention of John, though he mentions Paul in his letter to the Ephesians (chap. 12), and Peter and Paul in his letter to the Romans (chap. 4). Had John lived and ministered in Ephesus, could he have been thus silent? We must at present hold our judgment on this point in suspense.

2. As to Professor Briggs' idea of what comprised the successive editions of the Apocalypse, it must be said that his work here is not so convincing as it is in his analysis of the book into its component parts. He himself seems to recognize that the apocalypse of the Bowls is dependent on that of the Beasts.<sup>85</sup> One might naturally suppose, therefore, that the latter work was incorporated with the Trumpets and Seals before the Bowls, which is "less original than any other of the apocalypses,"<sup>86</sup> was written. The question is, however, beset with difficulties. The real course of the compilation of the Apocalypse has not as yet been thoroughly made out.

3. The question as to whether the apostle John is the final editor, or had anything to do with the Apocalypse, is a difficult one. Some of the difficulties have already been referred to. Justin Martyr, however, between 155 and 160, in his *Dialogue*, speaks of the author of the Apocalypse as ἀνὴρ τις, ᾧ ὄνομα Ἰωάννης, εἰς τῶν ἀποστόλων τοῦ Χριστοῦ. Irenæus speaks of him

<sup>83</sup> *Dialogue with Trypho*, chap. 81.

<sup>84</sup> IV, 20, 11.

<sup>85</sup> BRIGGS, *op. cit.*, p. 421.

<sup>86</sup> BRIGGS, *op. cit.*, p. 415.

twice as *Johannes Domini discipulus*;<sup>87</sup> but Bousset and Harnack are convinced that this testimony of Irenæus is not reliable. Irenæus refers to Papias as a pupil of John the disciple of the Lord,<sup>88</sup> whereas Eusebius,<sup>89</sup> quoting the exact words of Papias, seeks to show that Irenæus is mistaken in supposing that Papias was a disciple of the apostle John, and claims that, according to Papias' own words, John the presbyter, of whom he was a pupil, is distinguished from the apostles. Harnack argues<sup>90</sup> that, if Irenæus made a mistake about Papias, he probably made a mistake about Polycarp, and that his testimony as to the presence of the apostle John in Asia is accordingly worthless. Justin was not, of course, able to give first-hand testimony. Papias, the only eyewitness, testifies to John the presbyter alone, while Irenæus, caught in one mistake, is not elsewhere to be trusted in the matter; hence Bousset and Harnack conclude that John the presbyter was the author or editor of the Apocalypse.

Haussleiter,<sup>91</sup> on the other hand, argues that John the presbyter is a figment of the imagination. He claims that Papias, in the passage quoted by Eusebius, does not distinguish *Ἀριστῶν καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτερος Ἰωάννης* from the apostles mentioned in the previous clause, and designated as *πρεσβυτέροις*. He further claims that in the list of the apostles in the quotation from Papias the words *ἢ τί Ἰωάννης* are an awkward gloss inserted by someone who, forgetting that James the son of Zebedee was martyred long before, mistook this James for him, and thought that his brother John should be mentioned too, just as in the gospels Andrew and Peter are followed by James and John.<sup>92</sup> Hauss-

<sup>87</sup> IV, 20, 11, and V, 26, 1.

<sup>88</sup> V, 33, 3; cf. V, 33, 4.

<sup>89</sup> *H. E.*, III, 39, 4.

<sup>90</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 323-40 and 655 ff. Cf. also BOUSSET, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-51, who, by an independent argument, reaches the same conclusion.

<sup>91</sup> *Theologisches Literaturblatt*, September 25, 1896.

<sup>92</sup> The Eusebian passage in question (*H. E.*, III, 39, 4) reads: *Εἰ δὲ που καὶ παρηκολουθῶς τις τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ἔλθοι, τοὺς τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἀνέκρινον λόγους· τι Ἀνδρέας ἢ τί Πέτρος εἶπεν ἢ τί Φίλιππος ἢ τί Θωμᾶς ἢ Ἰάκωβος ἢ τί Ἰωάννης ἢ Ματθαῖος ἢ τις ἕτερος τῶν τοῦ κυρίου μαθητῶν, ὃ τε Ἀριστῶν καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτερος Ἰωάννης, αἱ τοῦ κυρίου μαθηταί, λέγουσιν.*

leier further claims that the passage contained originally three pairs of apostles in the first clause, Andrew and Peter, Philip and Thomas, James and Matthew, and that this awkward gloss upsets its symmetry. He thus finds but one John in the passage, and that one an apostle, and relegates John the presbyter to the limbo of a blunderer's imagination.

It must be confessed that both these methods seem somewhat violent. The internal indications of the Apocalypse are, however, not such as to convince one of apostolic authorship or editorship apart from external evidence; but until the external evidence is more thoroughly sifted or some new fragment is added to it, we must regard the question as an open one.

Whoever the editor may have been, he was a man of no ordinary power. He has molded his material together on a definite plan, skilfully weaving part with part so as to make a picture as consistent as one could from such diverse materials, which had already been cast into such striking literary form, and has by his touches here and there imparted to the whole work a semblance of unity of style such as has made many believe it to be a homogeneous work.

The work has been and still is the source of consolation to millions, and when criticism and historical exegesis have so done their work that premillennarians and their ilk can no longer build in it their theologic nests, "like rooks in an old tower," the sonorous sentences of the Apocalypse and its majestic visions will minister inspiration and consolation still more powerfully, because more sanely, than they have done in the past.



## KAFTAN'S DOGMATIK.<sup>2</sup>

By GEORGE B. FOSTER,  
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JULIUS WILHELM MARTIN KAFTAN<sup>3</sup> sits in Dorner's seat in the University of Berlin. Immediately upon the conclusion of his course of studies he became docent in systematic theology in Leipzig, but was called a few weeks later to the same chair in the University of Basel, which he occupied from 1873 to 1883, when he became the successor of Dr. Dorner. Kaftan credits his first lasting incentive to independent thinking to the Aristotelian Trendelenburg in Berlin. At the same time the inherited evangelical faith had grown, through new experiences, to be an inalienable personal possession. Owing to these two circumstances his thoughts came to be continuously directed toward an empirical proof of the truth of faith, similar to what Frank subsequently set forth in his *System of Christian Certainty*.<sup>3</sup> In this state of mind Kaftan wrote his first work, *Religious Experience as a Principle of Cognition, an Investigation Based on Kant and Schleiermacher*.<sup>4</sup> It was while he was animated with these ideas that he entered upon his duties as a university teacher. His supposition was that the Scriptures and the teachings of the church were in agreement, and that the truth thus formulated might be developed out of the religious experience. But in that case, this experience, and not the formal authority of the Bible, would be the real principle of theology. Thus the contradiction to scientific spirit and method everywhere involved in the dictation of conclusions in the region of knowledge by a formal authority would be obviated. But during his professorship in Basel his theological standpoint underwent a gradual change. This was the result of four

<sup>2</sup> *Dogmatik*. Von D. JULIUS KAFTAN, Professor der Theologie in Berlin. Erste und zweite Ausgabe. ("Grundriss der theologischen Wissenschaften.") Freiburg i. B. und Leipzig: Verlag von J. C. B. Mohr, 1897. Pp. vii + 644. M. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Born at Loit, near Apenrade, in Schleswig-Holstein, September 30, 1848; student in the Gymnasium at Flensburg, 1859-66; at the universities of Erlangen, Berlin, and Kiel, 1866-71; Ph.D., Leipzig, 1872; Lic. Theol., *ibid.*, 1873; D.D. (*hon.*), Basel, 1883.

<sup>3</sup> See analogies in PRESIDENT E. G. ROBINSON'S *Theology*, the chapter entitled "Empirical Theology."

<sup>4</sup> *Die religiöse Erfahrung als Erkenntnisprinzip*, etc.

factors: a) The new historical study of Scripture and of dogma confronted him, and he became intimately acquainted with it. In his opinion it was a fact no longer to be doubted or ignored that henceforth dogmatics must conform to historico-critical science as the only method corresponding to truth. His consequent attitude toward the orthodox dogmatics is self-evident. b) He learned from Ritschl that Christian truth, being a quantity *given* for faith, was not on the same level with the empirical knowledge of the world, but was based on essentially different grounds; whereupon the principle of *Christian experience*, according to which he had hitherto worked, was overthrown. Thus, dogmatics does not have to seek new truth, like the natural sciences, but exhibits a truth that is already given.<sup>5</sup> One must make this point clear to himself at the outset, if he would understand Kaftan. For it follows, *e. g.*, that the use of reason in dogmatics is simply a *usus formalis*, as the elder dogmaticians would say. That is, reason supplies nothing out of itself, but prosecutes as its sole aim the description of that knowledge given to faith. And from this last it follows again that the theologian must, of necessity, share this faith, else he would stand before his task helpless. But while these considerations must be presented in connection with Kaftan's personal development, their significance can be better understood in another place. c) In consequence of his abandonment of the principle of Christian experience,<sup>6</sup> and in view of his purpose to introduce no content of reason into the basis of his theses, and yet in spite of his rejection of the orthodox principle of authority as incompatible with biblical science, the idea now struck Kaftan that it was impossible, for all that, to cast aside the principle of authority in the Christian religion, that neither theology nor church could do without it. Let it be borne in mind that neither the Bible of orthodoxy, nor the speculation of liberalism, nor the Christian consciousness of the "middlers," stands the test as a basis for theologizing to Kaftan's mind—so only can one appreciate his predicament. d) A deepening of his philosophical studies led him into quite different paths from those of Aristotelianism, along which he had been led by Trendelenburg; a *really* empirical mode of thinking, it now seemed to him, led to quite different conclusions from those formerly held by him, and, on this account again, demanded a foundation for theology quite different from the appeal to experience. Agnostic in philosophy, he yet finds a way around agnosticism as

<sup>5</sup> See *Dogmatik*, p. 89.

<sup>6</sup> The "Christian consciousness" is our technical phrase in America.

regards theology; empirical and positivistic, he yet attacks with spirit empirical theology. Thus, during his Basel professorship, especially in the years 1875-8, he was searching and trying to feel his way. It should be added just here that he could not find satisfaction in Ritschl's *Moralism*, for in it the really and essentially religious, it seemed to him—and with full right—got the worst of it, and God was nothing but a power warranting morality, but not *the* object of religion.<sup>7</sup>

In view of the foregoing, it is clear that Kaftan must face two problems: *a*) how to unite what he had learned from Ritschl, which diverted him from empirical theology, with his own different conception of religion, which yet made God an object of experience; *b*) how to formulate the principle of authority so as to make it harmonize with the results of historical research and what he considered sound philosophy. The conclusion at which he arrived, and with which he confidently expects to abide,<sup>8</sup> he first published in a work entitled *Die Predigt des Evangeliums im modernen Geistesleben*<sup>9</sup> (1879), which contains in outline what he has since treated in detail in his larger works, *Das Wesen der christlichen Religion* (1881 and 1888), and *Die Wahrheit der christlichen Religion* (1889).<sup>10</sup> On these, in turn, rests his *Dogmatik*,<sup>11</sup> published last fall. It is on this account that acquaintance with the practical and theoretical ideas developed in the former works is indispensable to the appreciation of their systematization in

<sup>7</sup> Wherefore the following characterization of Kaftan's position by Pfeiderer in his *Grundriss der christlichen Glaubens- und Sittenlehre*, p. 11, must be a product of Pfeiderer's own phantasy: "The idea of God is a helping idea (*Hilfsvorstellung*) serving man's self-preservation in the world, its right resting on its practical utility, but *substantiality* and *causality* are not to be predicated of it." It will be seen to be an error to hold that Kaftan regards Christianity as a kind of primitive Kantianism overlaid by alien accretions, and that his conception of the moral life is characterized by austere rigorism and hard individualism.

<sup>8</sup> In a private letter to the writer he says: "In the summer of 1878 I came on firm ground again, and the foundation of theology which was then taking shape in my head has since that time stood the test so far as I am concerned—and for my own person the matter will rest where it now stands."

<sup>9</sup> *I. e.*, "The Preaching of the Gospel in the Modern Intellectual Life."

<sup>10</sup> Translated into English and published by T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1894; two volumes.

<sup>11</sup> In addition to articles of great value which Kaftan has contributed from time to time to the *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*, he has published a number of minor works, such as: *Die religionsphilosophische Anschauung Kant's*; *Die christl. Lehre vom Gebet*; *Brauchen wir ein neues Dogma?* (answered in the affirmative), etc.

the latter. Hence a brief outline of his general point of view is here attempted.

On the practical side, Kaftan was stirred by the increasing extensive and intensive estrangement of the truly cultured classes from the church and its preaching—the crisis of the present. To be sure, it may be said that this is no new evil; that, as the peasant complains about the weather and the merchant about the hard times, so the theologian repeats the stereotyped complaint about the decay of good customs and the contempt of public worship. Since the evil complained of is common to all times, its root is in the natural will and heart of man, decoyed by worldly good. This is true; and, being true, no change in the mode of preaching can help matters; help can come only from a world-subduing faith and a self-denying love, that is, powers which are incommensurable with theoretical explanation.

But it is open to the defenders of the church to rest content with this explanation only under one condition, viz., that the opposition to Christianity be entirely of a religio-ethical nature. Only in this case is the situation simple and clear, the foe known, the means to be applied beyond doubt. Then it is the historical conflict of practical forces, which is as old as Christianity itself, and concerning which no Christian can be surprised, since it is the same conflict which he has to wage in his own breast writ large. But it is not possible to ignore the fact that this condition does not hit the mark today. Whatever may be the truth in individual cases, the situation at large is different. Indeed, at bottom there is a tacit understanding as to this. Even the complacent defender of a rigid orthodox tendency does not goad the conscience of the ecclesiastically disposed layman who turns away from all complicated dogmatic and concerns himself with the simple, practical, fundamental truths of Christianity. For a long time now dogmatic controversies, even concerning the most important questions, are wont to be considered as a private affair of the theologian, notwithstanding the fact that every controversy concerning a dogma has to do with a teaching which ought to be valid for everyone. Dogmatics seems to have become a secret art of the initiated, a matter of taste, so that associate work, save with reference to the historical, is excluded. Those who prosecute other theological disciplines frequently consider dogmatics as a tender and delicate thing with which it were better not to meddle, and by no means intend this as a compliment. Even where the laity has developed an

interest in a definite dogmatic proposition, it is a question whether piety is hindered or helped thereby.<sup>12</sup>

All this and more besides speaks for the fact that, between the Christian religion and the theology which dominates the public life of the church, a breach has taken place, and that this is, as a matter of fact, conceded even by those who delude themselves and cry peace when there is no peace. No one thinks today of any unity in solidarity between religion and orthodox theology. But then it follows that the antagonism to Christianity does not lie merely in the ethico-religious region—where alone it ought to lie—and the antithesis is no pure one. Therefore, to put an end to this state, to bring the opposition between the confessors and the opponents of Christianity entirely into the religio-ethical domain, so to formulate Christian truth that the only rejection thereof must be due solely to *moral antipathy to the message*, this is the splendid task of a "churchly" theology today; for a churchly theology is not one which, above all else, conserves the theological formulæ of the past, but one which, as its supreme end, if it is to merit this title of honor, serves the church in that place in history in which we find ourselves. What is that place, and how have we got there? How has this incongruity, which is felt to be the crisis of the present, arisen?

To determine this, a point must be fixed which can pass as the point of departure for that historical development which here interests us. For this only the orthodox period can serve—the perfect union of religion and theology, on the one hand, the dominion of princes and rulers over the church and of the church over princes and rulers, on the other; this represents a definite historical state of the Protestant church, and, further, of intellectual and public life in general. No later time shows just this character, but all later time must be understood with regard to this state and its mediæval motive, since the attitude of opposition or defense is an important factor in present intellectual life. We are still in *that* development which began with the criticism of that state. The opposition to that state of things was twofold: pietism and *Aufklärung*. a) The pietistic movement lay within the religio-ethical region itself, in which it sought to effect a change in the judgment of value; *i. e.*, moral earnestness and religious disposition should be valid as standards of piety, rather than, as hitherto, agreement with the ecclesiastically sanctioned theological formula of orthodoxy. But pietism,

<sup>12</sup> This above is a reproduction of the first part of the first book mentioned.

relatively justifiable in its original tendency, fell into byways and deteriorated. *b*) But it was different with the *Aufklärung*. In it the opposition proceeded on ground of universal reason, and, under the title of rationalism, became a power in public life, in the church also. The opposition was against now this, now that traditional proposition, mostly a definite form of Christianity, at length against the latter itself. But it is equally true that the grounds change on which it rested. The speculative propositions of dogma which the rationalists had drawn up as expression of pure and simple Christianity were later supported by the philosophers. Conversely, the latter rejected, in part, what the former had honored as the rational kernel of Christianity. Thus, this opposition, in the name of one and the same reason, was by no means unitary and consistent. The only thing held in common was dissatisfaction with the traditional, opposition to all authority, to every truth which could not legitimize itself before the forum of reason.

But it is a historic fact that the forum of reason, before which the case is to be tried, itself undergoes changes. Indeed, are we not told that there are no "eternal truths of reason"? But what then? Shall we roundly condemn all contradiction to traditional propositions and demand simple subjection to authority, since there is nothing certain in the human reason? So the Catholic concludes, but not the Protestant.

Now, from the striking fact that through a whole century opposition to the old church dogma has appealed stubbornly to the reason and to rational grounds, in spite of frequent changes in these, Kaftan infers that there underlie this opposition *interests of will*, which remain the same through all the changes. Progressive emancipation from the mediæval world of thought through reformation and modern science had for its positive side, *a*) valuation of the intellectual dominion of man over things, *i. e.*, *culture* in the widest sense of the word, and *b*) the independent worth and elemental right of the single personality—these, *freedom* and *progress*, are the two specifically modern ideas.

In and of themselves these ideas are not in opposition to Christianity, and at first developed no opposition. Whence, then, the crisis of the present? The situation is that the pronounced forms of our Christianity are governed by the ideas of the orthodox period, while the modern ideas, escaped from the discipline of the Christian spirit, go their own way.

What, then, is orthodoxy? And what is the modern *Weltanschauung*?<sup>13</sup>

According to Kaftan, a definite religion, as a whole, finds its most accurate expression in the idea of the highest good by which it is dominated. So, similarly, of definite periods of a given religion. Now, according to the Christian faith, the kingdom of God is the highest good, a kingdom which is not of this world. But in the orthodox *theology* the idea prevails that the knowledge of God (*Gotteserkenntniss*)—now rationalistically, now mystically apprehended—is the highest good. To this idea the worth which is attributed to the acknowledgment of definite theological formulæ historically attaches itself. In the Middle Ages it was, of course, the authority of the church which guaranteed the correct theological formulæ. There, blessedness consisted in nothing other than the perfect knowledge of God. *Mutatis mutandis* the same is true for official Christianity still; the mediæval church laying stress on “works,” the Protestant on *Rechtgläubigkeit*, the end in each case being participation in eternal blessedness, *i. e.*, perfected knowledge of God, the guarantee being now made by the infallibility of the Bible, rather than of the church, a point to be treated later.

The two modern ideas—culture or progress, and the worth of man or freedom—estranged from Christianity, have yielded a *Weltanschauung* *a*) in which the present world is all in all (*Diesseitigkeit*) and *b*) of contradiction to all authority—caricatures of culture and of the worth of man, which of themselves are not hostile to Christianity. But this is a view of the world in practical opposition to Christianity. Here there can be no compromise; it is either—or. The supramundane kingdom of God is the highest good of all men preached to us in the gospel. Whoever detaches himself from faith therein and struggles therefor gives up Christianity, because he cannot do this without putting in the place of the highest good something else—the relative good of this world. The perfect revelation of God in history, especially in Jesus Christ—of which more later—is the fundament of the Christian religion. Whoever denies its supreme authority gives up Christianity, because he cannot do this without subjecting himself to another authority, *i. e.*, autonomy instead of theonomy. One cannot help being impressed with the earnestness and pathos with which Kaftan speaks here. Christian faith and the modern view of the world are incompatible, he says. The former, *i. e.*, the given spiritual magni-

<sup>13</sup>General theory of the world and of life.

tude lying before us in history, is supramundane through and through, grounded in *revelation*; sees in a supersensible world goal and purpose of the world-development; is itself life out of the supramundane as source; so that, if the supramundane be eliminated from the Christian faith, its worth, its power, its existence ceases. The latter, the modern *Weltanschauung*, is, however, inframundane through and through; knows only the here. To acknowledge that something exists which is not a part of this world is to let this *Weltanschauung* suffer dissolution. In its monism inheres its worth, its power, its existence; and it is of little odds whether this monism be called materialistic, logical, idealistic, or pantheistic, or what not.

In order not to lose the connection of thought, let it be repeated that we are still in that period which began with criticism on the state of the orthodox period; that the pronounced forms of Christianity in the present are determined through the principles of orthodoxy and pietism. Over against this stands an intellectual development which is controlled by those two modern ideas which began to work at that time. In and of themselves these ideas are in no contradiction with Christianity; but they are in contradiction with the orthodoxy of the former period. For orthodoxy has suffered dissolution at their hands in such a manner that all effort at its restoration is futile. And now the historical development of our century has so shaped itself that, on the one hand, the Christian religion has not yet disengaged itself from orthodoxy which lost its grip upon modern life, and that, on the other hand, the two modern ideas, released from the necessary discipline of the Christian spirit, have well-nigh developed to open apostasy from Christianity. And the opposition to Christianity proceeding from this situation is the more keenly felt because it is not a pure one, *i. e.*, an opposition of a religio-ethical nature. It is the task of theology to make it such.

But to return to the theological conceptions of orthodoxy again. A leading error in the orthodox dogmatics was its treatment of dogma, not as an expression, but as an object of piety. This was due to the circumstance that in the church the main thing was "pure doctrine," and that the individual had to preserve his piety through the acknowledging of this pure doctrine. To appreciate the significance of this fact, its presupposition must be borne in mind, *viz.*, that the knowledge of God was viewed as the highest good, from which it followed that one's salvation depended on his being brought to "right belief" by the church. This movement of thought extends from the begin-



ning of theology in the second century to the present. It arose under the necessity of the Christian religion and church fitting themselves into the intellectual life of antique culture—in a word, was due to the amalgamation of Greek philosophy and the religion of Christianity, on account of which the latter suffered distortion and depotentialization. This combination expresses the theological fundamental principle of the orthodox dogmatics and of the tradition on which it reposes. The extravagant emphasis on the intellectual moment in the Christian religion can be understood only on the condition that it is remembered that the knowledge of God came to be treated as the highest good. On account of the influence of Neo-Platonism, the ancient church apprehended this knowledge preponderatingly mystically; in the Middle Ages the rational apprehension came to validity along with the increasing influence of Aristotle; but the two moments ever played over into each other—one of the most important phenomena in orthodox dogmatics. The abrupt breaking off of ratiocination in favor of results to be made mystically acceptable is still a characteristic of prevalent theological endeavor. But the rationalistic character of orthodox dogmatics is manifest from this, that precisely the original mystical elements of dogma are placed under the protection of the rigidly rationalistic principle of authority. The propositions of orthodoxy are not derived and justified from the essence of the Christian religion, but are a product of purely theoretical intellectual activity. The authority of the Sacred Scriptures as source of revealed theological truth once granted, they can be proved rationally. One appropriates them, therefore, through intellectual assent, the will coming into consideration only so far as there is an unintelligible element in dogma, against the assent to which the intellect rebels, and must be coerced by the will. Such a grievous misunderstanding of the Christian religion was possible only because of the initial false conception—a heritage from the Greeks—that the knowledge of God is the highest good. Other evils followed, such as that sin is above all else a darkening of the intellect and the redemption through Christ a corresponding reparation of this injury—a proposition originating with the Alexandrians.

The above conception has ever been the constant in orthodoxy. Its goal is to gain, and to support with theoretical proofs, theological scientific propositions concerning God and his relation to the world. No change is effected here through the circumstance that today a manifold skepticism has arisen toward rational religion and natural

knowledge of God, or that a theological tendency reduces revelation to a moment in the intellectual process of religion. Through all wrappings and circumlocutions the tendency crops up, viz., to gain and guarantee a theoretical knowledge of God and of his relation to the world. Under all this lie the orthodox conceptions—be these maintained and vindicated in their ancient purity, or mollified by theosophy, or, finally, resolved by rationalistic criticism of the understanding, only to be reconstructed in an entirely changed sense—new wine in old bottles—by the aid of the Hegelian philosophy.

As indicated above, the important question of the relation between piety and doctrine for orthodox dogmatics is defined by Kaftan in the statement that doctrine is the object of piety. He says: "Manifestly we have to do in piety not merely with inner states of our own *ego*, but with a reality assumed to be *given* us from without. This is what I mean when I speak of an object of piety. But our relation to this object is never like that to sensible facts, which necessitate the assumption of their existence on the part of everyone and of all alike. Our concern is as to our relation to the invisible God and our position in the world as conditioned thereby, *i. e.*, as to the relation to an object which does not necessitate the assumption of its existence." The question, then, is in respect to what this acknowledgment or faith is related, to God and his relation to the world, to man and his history, or to a specific doctrine about these things. If this latter be the case, then doctrine or dogma is made the real object of piety. To Kaftan this distinction is of great theoretical and practical moment. If, on the one hand, doctrine be the object of piety, then *a*) intellectual assent to a definite teaching is valid as the foremost characteristic of a devout man; *b*) assent to doctrine, in which faith is expressed—assent implicit in the confessing of faith—has worth only in the degree that it is inwardly true, and is inwardly true only in the degree that the piety thus expressed actually exists in, sustains, and animates the entire man; *c*) the valuation of the faith of a Christian must ever be according to the way in which he relates himself to these doctrines. Thus, *e. g.*, the dogmas of the preëxistence and incarnation of our Lord, and of the relation of the divine and human natures in him, are exalted above those propositions in which we express the worth of his manifest life for us and his central position in history. Or, again, the doctrine of the inspiration of the Scriptures and its acknowledgment is valued higher than the faith which is a confession of obligation to live according to it as the word of God. But what is this, and such

as this, but to affirm that those propositions are the most important which lie farthest from piety, and to which no one *can* have a relation other than that of acceptance or rejection by the intellect? The situation is aggravated when these doctrines are ecclesiastically enforced at the requirement of a sacrifice of the private judgment of the intellect. But if, on the other hand, doctrine is an expression of piety, then the doctrine as a whole, normative in the Christian congregation, contains the expression of the ideals of piety normative for the Christian. Assent to it can be expected of every Christian as confession of faith, and a *confession* of faith should be a confession of *faith*; thus the assent is not to a doctrinal law to be obeyed, but to an ideal to be striven after.<sup>14</sup> Thus, too, justice is done to the ethical character of the Christian religion, as is not the case in orthodox dogmatics. For in the latter dogmas have not been won and elaborated as expressions of the religio-moral truth of Christianity, but as a Christian-philosophic system of theoretical *Welterklärung*, owing to the underlying conception of the highest good, as above mentioned.

But the orthodox idea of the highest good, viz., that it is the knowledge of God, no matter whether this knowledge be rather theoretically or rather mystically apprehended, is, according to Kaftan, false. It is just on this account that the orthodox conceptual system, measured by the Christian religion, is false to the extent that it is dominated by this idea. And a piety regulated by this conception dare not be made the prevalent ideal in the Christian church. Rather, the divine revelation in Jesus Christ leads to recognizing and accepting the highest good as the eternal kingdom of God. Therefore, doctrine regulated by *this* conception participates, in all points, in the practical, religio-ethical nature of the Christian idea of the highest good. Of course, the judgments of which the doctrine consists are theoretical judgments. For even value-judgments, in connection with religion, acquire this character on account of their dependence on the theoretical fundamental judgment of all religion, viz., that God exists. Now, these judgments do not arise from insight into the thing in itself, since there is no such insight for us, but, as conviction of their truth enroots in the practical feelings, a quite definite religio-ethical disposition expresses itself in them, and confession of this faith signifies the acceptance of the obligation to increase this disposition to the extent of one's power. But this is to say that doctrine in no section (*Stück*)

<sup>14</sup> This conception of doctrine as an ideal for religious faith, rather than a rule binding the intellect, conditions Kaftan's entire theological theory.

is to serve as object, but only as expression of piety, and, therefore, to be employed as means for the nurture of the same.

To this consideration of the relation of doctrine to piety must be added that of doctrine to the Bible, or the question of the principle of authority. May a corrective be found here to the false model of piety exhibited in the prevalent theology? So-called scriptural preaching is inadequate to this end. For history proves irrefutably that everyone, in his apprehension and application of the Sacred Scriptures, is dependent upon general notions, which he brings with him. The same may be proved from the fact that the Bible is a collection of heterogeneous documents of very various worth. Therefore, one cannot employ them as source for the same moral and religious instruction without bringing with him definite conceptions of what ought to be in this regard. But these definite conceptions are identical with the prevalent theology of a time. Thus, appeal to the Scripture is no sufficient protection against the errors which prevail in the theology of a time, but an improvement of the theology is the condition of the correct use of the Scripture. And, although, in the last instance yet again, the Scripture as document of the divine revelation is regulative for this improvement, still a somewhat complicated scientific apparatus is indispensable in order to make it fruitful for this purpose.

On Protestant soil the Scripture is valid as ultimate norm and authority. In orthodoxy this validity reposes on inspiration rigidly defined. But the orthodox doctrine of inspiration is in contradiction with the historical reality, and with the historically knowable origin of the Sacred Scriptures. Various efforts to transform and improve the doctrine have, of course, failed, because the orthodox conception is all of a piece, and one must either accept or reject it. The nerve of the doctrine is to serve as proof of the divine authority of the Scriptures *independent of all human judgment*. Only in its old form does it suffice for this—hence the abortiveness of all modern correctives, whose common characteristic is that the divine authority of the Scripture is, in every point, in fact, made to depend on human judgment. The substance of orthodoxy is as follows: the knowledge of God is the highest good; this knowledge is mediated through the pious acknowledgment of definite theological formulæ; the necessity, then, of an infallible knowledge of the correct theological formulæ follows, and must be cared for in a manner that would exclude any error and any improvement; hence, these formulæ must be given in a source clad with divine authority, and, since this source is the Scriptures, they

are a body of infallible knowledge miraculously communicated, as set forth in the orthodox theory of inspiration. Now, aside from the falseness of this position, a falseness demonstrable by biblical science, it is important to point out that the unconditional validity of orthodoxy rests on two illusions: *a*) that a unified and finished *theological* system may be gained directly from the Scriptures; *b*) that the biblical system is directly and exactly that of the orthodox dogmatics. Besides, what would be the good of an infallible book which has been neither infallibly preserved nor infallibly interpreted, and cannot be? But it is because orthodoxy is demonstrably untenable, and consequent anarchy has come upon us, that a change must be made in the interest of theology and church alike. And it is clear what must be aimed at in this change. The question can only be as to how the authority of the Sacred Scriptures can really come to validity. But the pre-condition of any solution of this question is the abandonment of the principle of authority in its old shape, as if we had in the Scriptures a collection of oracles or a source of supernatural knowledge. Why this abandonment is not made on all sides is clear: one desires to escape the conclusions which modern liberal theology seeks to draw from such an event. For it explains revelation as a moment in the religious process, and religion itself, even the Christian religion, as an inner spiritual experience which, in and of itself, is indifferent to the changes in the idea of God and of the *Weltanschauung*. Now, instead of producing the proof that religion, and especially the Christian religion, has never been what liberalism makes out of it—instead of this, recourse is had to the scarcely abandoned and confessedly erroneous schemata of orthodoxy, which in these days desperately pass from one standpoint to another, though they be mutually exclusive. Nothing remains, therefore, but to show that this is complete arbitrariness and, *in the name of the principle of authority*, to protest against this state of things. But, if one is in earnest as to this principle, the half-abandonment of the old apprehension of the principle must be made entire. Then only is its reconstruction to be thought of. Moreover, such reconstruction is attainable only in connection with the before-mentioned conception of the relation between doctrine and piety. But how does Kaftan reconstruct the principle of authority?

That religion belongs to the realm of inner freedom, and not, like science, to that of the compulsion of facts, and that it is not purely theoretical, but preëminently a practical affair of our spirits—these are propositions that may count on universal assent. But what can be

made of these propositions? Do they yield a clear and definite judgment as to what religion is, and what it is not? All our judgments separate definitely into two classes—those which force themselves upon us through the interaction of our organism with the world, and those which express the attitude which we, as living beings, voluntarily or involuntarily assume toward the world; the former are judgments of facts, the latter of worths; the former of necessity, the latter of freedom; the former aid to knowledge, the latter to conduct. Now, do religious judgments originate, like theoretical judgments, through the apprehension and elaboration of facts given *ab extra*, or are they, in their content, determined through valuation (*Werthschätzung*)? There can be no doubt as to the answer. It is the peculiar nature of all articles of faith that they are theoretical judgments under which lie the reason's valuations, or determinations of worth (*Werthbestimmungen*). By this are they separated from logical, as well as from æsthetic and moral judgments. It follows from this that a religion like the Christian is experienced in practical feelings, but equally as well includes a view of the world and a moral order<sup>25</sup> of life, without being a phenomenon compounded of knowledge, action, and feeling. And, in fact, to mention a single example, he alone confesses with inner truth the Christian view of the world who permits anything that occurs to be valid in feeling as relative good, because as means to the highest good of the kingdom of God. But no one can do this who does not believe, unconditionally, in God's providence, and take care to direct all his volition and conduct to the goal of the kingdom of God.

This, too, leads to the same requirement of a complete transformation of dogmatics. Dogmatics, from being a science of *God* and of his relations to the world—of which there is no knowledge (*Wissen*), and, therefore, no science—must become a science of the Christian faith. It treats of dogma; not of the Christian consciousness of the church of a given time, but of the teaching which ought to be valid in the Christian church. In the careful ascertainment and accurate establishment of this teaching, dogmatics exhausts its task. Only so does it serve the church and, serving the church, accomplish its mission. Thus, our question is not an affair of the schools, but a question of preëminent practical importance.

But the principle here exhibited can be carried through only under *one* presupposition, viz., that it is impossible to attain, in the way of theoretical investigation, unto a general view of the world and moral

<sup>25</sup> *Weltanschauung und Lebensordnung*.

order of life.<sup>16</sup> The Christian faith includes the conviction that we have *the truth* in the gospel, to which we are concerned to subject our whole man in the obedience of faith. Herewith is given summarily the negation of every deviating view of the world, *i. e.*, the affirmation that a knowledge which, in the nature of the case, compels the assent of the intellect, carries *necessitation* with itself, is unattainable in this region. Nothing is more certain than that there is not metaphysic in this sense. One can know a *Weltanschauung* only as a historical fact, that it governs a people and rules its life. One cannot know it in the sense that one is forced to it through facts that *necessitate* it, and can force others to it. But *Weltanschauung* is inseparable from the moral order of life (*Lebensordnung*). Like religion it, too, is a thing of inner freedom. Every *Weltanschauung* is finally, like religion, determined by an idea of the highest good. History shines with proof of this. Otherwise, unity concerning the principles of *Weltanschauung* would have been reached long ago, as certainly as that such unification prevails in other regions of knowledge. To forego knowledge in the last and highest questions for which men have interest is not to be demanded of dogmatics alone, but equally as well of philosophy. Our knowledge does not pass beyond the facts attained by us, which we order or analyze; and science does not reach farther than knowledge. The expectation of salvation by knowledge is the bane of our time—has led to monism, materialistic or pantheistic (idealistic). Yet there are signs that point to a change. Is it not a signal trait in modern intellectual life that many of those estranged from Christianity forego a *Weltanschauung* altogether? doubt the possibility of a theoretically proved *Weltanschauung*? But this cannot last, since man needs a *Weltanschauung*, and to forego one is to forego the unity of life and conduct. But this surrender of a theoretically proved *Weltanschauung* must lead to reflection as to how one arises, must arise, and, so far as it is practically operative, always has arisen, *viz.*, in a practical way, *i. e.*, so that determinations of worth, the reason's valuations, underlie it. This is the only way in which a real progress in the development of the intellectual life is to be hoped for.

With all this in mind, let us turn back, now, to the main question. It is now possible to exhibit a definite criterion in order to distinguish between the true and the false principle of authority. It is not that one says, the divine authority is true, the human false. Then the question would remain how to distinguish the one from the

<sup>16</sup> See note 15.

other, since God is not given to us after the manner of facts of sense which necessitate knowledge. Nor does it help matters to say that true authority is an inner one, which binds the conscience, and that every outer authority is to be rejected? For what authority has ever been set up in this region which has constantly required an inner, never a merely outer, compulsory subjection? On the other hand, it lies in the nature of the principle of authority that, in case of a clash, the authority, and not the subjective will, decides; where this is not so, authority ceases to be in principle. So far authority constantly remains external. Therefore, these distinctions fail to do what they would like. The true distinction is that authority does not belong to the region of knowledge, but to that of valuation.

One can know only facts that necessitate. Experience, which brings us into contact with facts, decides concerning knowledge. There is no room here for the decision of authority; for when the compulsion of facts ceases, ceases knowledge also. In opposition to this no one may say that we know the most we do know on authority, since we can observe and test but few instances. For only a little reflection is needed to see that this remark is not to the point. Here authority is not made the basis of the proof of knowledge. Therefore, the interest of the Christian religion and a general consideration of matters agree in the demand that the false principle of authority, as if it were a source of supernatural *knowledge*, be given up.

But it is equally certain that, in the region of inner freedom or of worth, authority has its legitimate place. All education, which is not instruction, rests on this, that our will is formed through the influence of others. This heteronomous education is resultless, unless it comes to be gradually assisted by self-education. Education through another never reaches farther than that definite norms for valuation and conduct attain acknowledgment. The appropriation of norms, *i. e.*, the appropriation in conscience, is a thing of self-education. But the whole process of education and self-education depends upon this, that authorities are acknowledged which are not identical with the subjective will. All progress is consummated in this region in the two moments that higher ideals are won as authority and that in quiet practice the will is trained according thereto.

Now, if it be correct that the *Weltanschauung*, as inseparable from the moral order of life, is acquired only in the connection of the practical life, that it, therefore, depends on determinations of worth, and so, ultimately, on inner freedom, it follows from what has been said



that everyone in his *Weltanschauung* depends upon authority. For who will confess that the uncultivated and raw will, as it is by nature, is the last determinant of his judgment and conduct? More specifically, everyone in his view of the world and moral order of life depends on the authority of historical traditions, so far as the rude natural will does not drive all else to the wall. Every man is what he is only in and through education (*Erziehung*, not *Unterricht*). That is, every man is what he is only in and through history. But if this be so, then the affirmation itself contains the proof, since one cannot prove a fact further. But the truth may be seen better in association with a common error.

This is the error that there are rational moral principles, which can be made out by way of scientific research. The idea of a so-called religion of reason, or of natural religious truth, has been mostly surrendered. It may be assumed now that everyone knows that there are only *historical* religions. But rational *moral* principles have not yet suffered the same fate. But the same error underlies both notions, of a rational religion and of a rational morality. As to the former, it is positive religious elements which one discovers outside of Christianity, and which are, therefore, viewed as "rational" truth. As to the latter, it is elements of Christian morality which one thinks he sees everywhere, and which, therefore, he calls "natural" moral law. One is as much an error as the other. Both hinder Christianity. The illusion is that general morality and religion, because universal, are of more worth than the particular Christian religion and morality. One must reverse this procedure: *One must value the worth of all religion and morality from the standpoint of Christianity.* This is done, however, only when that in them, akin to Christianity, is apprehended as the product of a natural or relative *revelation* of God in distinction from the absolute and consummated revelation in Jesus Christ. But herewith is said that the worth of the former is to be measured by the latter, not *vice versa*. But just this is alone admissible on general principles. For as little as there is a rational religion, so little is there a rational moral principle. These come to be only in history, and steadily appear, therefore, as historically special. One can know them only as historical facts. That we acknowledge definite moral principles is never that we have convinced ourselves of their rationality, but that we subject ourselves to their authority. When we say that they are universally valid, this does not signify a promise to demonstrate their rationality, but the demand imposed upon everyone to

yield himself to their discipline. This is so in the nature of the case. In the region of worth-judgments or of inner freedom there is only historically conditioned life. Here, there is no full unreserved agreement as in the acknowledgment of facts that are, but only in the subjection under historical ideals which ought to be, and which exercise authority over us.

By this line of thought Kaftan comes to the conclusion that in *Weltanschauung*, religion, and morality every man depends on authority, and that this authority is *historically* given. Therefore, the question for the individual is not whether he will have it so or not; the only question is as to what authority he will depend on—his natural will, *Zeitgeist*, and thus swim with the stream. But if the question is once put in this form, then on Christian soil the answer cannot be in doubt, viz., *solely on the divine revelation through which the church has been called into life*. It is different here, moreover, from all other regions of intellectual life. In all other regions progress can occur in the case, and even creative beginnings have only the importance of forming the point of departure for other developments. It is not so with that religion which affirms to rest on divine revelation. Here real progress of the historical development consists only in a better understanding of the divine revelation and a more perfect working out of the principles contained therein. In this region a real change (*Aenderung*) is a change of faith (*Glaubenswechsel*)—this is a remark of great significance, aimed at both liberalism and orthodoxy by Kaftan. Therefore, the Christian church is bound in principle and forever to its beginning, *i. e.*, to the authority of the divine revelation, through which it arose in history. One cannot confess the Christian faith without acknowledging the unconditioned authority of this revelation.

It need not be said that through the Christian *Weltanschauung* an authority is set up which satisfies human need, brings solidity to conviction, certainty to conduct, and quiet clearness to the heart of him who subjects himself thereto. For all this only he attains who knows himself bound by the authority of God. Furthermore, this principle of authority is a guarantee for freedom and progress, those two modern ideas.

It is now in the strength of these convictions that Kaftan affirms that a principle of theological thought other than the principle of authority is not possible. "All theological and philosophical speculation is an activity of the human phantasy; not merely is, but always

has been."<sup>17</sup> But when, in opposition to speculation, it is the fashion, as at present, to build dogmatics on so-called inner experience, this again is incompatible with what has been urged above, and is, moreover, a most dangerous error. This principle has a show of truth only because *a*) Christianity is actualized in inner events (*Erlebnissen*), for which the name experience (*Erfahrung*) seems appropriate; *b*) all modern science rests on the foundation of experience. When one advocates this principle, therefore, it is because he believes justice is done at once, and equally, to the Christian religion and to the requirements of the modern intellect. But where are the facts which necessitate, as in science? Christian experience is in the region of freedom, which is naively enough overlooked. The result of this false principle is that subjective taste decides, and that the pietistic translation of orthodox propositions into religion is in this way scientifically legalized. Nay, this principle of experience is responsible for the sorry plight in which dogmatics finds itself today—for the combination of faith and knowledge, for the obliteration of the distinction between the two. We have to thank this principle for dogmatics being looked upon as a "middle thing" between faith and knowledge, but not exactly either. It says it treats of faith, and yet sets forth propositions of knowledge such as are supposed to compel the assent of the intellect, or, when it cannot do this, excuses itself by saying there are "mysteries" of faith.<sup>18</sup> Moreover, Christian faith contains more than what we have appropriated in our experience, so that we are not faithful to the dogmatic task when we delineate faith only as something existent in us, instead of at the same time attending to the requirements which it

<sup>17</sup> Thus, in Kaftan's apologetic endeavor, embodied in the important work, *The Truth of the Christian Religion*, his argument is as follows:

*a*) Negatively, a theoretical proof of the Christian faith is impossible. The intellect cannot be convinced of the truth of this belief either by the old orthodoxy's philologico-historical method of scriptural proofs or by philosophical speculations which employ ontological and cosmological arguments. By rejecting scholastic philosophy, Luther rejected the artificial union between faith and knowledge. Kaftan follows his precedent. Yet once again he seeks to free Protestant theology from the intellectualism of orthodoxy, from the intellectual mania for demonstration and system, and to base church-life on the gospel of salvation by faith and love.

*b*) Positively, the only possible argument for the truth of the Christian religion is the one that appeals to the *entire* man. It must show that the idea of man's historical destiny, or the necessary idea of the highest good, is realized either by Christianity's mundane or supramundane kingdom of God.

<sup>18</sup> At this point the theology of the Christian consciousness is one in procedure and failure with the orthodox dogmatics — so Kaftan.

imposes upon us. Where is this universal Christian consciousness which one would make a model and standard for all? Under such conditions, who would not shrink back from the task of dogmatics as from arrogance and presumption? In short, from every point of view this principle of experience belongs to the errors which bewilder theology today.

We may now pass at once to the culmination of Kaftan's thought on this subject of the principle of authority. What is that authority, if not the reason to which speculation appeals, nor the Christian consciousness of Frank and others, nor yet the Bible as viewed by orthodoxy? Revelation is the principle of authority. It is not the Holy Scriptures as a source of supernatural knowledge, but as a collection of historical documents, that has authoritative significance for us; and this is due to their containing the history of the revelation of God which underlies the Christian church. To be sure, experience shows that this characterization of the Scriptures as documents of the divine revelation does not protect against the revival of false schemata and of a false dogmatic and homiletic use of the Scriptures. The important thing is to distinguish between a legal document and a historical document. If this distinction is made, then the effort to place the Scriptures in the same relation to revelation that a legal document sustains to the matter of which it treats will cease. The Bible is a collection of historical documents, and has nothing to do with a legal document; and, as this collection of historical documents, it fills the place of authority, because this is the form in which the divine revelation is given for us, and alone can be given.<sup>19</sup>

If the objection be raised that the authoritative employment of the manifold scriptural content leads back again to decisions of subjective arbitrariness, this objection is traceable to the old unhistorical apprehension of revelation. But it is not supernatural knowledge, but a revelation of God in history, to which the will is to subject itself; that is the truth of the matter. Hence, for the purpose of employing these documents as authority, the only question is as to some fixed point within this historical development, on the basis of which the worth of all else may be objectively valued. But this is a question concerning whose answer Christians cannot differ; for as surely as Christian faith explains the person, life, and work of Jesus Christ to be the center of human history, so surely can everyone be held to acknowledge therein the fixed point within the revelation-history. It is manifest that this

<sup>19</sup> *Dogmatik*, pp. 31-56; *Predigt*, etc., p. 77.

signifies a totally changed use of Scripture from the former. It thus becomes a duty to value the worth of single periods of development of the preparatory revelation according to the consummated revelation. In a higher degree than the Old Testament, the apostolic writings remain an indispensable constituent of the revelation document, because they are archetypal for the right knowledge and valuation of Jesus Christ. Still, one must be on his guard against holding, for the sake of their authors, the theological explanations attempted by the apostles as integral constituents of the Christian confession of faith. Are their judgments formed on the basis of the perfect revelation of God as principle of knowledge, or have they attempted theological explanation by reference to Old Testament or even extra-biblical questions? It is this question which must be constantly raised, else we lag behind the truly Christian on the one hand, or become entangled in effete metaphysics on the other.

It is in view of the foregoing that the connection of Kaftan's system of theology with that of Ritschl may be made clear. There is one central point in which he learned from Ritschl. It is connected with the method, and yet it profoundly affects the conception of the subject with which the theologian has to deal. I should like to explain his point in this way: theological knowledge is to be gained from revelation, and, for this reason, is *specifically* and *essentially* different from all *Welterkennen*. With this fundamental principle Ritschl entered the traditional line of development which originated in the conception of faith of the Reformation, especially of Luther, viz., that the order is not *notitia*, *assensus*, *fiducia*, but *notitia*, *fiducia*, *assensus*. After the period of the elder orthodoxy, a repetition or prolongation of scholasticism, this line was resumed by Schleiermacher. In this line of development, but with a distinct and decided separation from the traditional conception of the old dogma, falls also Kaftan's system of dogmatics. The execution, formally as well as materially, differs from that of Ritschl, so that there is scarcely a single teaching in which their views coincide. Formally, the difference is based on another—let it be said, purer and more consistent—conception of authority; materially it is based on a different view of religion, such as that indicated on p. 804, above. Ritschl also separates the ethical religion of Christianity in every respect from mysticism; Kaftan believes that mysticism is also contained in Christianity, is there also the heart of religion, and does not interfere with the ethical character of Christianity, but rather brings it to its completion. Therefore it is quite

impossible to state quantitatively where he follows Ritschl and where not. There is an all-pervading agreement and all-pervading separation.<sup>20</sup>

What Kaftan has attempted to attain in his *Dogmatik* may be now briefly set forth under the following five heads:

1. He has attempted to derive all dogmatic propositions from faith, from the practical ideas covering the same. It has seemed to him that there exists in each case an immanent logic, in the formation of thoughts and of cognitions, in the ideas governing any religion. As this is fundamental with Kaftan, I wish to quote his own words at some length: "Faith is a real knowledge (*Erkenntniss*, not *Wissen*). The fact that this is so admits of no doubt. Faith in general, and particularly the Christian faith, is to be considered knowledge in the proper sense of that word. For to know is to appropriate or form judgments under the accompanying supposition that they are true, *i. e.*, correspond to the reality given outside the subject. This the believer supposes in reference to his faith, so that his faith is valid to him as full and proper knowledge. If this supposition becomes uncertain, then religion itself becomes unsettled, and, if it ceases, religion also is done for. Or who will seek God's help and protection, who will leave all to seek in God his highest goal and good, if he be not persuaded of the existence and power of God? There lies an inner necessitation in the practical nature of religion to accept the truth of faith. And, of course, in a spiritual religion like the Christian, it belongs to its perfection that this assumption should take the form of an unconditioned inner certainty. The truly pious Christian is as certain of God as of his own life. Finally, this knowledge thus gained is, at the same time, the last and highest knowledge that man can reach. For it is the knowledge of God (*Gotteserkenntniss*), and God is the eternal power, conditioning all, the Reality that bears and sustains all that is real, so that in the knowledge of God there lies the key to all truth. Therefore, in Christian faith we are concerned with knowledge in the full and strict sense of the word. This knowledge of faith (*Glaubenserkenntniss*), *i. e.*, knowledge which faith possesses, stands, however, in other inner connections than otherwise theoretical knowledge. Not the objective apprehension of the real and the reflective elaboration of such impressions underlie it, but an inner personal experience of a peculiar kind. Just on that

<sup>20</sup> The so-called Ritschlian school consists of minds very different in their mental make-up. It would be difficult to state what, or whether anything at all, connects them. Kaftan stands closest to such men as Häring, Loofs, Kattenbusch.

account we call it faith and not knowledge (*Wissen*). . . . All our knowledge and certainty flow from a twofold source, from the compulsion of facts that we experience, and from the inner certainty of our own life. On the former rests, above all, natural knowledge, but, further, also the knowledge of historical things and of the spiritual life. For all this is also given to us, and certain knowledge of all this is attained in so far as it succeeds in coming under the coercion of facts. This is objective knowledge (*das Wissen*). Along this line faith does not lie. If it did, it were nothing other than a hypothesis. Rather, however, it is a knowledge of peculiar certainty. Therefore it lies along another line, along that of the certainty of one's own life. This latter is developed, namely, through the historico-moral process in which everyone enters, as the consciousness of the spiritual personal life. And in this consciousness we know ourselves and our existence to be bound to the validity of definite ideas, which, therefore, are as certain to us as life itself. The most common of all examples of those ideas is the moral law, whose binding power we experience in our conscience. This example shows also that those ideas extend beyond the horizon of our own inner life, that they claim universal validity and objective significance. One, therefore, cannot acknowledge them without being immediately convinced that therein lies a knowledge of objective significance. Nevertheless, this knowledge is grounded otherwise than theoretical cognition, and nowhere arises where the inner experience, which grounds, is wanting, and which issues in the feeling of worth (*Werthgefühl*). Along that line Christian faith lies. It is, therefore, not a product of phantasy, but a real knowledge. Only, it has its law, not in the compulsion of facts, but in the practical ideas governing it. In these ideas lies the logic which is authoritative for faith's domain of knowledge. This logic rests on the necessary connection between the practical ideas and the (theoretical) propositions of faith, a connection which is always somehow carried through and must be carried through. This logic offers the means actually to derive every single tenet, and to prove it necessary as soon as the guiding ideas and their truth are established. It is, therefore, an actual logic—the logic of the case, by which here as in all domains of knowledge the application of the general laws of thought are regulated."<sup>22</sup>

The application of this principle appears, perhaps, most distinctly

<sup>22</sup> *Dogmatik*, pp. 25, 26, 29, 30; also, *The Truth of the Christian Religion*, Vol. II, pp. 410-415.

in Kaftan's teaching about God, where, otherwise, philosophical influences most easily assert themselves, and where metaphysical thoughts are wont to be received collaterally.<sup>22</sup> So far as I know, there exists no system of dogmatics in which this principle is enunciated and carried out as in this book; no system in which the thought is pivotal that faith, as such, contains a peculiar, independent cognition which is comprehensive in itself and proceeds according to its own inner rules. Kaftan has distinctly called attention to the fact that this cognition thus gives rise to historico-philosophical speculation, *e. g.*, the problem of the origin of evil, and the problem of the necessity of the death of Christ; and that these, in part, also belong to dogmatics, without a foreign element being introduced thereby into the basis of the *theses*.<sup>23</sup>

2. Accordingly, the practical significance of each single *tenet of belief* for piety has been definitely outlined. Kaftan has made it his special task to show, in the case of each of these *propositions*, that, on pronouncing a truth pertaining to God or the divine, it contains at the same time a law for the inner life. "Dogmatics has to exhibit the Christian truth as that knowledge which faith possesses (*Glaubenserkenntnis*). This signifies that every proposition is made intelligible in its connection with the personal life, and derives from the latter its convincing power—from the latter in its relation to divine revelation. An article of faith (*Glaubenssatz*) is, indeed, nothing but the expression of this connection between the personal life and divine revelation. Since it is this, it is, at the same time, knowledge, and, indeed, knowledge of peculiar inner certainty. As articles, these propositions of dogmatics are ever two things in and with each other: knowledge and holy law of life. . . . It is on this account that dogmatics is an indispensable member in the organism of evangelical theology, as the science of the church, or the science in the service of the church."<sup>24</sup> Here, again, is seen one of the signal features of this new movement in theology.

3. In the closest connection with this, Kaftan has tried to carry out consistently the principle of authority as found in the Scriptures and in the ecclesiastical confessions. It concerns the inner practical kernel of each dogma—its volitional side, where obedience and subordination are in their right places, just as well as in the ethical. But because the very same forms the vital point of cognition of a proposition as theoretical testimony, therefore these propositions are really fixed by

<sup>22</sup> *Dogmatik*, pp. 161-79.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 90 ff.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 104-8, 341 ff., 543 ff.



authority. A conflict with historical investigation is excluded, because the relation of the dogmas to the Bible and to the confessions of the church is effected by this practical factor, and nowhere is the attempt made to lay stress upon the wording of a biblical or church tenet as authoritative. *a*) As to the Scripture: it is the sole and proper principle of knowledge in Christian dogmatics, because it is the sole authentic document of that historical revelation of God from whose appropriation, through faith, that Christian knowledge awakens which dogmatics has to exhibit. The prosecution of this principle requires that the historical understanding of the Scriptures be the foundation of dogmatics, appropriation and employment of the scriptural content, however, be determined through faith, *i. e.*, through the practical fundamental ideas of divine revelation and the Christian religion. Only so does the revelation attested in the Scriptures actually come to authoritative validity, and only so does it actually accord with the ecclesiastical principle of the Reformation. *b*) The confession of the evangelical church is normative for dogmatics, because it shows how revelation is to be appropriated at the stage of evangelical *versus* Catholic Christianity. On the other hand, the *theology* of the confessional writings—as little as the *theology* of the Scriptures—is not, and cannot be, binding, because it belongs to an antecedent stage of development, in part at least. Kaftan's principle of authority has been more fully presented in a former connection, and need not be made further subject of remark here, save to call attention to how fundamental it is in his system.

4. He has attempted to bring about a final settlement between the evangelical church doctrine thus gained, and the past history of dogma and dogmatics as a whole, or between the higher stages and the stages preceding. No single proposition of dogma is criticised, so to speak, but each one is *estimated* as a form of expression of Christianity, with only this restriction: that no tenet is acceptable that expresses Christianity according to the Catholic construction. Herein is the difference between Kaftan and *a*) Strauss, who, in his *Glaubenslehre*, criticised dogma, not from a Christian, but from a speculative, point of view, and, identifying dogma and Christian religion, made shipwreck of faith; *b*) Biedermann, who, in his *Dogmatik*, imported into the old dogma the content of the Hegelian philosophy—new wine in old bottles—thus changing the substance of the faith. Kaftan departs from traditional orthodoxy decisively, but for the sake of the faith once for all delivered to the saints.

5. The question as to metaphysics and philosophy in the Christian religion and theology is contained in the settlement with the past as above mentioned under 4. Kaftan believes to have shown that the intermixture of the above-mentioned "coefficients" into theology does not correspond to the evangelical stage of Christianity, because in the latter the primacy belongs to the will and not to the intellect.

The purpose of this paper has been to sketch Kaftan's theological theory and principles, not at this time to indicate with reasons, point by point, one's approval or disapproval, though there is room for much of both again—a task to be successfully accomplished only by the immanent criticism in the course of history. We find ourselves, however, in sympathy with the remark of C. Favre, in the *Revue de théologie*, that "of all the theologians of the present day who belong, in a greater or less degree, to the new school, Kaftan appears to us to be the one who does greatest justice to the historical revelation on which Christianity is founded, and to the requirements, both of religious faith, and of theological science." The fact that this is so should commend this theologian to the favorable judgment of the church. For the rest, we content ourselves at present with the remark that the Berlin professor speaks with a weight and an authority which are bound to make his voice heard above the din of theological conflict and controversy in which the outgoing of the century finds us still everywhere involved.

## DOCUMENTS.

### THE ARMENIAN CANONS OF ST. SAHAK CATHOLICOS OF ARMENIA (390-439 A. D.).

#### PREFATORY NOTE OF THE TRANSLATOR.

THE "Canons of St. Sahak," here for the first time translated from old Armenian,<sup>1</sup> were drawn up for the government of his church by Sahak (Isaac) Catholicos, who died A. D. 439, after a rule of nearly fifty years. The Catholicos was the chief bishop of the Armenians, and until about the year 374, when the Armenians asserted their ecclesiastical independence, he was, though a nominee of the Armenian sovereign, wont to repair to Cæsarea in Cappadocia for consecration by Greek bishops. This particular Sahak was named the Great, because of his activity in organizing his national church, in completing the Armenian version of the Scriptures, and in translating the works of orthodox Greek Fathers into the same tongue.

The colophon of a scribe, appended to the fourth chapter of these canons, declares that Sahak had received them from St. Gregory, the Illuminator, of Armenia (*ca.* 300-325 A. D.), and had merely caused them to be translated into the vernacular. It is very probable that much of the matter in the first four chapters belongs to the first half of the fourth century, and the Armenian is almost certainly translated from a Greek original now lost. But it is doubtful whether Gregory was the direct author of them. Nor is it likely that we even have them in the exact form given to them by Sahak. Thus in chap. IV, § viii, there is a mention of the feast of the holy mother of God. Even in Rome such a feast was not instituted before the seventh century, and it is inconceivable that it was kept in Armenia at so early a period. It is evident, therefore, that our document has been interpolated.

In most other respects, however, it affords a trustworthy picture of the church of Great Armenia in the fifth century, to which epoch the language in which it is written belongs. We know plenty about the Greek and Roman churches of that age; but these canons show how

<sup>1</sup> The Armenian text used is the Venice edition of 1853 printed from an old manuscript.

unsafe it is to make inductions from the Christianity of Rome and Antioch or Constantinople to that of Armenia. It is generally supposed that Christianity abolished victims and the sacrificial system, and so it did in most parts of the Roman empire. But not so in Armenia and the Caucasus, where such rites were too deeply ingrained in the moral and economical life of the inhabitants to be eradicated. There the old pre-Christian system of sacrificing animals continued unchanged, unless, indeed, we can say that it was Judaized; and the pagan sacrificing priesthood passed insensibly into a Christian priesthood. Among the following canons are many regulative of this sacrificial system of Christian Armenia, which remains unchanged even in modern times. In a subsequent paper I hope to be allowed to supplement their information with details gleaned from later Armenian church writers, particularly from Nerses, bishop of Rom-Kla, who penned a defense of the system as late as the twelfth century. I also hope to examine the relation of these canons to the great body of early Greek canon-law, and to indicate how much light they throw on the history of the fasts and feasts, of the sacraments, of the clergy, and of the churches and monasteries of the Christians of the far East in the fourth and fifth centuries.

#### THE ARMENIAN CANONS OF ST. SAHAK.

CHAPTER I.—*As touching bishops—how they shall keep them that belong to the holy church.*

- i. The bishop is overseer and common father, and therefore he must without respect of persons [guard] the flock entrusted to him by God, impartially caring for the clergy of holy church, appointing supervisors and leaders of cantons and villages who are named *chorepiscopi*. For it is incumbent on him to bestow such a dignity as this on those who are holy and zealous for the law, and are experienced in teaching, and who shall be competent to instruct the people; profiting those who are gone astray in sinfulness, and making the true radiant with the recital of the illumining commands. To the end that priests without wavering may learn to honour the God-receiving table on which is fulfilled the life-giving mystery of our redeeming Lord, and the salutary font of baptism, by birth in which we are renewed unto the hope of the calling of God.
- ii. Let no one then entrust such posts of supervision to soldiers\* or to any ignorant person, least of all by way of doing a favour to his kinsmen out of warmth of friendship; for this our Saviour and Lord

\*A thoroughly archaic prejudice against soldiers inspires these canons throughout. See below, § v; and chap. II, § vi; chap. III, § ix and § xi (where it is enacted that priests married a second time shall take their stand along with the soldiers).

long ago bade us renounce. "Who, he said, is my mother and brother, except they that love the commands of God?"<sup>3</sup> And this he actually fulfilled in laying down ordinances for us. Jacob and Simon and Jôses and Judas were entitled his brethren, and Peter and John and many other disciples spent all their time in serving; they bore hardships and oppression, they risked their lives, yet not one of them did he call a vessel of election. But Paul, who owned himself to be a blasphemer and persecutor and enemy, of him he said: "He is a vessel of election unto me, to bear my name before heathen and kings and the sons of Israel."<sup>4</sup>

Dost thou see that there is no respect of persons before God? If ye are partial, ye commit sin. Of a truth then the bishop who doth not practise such a virtue, cannot be a disciple of the Lord, but is very far from him and a stranger like one of those who disobey the Saviour. Those who love his commandments and fulfil them he defined as his brethren, and said: He that loveth his father or his mother, his brothers or his sisters more than me, is not worthy of me.<sup>5</sup> And it is out of disdain for his commands and in destruction and profanation of them that ye cling to your family's kinsmen, devising all kinds of means to make your houses soft and luxurious and fill them to overflowing with riches, in forgetfulness of the awful precepts and very words of the gospel, which says: "Every plant which my heavenly father hath not planted shall be uprooted."<sup>6</sup>

- iii. Do ye see that in the very thing which all your days ye toil and labour to firmly implant, ye but prepare 'ere half your days are spent a snare of destruction, according to the saying: He that storeth up riches without righteousness, 'ere half his days are spent, they shall forsake him.<sup>7</sup>

This I say not so much that I would put you to shame, piercing you deeply with my reprimand; but in order that so lawless a custom may not be seen at all in the church. For it is the root of universal wrong and of divers wanton and profligate actions, which incur the wrath of God.

- iv. As we said above, the bishop is father, and must bestow favour and furtherance on those who belong according to their excellence and proficiency; and he must superintend the work of the church according to fixt rules; whereby outrageous wantonness and heresies are withered up, while a life lived after God's pleasure with devout piety bears fruit and is adorned.

But we are aware that some grown insolent talk pompously, especially clannish starvelings who press into their use the words of the

<sup>3</sup>This is not a loose citation of Mark 3:34, 35, or of Matt. 12:49, 50; but of Luke 8:21, nearly in accordance with the ancient form of text certified by Tertullian to have been used by Marcion (*Adv. Marc.*, iv, 19): *quæ mihi mater et qui mihi fratres? Subiungens: nisi qui audiunt verba mea et faciunt ea.* Perhaps this was also Tertullian's reading. Just below the citation recurs: "those who love his commandments and fulfil them." This proves that the variant "*love* the commandments" is not fortuitous.

<sup>4</sup>Acts 9:15, cited from the Armenian Vulgate.

<sup>5</sup>Matt. 10:36 after the Armenian Vulgate, except for the addition "his brothers or sisters," which recalls Luke 14:26.

<sup>6</sup>Matt. 15:13 after Armenian Vulgate.

<sup>7</sup>Jer. 17:11, not quite in accord with Armenian Vulgate.

prophet: Wilt thou not cast thine eye on the seed of those who belong to thee? But this they have not realized that by those who belong to thee the prophet means the agreement in the faith. And therefore the loud-toned trumpet of the church cried out aloud the true interpretation. And what shall it say? "If it be possible, it says, ye shall keep peace with all men,<sup>8</sup> especially with those who belong to the faith." This is the inspiring motive of the care taken of those who belong. If however a man be mundane and a buffoon, and make a lying pretence of piety, in order to favour and enrich his kinsmen; let him give ear to yet another passage which gently reproves him saying: "Let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doth."<sup>9</sup>

Let no one dare with shameless self-assurance to do this evil thing with a show of benevolence. For wilful impudence is worse than actual sin. For Cain who slew his brother and *Gehazi* (Arm. *Gêlzi*) who was given up to bitter avarice, suffered their punishment less because of sin than by reason of their shameless impudence.

- v. Therefore let this canonical rule be carefully observed in our midst; and let no one swerve from these divinely approved commands, through which the churches are made resplendent, the priests rejoice, princes and peasants kiss gladness, and we receive blessing and eulogy from strangers. For we ought according to the Scripture to win testimony of good even from outsiders, that the name of God and the teaching be not blasphemed; as of old the prophet cried in reproof of the Israelites, saying: "The name of God is blasphemed because of you among the heathen."<sup>10</sup> But for our goodly ordinances and actions they shall glorify our father who is in heaven, saying: "They are seed blessed by God, and with rejoicing shall they rejoice in the Lord."<sup>11</sup>

The bishop must bear in himself the pattern of angelic conduct and of eternal life; and so also all the doctors. Where there is no respect of persons and no venality, nor any glorification of wealth, but modesty and observance of commands, they draw nigh to becoming fellow-citizens of the saints and to being God's own people. But ye in your love of money and in your venality destroy yourselves; and you esteem the infamous and the transgressors and soldiers<sup>12</sup> and the ignorant worthy of trust for the work of the service of the church; and you marshal an ever increasing troop after yourselves of so-called kinsmen, in order in this communion of yours to eat of dainty meats and crunch the bones, saying: "Let us eat and drink, for tomorrow we are to die."<sup>13</sup>

- vi. If therefore any bishop or leader of the church be found to be shameless in such transgressions and wantonness, let him be deprived of his rank and let his portion be with the deceivers; for

<sup>8</sup> Rom. 12: 18, nearly according to Armenian Vulgate. No text makes the addition "especially with," etc., which yet is regarded by the writer as Paul's, as the context proves.

<sup>9</sup> Matt. 6: 3 after Armenian Vulgate.

<sup>10</sup> Isa. 52: 5 after Armenian Vulgate.

<sup>11</sup> Isa. 61: 9 after Armenian Vulgate.

<sup>12</sup> See note 1 on chap. I, sec. i, above.

<sup>13</sup> 1 Cor. 15: 32.

he was a man held in honour and had not understanding ; to the end that others may fear, and that this service and fulfilment of obligation may not be their condemnation, but their glory.

- vii. But if any of our rulers or sharers of the throne shew favour unto such, they shall answer for it before God along with those who favoured and were partisans of Annas and Caiaphas the high-priests, the gainsayers who fought against God, those who were guilty of the Lord's blood and shall suffer for it eternal punishment. But let it be unto us the blameless goal of these our commands, so to pass through our life of pilgrimage, that becoming in all things pleasing to God, we may come to be worthy of the promised blessings through the grace and loving kindness of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom together with the Holy Ghost let us give praise and glory eternal. Amen.

CHAPTER II.—*Of the same as touching chorepiscopi—that it is necessary to hold fast the canonical order of the faith in the churches of God.*

- i. It has already been set forth by us, that it is necessary to entrust the privilege of discharging this duty to holy and religious persons noted for their excellence ; whose minds are pure from the stain of love of money and their hands from bribes ; who are fond of learning and modest, and who are competent to teach others, taking due care they of all the churches and adorning them incessantly with lives pleasing to God, reverent and sober and forward in all good endeavour.
- ii. It is the temple of prayer in which the holy and God-receiving table is erected, on which is fulfilled the expiatory and quickening mystery of the body and blood of our redeeming Lord. According to their due competence they shall keep the same adorned with unceasing lights and scattering of incense, and walled in with a city-rampart ; and near to it shall they build a baptistery ; and there, even as the custom holds among others also, shall be erected in the same a font of baptism, by birth in which the Holy Spirit regenerates us and seals us to become children of light. For which reason we must with great reverence venerate it.
- iii. And a service of psalm-singing shall be held unintermittingly by day and night after the example of the chief-shepherd<sup>14</sup> of the mother-cities. For no one at all has the right or authority to lengthen out this order of worship or to make any innovations in it ; but we must always continue in the same.
- iv. Likewise the chorepiscopus as supervisor must visit (literally : shorten or recapitulate) all the churches. And if anyone be supine or be found perverted, they shall rebuke and reprimand them with doctrinal reproof ; and they shall punish them with scourgings and fines in the public court of justice, that others as well may stand in fear.
- v. For it is right and fitting in every year, when meetings are held according to canonical prescriptions, that chorepiscopi should make

<sup>14</sup>I. e., of the metropolitan. The Armenian may equally mean "of the mother-cities of the chief-shepherd," that is, of Christ. Until about 375 A. D. the Armenian church was a province of the see of Cæsarea.

a tour among the churches entrusted to them, and make an examination of their way of living and of the order of worship, to see how they are conducted. And they shall demand an account from the elders; and of deacons [they shall ask] how they render up the hourly lessons<sup>15</sup> and prayers; and of those who give the seal taking one by one [they shall require] uniformity in its performance;<sup>16</sup> and of the priests who make the offering of the dread mystery seemly administration thereof, that with lively goodwill and in awe they may inflexibly preserve it. Wherefore, if we are remiss, we shall have an account demanded of us. And if anyone be found wavering or lagging behind in his adherence to the wondrous traditions spoken to us, let him be severely punished, whoever he be, and be deprived of his rank, until the doctor (or wardapet) make truce with him.

- vi. And not only must elders and deacons be perpetually engaged in the worship, but the entire clergy as well. And if one of them be indolent and lazy, he shall suffer the same punishment. But the ignorant and men of arms must be absolutely debarred from [the enjoyment of] any grace<sup>17</sup> whatever which by the laics is brought into the house of God. But if they themselves or their offspring receive instruction, they shall become worthy.
- vii. In the same way they shall also exclude the drunkards and quarrelsome persons, until they have come to repentance and to right ways in accordance with the will of the leader.<sup>18</sup>
- viii. But as for sons of fornication and children of second marriages,<sup>19</sup> they shall until the third generation, in accordance with the First canons, be kept out of the order and of the graces. In order that the order of the ministrants of God may be modest and holy and unwavering, adorned both with true faith and with works of excellence, loved and honoured by all, as the ministrants of God ought to be. For if the levitical class received such a command in their dread and scrupulously pure service, how much more are those of our own age worthy of care, according to the testimony of Paul.
- ix. All this then the chorepiscopus in his supervision must with awe and fear command and ordain, advancing to honour and esteem the good and proficient; but inflicting punishment on the unprofitable ones, especially on those hostile to learning. For he that turns away from learning, falls into evil according to the Scripture.
- x. Wherefore it is necessary to keep up without fail the equipment of the scribes in the monasteries and other proper places, to the end

<sup>15</sup>Or "the preachings of the hours." The "hours" means the canonical offices of vespers, matins, etc. The word rendered "lessons" in the text, *qarouthiun*, is the Greek *κῆρυγμα* in its Syriac form. I think it here refers to the pericopes of the Bible read in the several offices.

<sup>16</sup>That is to say, uniformity in the rite of baptism is to be secured, and differing usages suppressed. We know from other sources, *e. g.*, Gregory of Nyssa, *Adv. Eunom.*, xi, that various baptismal formulæ still survived in the fourth century in Asia Minor, *e. g.*, baptism in the name of the Father and Creator alone, to exclusion of Son and Holy Ghost.

<sup>17</sup>This refers to the offerings of fruits and meat made by the laity for the support of the clergy. Soldiers and their children are not to share in these.

<sup>18</sup>*I. e.*, of the bishop.

<sup>19</sup>Literally "of seconds." Perhaps, however, bigamists are meant.



that being illumined with the light of the commands of God, they may illumine all. For if the clergy which heads the church be worthy and excellent, much more will the congregation be such. But if there be any member of the congregation loose and wanton in his life, he has an easier task to bring him into the right way. For in connection with this matter also no small responsibility is laid on the chorepiscopus, to make an inspection also of the lives of the laity, and to gladden by teaching of holy Scripture those who in their leisure are vowed to fasting and prayer; to reform those who have been led into sin, and to impart instruction in discipline and in the preservation of the faith intact, that they may beware of and flee from heretics and their lewd doings. For the duty of counselling them is entrusted to the bishop, after the example of the renowned great prophet Moses, who appointed governors over the people, to examine them and pass sentences on them; but to refer any grave matter to himself, after they have exercised caution and forewarned others according to the oracle of the prophet which says: Lo, the sword cometh. And [if] the people of the land rebel and flout him, they shall die in their lawlessness, but he shall save his soul.

- xi. If however he is only led by motives of sordid avarice to demand contributions from them, and from mere greed is eager to form a hoard of gold and silver; and if he supinely falls into oblivion of the canonical visitations, which he ought to keep up whole and exact, and if [in consequence] there be widespread dereliction of duty [on the part of the laity] and a forsaking of the true counsel, and if the sword come and destroy them, then he shall himself be guilty and their blood shall be demanded at his hands.
- xii. Wherefore the true preacher is bidden to stand ready, to watch and to remain awake: "Have care unto yourselves and all your flock, over which the Holy Spirit has made you supervisors to shepherd the congregation of the Lord, whom he redeemed with his precious blood."<sup>20</sup> And the reward of your deserts he makes plain: "In order that, at the appearing of the chief-shepherd, ye may receive the unfading wreath of glory."<sup>21</sup>
- xiii. May it be the lot of all of us to escape and flee from the evil one, and to follow after righteousness. To spend our lives in every hour in pleasing God, to the end that we may become to ourselves and many others the cause of salvation, and may come to be able to say boldly: "Behold, myself and my children, whom God has given me." Through the grace and loving kindness of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

CHAPTER III.—*Of the same. The conduct of priests towards the laity, and the obedience of the same laity and their right conduct towards the priests.*

- i. To the dear brethren, elders and monks.—Complaint has been made to us in many places by the laity about the priests, to the effect that they conduct the order of the church service and prayer

<sup>20</sup> Acts 20: 28 after Armenian Vulgate, except for addition of "precious," which is not found in any source.

<sup>21</sup> 1 Pet. 5: 4 after Armenian Vulgate.

remissly, as well as all the other important services presided over by them. More especially [they have complained] about their hostility to learning. For they have said that they (*i. e.*, the priests) themselves are not learned, and have not sons of their own at school; and because of their ignorance they are not deserving of the presbyterate. And there results, so they say, loss and inconvenience to ourselves, because we have been reduced to idleness, and along with them and by them have been left desolate in everything, and are utterly uninstructed and without the comfort of holy Scripture.

The same thing that we have heard from them, we have also come to know of our own selves, and have been deeply afflicted thereby. For in places enough we have not found anyone deserving of priesthood owing to ignorance; and the congregation was left desolate, and we were embarrassed and found no one whom we ourselves could appoint unto the priesthood. Nay, the incumbents themselves we had to retire from the manse, and give their inheritance to strangers who were suitable and educated. Now, as in every season instructions had been given by us unto you, both in writing and in person, laying down rules in regard to all the order of the church and your own organization, you ought to have been better advised; and then such complaints about you on the part of the laity would not have reached us; and we should not see you so much at fault, nor should we be filled with remorse and compunction.

And with regard to the income and fruits of the church which you receive from the laity, we have left [them] to you. The more so, because all your honour is relative to [your] knowledge and your worthy performance of the offices of the church, and to your encouragement of the people to follow good advice and be respectful with all spiritual reverence.

- ii. Remove therefore from among you these causes of offence. Keep your sons at school, that they may become educated. Understand that as blindness of the eyes is hateful to the body, so is ignorance of the soul hateful to God, especially in priests. Ye have heard from the prophet, how Ezekiel calls out in the Holy Spirit and says: "O Shepherd, feeding negligently my sheep which I left to thy right arm and thy right eye." But that you may not hear of his punishment, but set up yourselves as a true exemplar for your laity, ye must with all modesty devote yourselves to prayer and unremitting fasting, and bear in mind the words of Malachiah: "The lips of the priest shall have regard for knowledge, since the law is asked for from his mouth. For he is an angel of the mighty God."<sup>22</sup>
- iii. In summer the chief-priest shall remain perpetually in the church, and the other associates during a fast<sup>23</sup> shall remain with him in turns. That the services may not be discontinued day or night, because this is their appointed task and withal their privilege.
- iv. They shall perform baptism in a devout spirit; and women at the time of baptism shall not venture to stand near the priest, as is the custom for some to do out of presumption, baptising along with them. But in their own place shall the women be praying.
- v. And let not the deacons presume to perform baptism. But if they

<sup>22</sup> Mal. 2:7.

<sup>23</sup> Literally: "in weeks." To keep "weeks," "*hebdomadas facere*," meant "to fast" in the fourth century.

do so, let them be deprived of their diaconate, and at the same time punished. For the deacon is not a priest, but an attendant on the priest.

- vi. And the firstlings of the offerings shall be brought to the house of the head-priest from all the laymen; and the elder brethren and their other associates shall not presume to receive the offerings into their houses, even though they be priests. If there be any of them who shall take them into his house, they shall be subjected to punishment, and shall learn that from us they will receive requital suitable to their transgression.
- vii. And the head-priest, because of his being perpetually employed in the church, shall receive two-thirds more than his associates, if the village be a big one.
- viii. And from all parts of our dominions, in every year after holy *Zatik*,<sup>24</sup> the priests shall of necessity bring to us the oil of baptism; and there they shall receive from us a blessing on their oil. But by themselves they shall not bless it in their own houses, as some have been out of ignorance accustomed to do. For this is an authority which does not belong to priests, but only to chief-bishops.
- ix. And we hear that they use the church furniture, especially the vail, for the marriage coverlet of bride and bridegroom; and that they give the chalice among the drinking vessels of the carousal to soldiers.<sup>25</sup> Accordingly it is proper to pluck from his order the priest who so behaves, because of such conduct which is profane and evil, and such as henceforth no one shall venture upon. If however anyone be found to have done this, let him be deposed from his priesthood, and be utterly excluded from pardon.
- x. A male priest and others who are in authority over the laity, being of the priestly heritage, in the houses of nobles, shall not dare to discharge in the house of a prince the office of tutor or any other agency. For this is made a pretext for grinding and oppressing their fellow-heirs, and in this matter many are found culpable. But if there be anyone who dares to do so, let him be suspended from his rank. And let him not continue in rule over the laity and portion of the church, nor let his associates dare to communicate with him [in the sacrament], nor let the laymen dare to reckon such an one among the priests.
- xi. Let not elder-brethren who are ignorant venture to hold a congregation. Let elder-brethren who are bigamists<sup>26</sup> be stationed with the soldiers, cut off from all ecclesiastics and from the portion of the church, because they have become slaves of the flesh.
- xii. And inasmuch as a wanton custom has prevailed among the priests and their wives, to have their graves in the churches, in the places of holiness, henceforth let them not presume so to do. But let the cemeteries of the priests be in the cemeteries of the laymen, in order that the place of holiness be honoured and duly revered.
- xiii. And outside the church priests shall not dare to carry the sacraments into the houses of cultivators, and there impart the holiness, except only in cases of sickness.

<sup>24</sup> *I. e.*, Easter.

<sup>25</sup> See chap. I, § i.

<sup>26</sup> Second marriages of priests are referred to. The word used answers to *διγάμοι*.

- xiv. Ye shall teach the laymen also to flee far from all impurity, from gluttony, from drunkenness, from contentiousness, from grinding the poor and their fellows. No quarrelsome ones, no strikers, no lovers of wrong [shall there be]. They shall hate adulterers, thieves, fornicators, robbers. They shall not communicate at all with such, nor be hospitable to them, lest they themselves come to be along with them sons of perdition. Their own children they shall bring up in the fear of God's precept and commandments, to the end that through such carefulness their own souls may be filled with good hope in God, and their bodily good-fortune be adorned with all health.
- xv. Lay on them the rule not to betroth children, nor adults either, without the parties having seen and liked each other. But do you priests utterly refuse to bless the wreath for children, and wait till they are full grown. In the case of adults however who have not seen each other and found pleasure one in the other, ye shall not venture to lay on them the wreath without investigation, and without asking the parties themselves. Perhaps they were persuaded by the violence of their parents and against their wills. Such weddings ye shall not venture to undertake, for until this very day owing to such irregularity much damage has resulted on earth both spiritual and bodily.
- xvi. If however I hear that any priest is bold enough even in contravention of our rule to bless the wreath in such cases, let him know that the priest suffers punishment after the measure of the harm he has done, and the parents shall not be exempted from punishment either.
- xvii. The priests shall in concert perform the service and the offering of the agapés. Without reading the gospel the priests shall not venture to present it. But if one of them be found guzzling previously to the offering, he shall not venture to come to the bread of the offering, but shall be excluded by his fellows.
- xviii. Likewise also cultivators who have been invited to the agapés, shall participate in the service and the offering. Previous to the offering they shall not dare to eat and drink in their houses. If there be anyone who has previously eaten and drunk in his house, let him not dare to come to the bread of the offering, lest there be condemnation of himself and insult to the spiritual feast. For such perversity is in any case vain. If anyone does attempt so to come, the priests and their associates<sup>77</sup> shall not let him in, for such wantonness is hateful to the church.
- xix. And some laymen have been wont out of ignorance to fall into sin by dividing with the priests the hide and fat of the offering and taking them into their own houses under the pretence of their being rest-houses (or *wang*).<sup>78</sup> Henceforth let them not presume to make such division. If however there be anyone who so divides, the priests shall not present the offering, lest they participate in the sin of such an one. For that portion does not belong to those who properly make the offering.

<sup>77</sup> Or we may render "his fellows."

<sup>78</sup> A *wang* was at first a rest-house for Christian travelers. With the rise of monkery it became synonymous with *canobium*, convent or monastery.

- xx. The laymen shall gladly and contentedly render to the churches and rest-houses, as is right, the appointed first-fruits and all presents of vows, of zatiks and agapês and other feasts. Let them not, by denying the means of life of soul and of body, confine and hamper them with worldly cares. If however anyone through perversity rebel against his priest and rest-house (or *wang*), and present his fruits and offerings outside his own church to some other rest-house (or *wang*) or hermitage, let such an one along with those that receive his gifts be exluded from blessing and from communion of his fellows, along with his intimates, until he repents and pays a fine to the church. For he has made himself a transgressor and enemy of God.
- xxi. Let them not hold carousal in mourning. Let no one hold a wake over the dead; for all such things are devilish. If however anyone disobeys and does so, let him be condemned to do penitence at the doors of the holy church.
- xxii. And priests shall be careful to reconcile the transgressor outside the church. They shall not defiantly and in antagonism confront one another with personal insults. But let there be peace among you at all times with love and fellowship in work.
- xxiii. I would also remind all you that are vowed to religion in rest-houses, inasmuch as you have withdrawn from the earthly life and have given yourselves up to God and to the things of God; let your actions resemble your nominal professions, and let reverence, watchfulness, love of the services be dear unto you. Uphold in yourselves the exemplar of the angelic life, love of strangers and love of your brethren.

CHAPTER IV.—*Of the same Saint Sahak as to how the order of the clergy and of the separate wang was fixt.*

- i. Whereas many have opined through ignorance that the church means one thing and the *wang*<sup>29</sup> another, and by their foolish utterances have been minded to introduce contentions and heresies in the unity of the faith, in forgetfulness of the precept which says: "One Lord, one faith, one baptism;" for one who is minded to call a thing something else, clearly evidences a division in the faith.—For the precept of God does not signify to us by "church," a building of stone and timber, but the races of men built by faith on the rock of foundation. Consequently the true faith is "church," for it assembles and builds us up into a single union in knowledge of the Son of God. For this very thing is what the Giver of life taught, when he said to Peter: "Thou art the Rock, and on this rock I will build my church, and the gates of Hell shall not prevail against thee."<sup>30</sup>

What then shall we understand by his calling Peter a rock? Surely he did not mean any ordinary rock? God forbid! But he meant a rational man, head of the apostolical band; and because with inflexible faith he confessed Christ to be Son of God, he received the blessing and was named the Rock. Consequently those also

<sup>29</sup> See note 28 above on chap. III, § xix.

<sup>30</sup> Matt. 16: 18, but reading with other sources "it" for "thee."

that are built upon him are not lifeless stones, but men, fellow-sharers in the same faith. For the Scriptures do not hesitate to call by the same name our Lord and Saviour ever and anon according to need. We find the blessed Paul also mentioning the name of the church saying: "Those whom God has set in the church are these: first apostles, secondly prophets, thirdly doctors,"<sup>32</sup> and that which follows.

- ii. Dost thou behold the harmony and sublimity of the church, I mean of the holy and spotless faith, of which the apostles and prophets and doctors are the mariners, having for their captain the incarnate word God? And it we truly confess to mean the mother church of those who have believed in Christ. For it is usual for a ship to embrace all within itself, and to be able to bring them through safe and dry from all the tossing billows of the world. But let us only keep unwaveringly the faith, whereby we have been built up into a reasonable and intellectual church on the foundation of the apostles and prophets.

It is this church of which the blessed apostle teaches Timothy to take care, naming it the pillar and foundation of truth. There is manifested, he says, in it the mystery of the worship of God; and rightly, especially if it be true, as it is, that dumb or lifeless creatures are not adequate to manifest in themselves the mystery of divine worship, but the reasonable church alone. And therefore also the psalm cries aloud, saying: "Blessing unto him in the churches of the saints." Lo, Samuel also the prophet who was called the faithful, teaches the same in his precepts to Saul: "When thou departest from me, thou wilt chance upon a church, a choir of prophets inspired to prophecy." And again: "The congregation hath been mustered in a church<sup>33</sup> like one man from Dan as far as Bersabée." And again he says: "Behold, a church of prophets inspired to prophesy, and Samuel was upon them."<sup>33</sup> And Solomon blessed the church, and this word was published to the ears of the church. And the churches were established in the faith, and he heard this oracle amidst the fire on the day of the church. For Moses made the church the head of the prophets unto the tribes of Israel by the command of God. Make a church, he says, of the congregation at the door of the tent of witness.<sup>34</sup>

Dost thou see that he called not church either the tent in which stood the ark of the covenant, nor the other tent which was called the holy of holies; but it is the congregation firm in faith that he calls church. For this reason the apostle Paul [speaks] still more sublimely of what, in a sense, is newer and yet more wonderful. For he points to a church of first-born ones inscribed not on earth, but in heaven; whose names are written in the book of life.<sup>35</sup>

Hast thou marked the true foundation of the church, because of which the Saviour bade the apostles rejoice, saying, "Rejoice, because your names are written in the book of life."<sup>35</sup> This is the

<sup>32</sup> 1 Cor. 12 : 28.

<sup>34</sup> Lev. 8 : 3.

<sup>33</sup> Josh. 18 : 1. *ἐκκλησιάζουσα* has been rendered in the Armenian.

<sup>33</sup> 1 Kings 19 : 20.

<sup>35</sup> Phil. 4 : 3. Sahak's second citation may be a development of the first, for it is not anywhere ascribed to Jesus.

church inviolable, of which the building was begun on the earth which will pass away, but has been completed in the extremes of the heights of heaven.

This is the mystery of the church. This we have learned to call the catholic apostolic church. For those who all over the earth believe in Christ are entitled the apostolic church, because of the Lord's command unto them, which said: "Go ye into all the earth, make disciples of all the gentiles; baptise them in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, teach them to keep whatsoever I have commanded you."<sup>36</sup>

- iii. Now, albeit we have repeated but a few out of the many commandments which are so numerous in holy Scripture concerning holy church—For it hath been seen to be an indissoluble unity, and not disunited, as those would have it be who rend it asunder and lightly make quarrels in their folly. Since from the true flock of Christ, which is the church of God, he alone is torn asunder, who is lost in heresies and is become a servant of sin, for sin alone divides and estranges from God. Well, in thus pronouncing the indivisible union of the church, we have clearly set forth what church is. Not that we would teach you to condemn the spots honoured with buildings, which are called meeting-houses. For in them do gather priests and clergy and worshipers in God, to hold prayers and supplications; for which reason they are also called praying-places and sanctuaries. And in them is firmly fixt the Lord's table upon which we offer the bread and wine as a type of the quickening body and blood of Christ, which forever is distributed without cost unto us for the remission and forgiveness of sins. And in them is erected a font of baptism, in which, being illumined with a second birth by the Holy Spirit, we are sealed in the hope of the everlasting life. And day by day we muster there and listen to chantings of psalms, and to the oracles and commandments of God. And because we continually meet together there and find a harbour of refuge, holding therein all the offices described, it has become usual to give to it the name of church, but only as a common name and not signifying an identity of thing.

For in the same way there are in one place or another many shrines, which we know by the names of those in whose honour they were built, not that they themselves are there in whose names they are built.<sup>37</sup> And all are equally revered, because in all one and the same mystery is fulfilled. For everywhere the table and the offering is called the Lord's; and it is only in the feasts held in them that they differ; for in each place the custom is to hold [its own] order of feasts.

- iv. It is therefore proper to revert to our first theme, which was how and why *wang*<sup>38</sup> came to be built. For not only do we find the Armenians full of solicitude on this point, but also the Greeks and Romans and Syrians, as well as every other race that believes in

<sup>36</sup> Matt. 28: 19 after the Armenian Vulgate, except for the words added, "into all the earth."

<sup>37</sup> So one speaks of "going to St. Edward's" without meaning that St. Edward is there. This seems to be the sense.

<sup>38</sup> *I. e.*, monasteries, which in Armenia grew out of rest-houses and hospitals.

Christ. And this work also the thrice blessed and brave champion of Christ, Gregory, accomplished, bestowing thereon through the Holy Spirit the benefit of his gift of organization. For the *wang* is a manifold source of aid and a column of strength for the truth to the clergy, since it fosters and assists in their spiritual education, and [rears] the doctors whom more than all others the priests and laity should respect and honour, and [shelters] all the devout (literally: ministrants) of the clergy without exception, who enter it without hesitation, being sure of a hearty reception.

For this reason the name of *wang* is happily chosen, since they give without grumbling to all who are in want; and their aid is freely expended not on strangers alone, but still more on the village in which it is built, since it is their custom to tend the sick and comfort the sorrowing. And priests who are preoccupied with their married life are often busy with husbandry, and must contrive to be agreeable to their wives, as the words of the apostle do truly say. But the inmates of a *wang* are venerated for their chastity, and are constantly at war with the passion which nature would kindle to fan into flame. And they are diligent in performing the office and order of service, asking for peace for all the world, and for their village prosperity and health by day and night with constant vigils. For this reason the *wang* has received estates and lands free from all tax-gathering princes, and is allotted priority in honour<sup>39</sup> by the clergy of the holy church.

- v. Let those persons therefore be ashamed who out of their ignorance and folly have presumed to say that the church is one thing and the *wang* another. For we have clearly set forth the indivisible union of the members of the church of those that believe in Christ. "For we are members of one another unto the building up of the faith by the love of God."<sup>40</sup> Likewise also with the meeting-houses and shrines, which it has been the custom from of old to call churches. Though they are numerous in the several villages and towns, yet they are not many divided again into many. On the contrary one and the same mystery is fulfilled in all of them; nor is it according to these mysteries that one of them is called great and another little; but according to the grade of authority. And this harmony of adjustment we must take all pains to perpetuate; for it is not only human opinion that has pronounced these distinctions, but the divinely-inspired Scripture has in unequivocal terms reiterated them among us. And he who opposes them, opposes not men but God; and those who choose to maintain opposition, store up condemnation for themselves.
- vi. Therefore we must fix and define in the clearest manner the repayment of our debt of gratitude, to wit, how it ought to be repaid in a *wang*, or to married priests. [There is] the feast of St. John the baptist and martyr, which was placed first by the apostle and confessor of Christ and father of the renewal of the whole land of Armenia — in the *wang*, for it was established with a nazarene fast (literally: fast of a vow-making); and whatever other vows there are shall be kept in a *wang*, both Sabbaths (or weeks) and fasts and

<sup>39</sup> Literally: "elder honour."

<sup>40</sup> Eph. 4:25.



abstinences, for [these] are fulfilments of vows. Since the inmates are under vows, they shall eat by favour of the vow.

And there is the feast of all martyrs which we call "Shrines." The firstlings of *Wardawark* only [consist of] fruit from all the crops, bushel by bushel, from laymen and married priests from the first crops, that is from the pick; that the threshing-floors may overflow with wheat and the vats with wine and oil; and not from the worst things, as was the case with Cain, lest we pay the same penalty as he. The feast of holy Epiphany and its quadragesima, and the coming forward of the Lord, and the completion of the preliminary fast. The feast of the middle [of the] quadragesima of *Zatik*, the day of Lazarus, the great fifth day of the week of *Zatik*, on which our Giver of life bequeathed to the disciples the mystery of the new covenant. The laying of *zatic* on the second day of the week of *Zatik* with offerings and pleasing gifts. The feast of the ascension of the Lord into heaven. The feast of the end and passing away of the month *Hrotitz*.

These feasts shall be kept perpetually in *wang* and in consecrated places, in order that the ministrants of the place and strangers may eat; for priests although they are married and monks and all the members of the clergy must not sojourn in hamlets, but only in a *wang*, save in places where there is none. And the things carried off at the death of a master of a house from board and stool to porringer and spoon, and all personal apparel even to boots and girdle, and the bed also, shall go to the *wang*; to the end that the strangers who enter there may rest on it and give their blessing.

- vii. As to the *agapê* which is by division, half of the hide shall go to the *wang* and two parts of the fat. But in the complete [*agapê*], [there belongs] to the priests both the pelt of the sheep and the tail with limb, and the fat and the ventricle. And the sojourners in the houses of priests and of their brothers shall likewise be brought in,<sup>42</sup> and the ministrants and believing brethren shall with much reverence eat all the offerings in common; and as for the bread of the feast which has passed into the common stock, all the ministrants shall eat it, likewise also the bread of the penitents which in the days of quadragesima they make at the close<sup>42</sup> of the Sabbath or of the Lord's day.
- viii. But in regard to the offering made in a *wang*, the first-fruits, if it be eremitic, they shall give to the village there. But, if not, then shall they give to the married priests. For it is not right for anyone to leave the dues of the Lord under the roof of his own house. But for married priests the following shall be feasts. The Sabbath of *Zatik*, and the holy *Zatik*, and the second *Zatik*, and, from the second *Zatik* on, every Sunday; and the feast of the holy mother of God and of *Wardawark*, with the exception of firstlings, which is the completion of the quadragesima of the apostolical feasts of the faithful, of *Zatik*; and the fruit of all crops bushel by bushel, and the offerings which are by division half of the hide and two parts of the fat shall be left to the *wang* for purposes of worship and of

<sup>42</sup> Reading *tartsin* for *tatsen*, which would mean "shall give."

<sup>42</sup> Or perhaps for *hangist* read *hangêt*, and render: "they make the same as on Sabbath."

lighting. One part they shall bring for lighting along with the tail and member, when it is a sheep, and the fat and the ventricle and the pelt; and the raiment of deceased ladies only. And the feasts of shrove-tide and of great palm-Sunday, which being translated means day of praise; and any other feast which may be held in the name of apostles and prophets shall be common. For in this way the classes of ministrants will be kept out of doubt and antagonism, because they will know of what gifts they are severally worthy, to the end that they may live temperately and in love of learning; and may not be disputatious, but amiable, watchful and lively in all things. So that they may be able to rebuke the petulant and bring the backsliders into the order of the faith; for this is the duty of the doctor and of the spiritual shepherd.

#### COLOPHON OF THE COPYIST.

This code of ordinances was written by command of St. Sahak, the great patriarch of Armenia, as he received it from the brave champion, the lord Gregory, being translated only from Greek into Armenian. If therefore anyone be minded from disobedience to his rule to innovate on the prescriptions herein laid down, may he forfeit his portion and lot in the inheritance of the kingdom of Christ our God. But whoever conforms to them and carries them out, may he receive strength from the Lord and share in the gifts and endless repose of the blessed Gregory and of our father Sahak and of the truly orthodox ones who followed them; who in the great and famous day will be crowned on the all-sufficing right hand, eternalized forever in a sheen of light unutterable, forever and ever, Amen.

CHAPTER V.—*Of the same, how it is proper for bishops to keep the treasures of the church, and to whom and how they shall be distributed.*

- i. A haven for all is that temple of prayer and centre of our supplications to which we are wont to apply, though but metaphorically, the name of church; having therein as captain and pilot the supervising bishop. To the end that with prescience and efficiency he may with will unmoved execute the duties of his order. For this reason believers in Christ universally regard as their refuge and shelter the holy church; because it is the haven of the just and the centre of our hopes of salvation. And each of us is solicitous with hearty goodwill to bring thither his vows and offerings and presents.
- ii. Princes [bestow] hamlets and estates and treasures of gold and silver; others of their fields and flocks and precious raiment. Some making a return for their own salvation; others for their loved ones and parents and their deceased, preparing ornament and glorious seeming for soul and body. For in unfailing plenty the Dominical word provides for those who are its servants and keep its commandments, saying: "Treasure up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where the worm and the moth corrupt not, and robbers undermine not or steal,"<sup>43</sup> and again: "Empty-handed shalt thou never appear

<sup>43</sup> Matt. 6: 20.

before me." Henceforth, it says, your gifts are not on their own earth, but lie in a treasure-house that fails not nor slips, in the ends of the heights of heaven.

- iii. Dost thou see that riches belong to God? For he regards as his own our gifts and not as belonging to any man. But the sole guardian and overseer and steward is the bishop. Of much wariness and caution does the bishop stand in need. For if one is so careful of men's deposits and debts, and if one takes so much trouble about them; and if, longing for the time when they will be discharged and it become opportune to expend some little sum, men execute deeds and appoint witnesses and an oath, that they may not appear to be rogues and thieves in their dealings,—how much more will God [do so], who searches out our very thoughts and from whom nothing is hidden, but before whose eyes everything lies naked and exposed? What excuses and reasons will the bishop be able to devise, when he has failed to carefully keep the royal deposit, and has lavished it on the wrong persons; when, for example, he has decked himself out in superfine raiment and struts about, given up to pomp and luxury, pouring out and squandering on his kinsmen; and when he has fattened jesters like the princes and multiplied unseemly friends, and given away liberally to rich men and lords. This indeed is to dissipate wickedly the royal treasures, and make himself worthy of punishment.
- iv. Thou wast made worthy of the rank of apostles; thou art also under the obligation to imitate their life, as the book of the Acts of the Apostles bears witness: "They distributed to all, as each was in need of aught."<sup>44</sup> For the divine treasure of which thou hast been appointed overseer and steward was given as a succour for the distressed and the orphans and widows, and as a provision against any worldly misfortune which may overtake us. But on no other object whatever hast thou authority to spend it, for the treasures were given in order to the salvation of souls.
- v. If therefore a bishop gives away to the unworthy, he shall in the day of judgment answer for it along with the sacrilegious, and his rank shall be taken from him. For if the agents of temporal kings, when they spend the king's treasure on the unrighteous, suffer punishment and are degraded from their rank, how much more shall those who dissipate God's treasure on the abandoned undergo punishment here and in the world to come! And anyone who shows favour unto such an one and forgives him, shall be held to share in his evil deeds.
- vi. But do thou, O wise believer, who to gain release from thy sins and in fulfilment of vows givest thy gifts, to the end that thou mayest cast off the burden of thy sins and likewise understand<sup>45</sup> that of many others; wherefore art thou in a hurry to take on thyself afresh the tiresome burdens. Therefore the prophet spoke as follows: "As it were, a heavy burden has been laid heavily on me."<sup>46</sup> And blessed art thou if thou didst incur (literally: take) only thine own burden, and not that of others also. For in proportion as thou art more

<sup>44</sup> Acts 2: 45.

<sup>46</sup> Psalm 37: 4.

<sup>45</sup> The expression is obscure. Perhaps it refers to the priest's knowledge of other men's sins which he remits.

frequent in taking than in giving, dost thou augment the burden of thy sins, since thou dost so accumulate those of others that are laid on thee.<sup>47</sup>

- vii. In the law also is the command not to pass by in neglect thy neighbour's ass that is fallen under its burden ; but, says the Lord, raising thou shalt raise it up. Yet dost thou roll thyself down the precipice from which there is no way of getting up. For, if thou shouldst see another precipitated, or fallen and broken, perhaps thou wouldst have pity. Yet thyself dost thou neglect. Thou dost rob and peculate the wages of the orphan, of the widow, of the poor ; dost plunder the tables, and yet pretendest to shrink with horror back from the altars of idols.
- viii. Be open then with thyself. So long as thou dost give the gifts to the house of God, does not that imply a faith on thy part that thou art casting away along with them the burden of sin, and a hope that thou mayest become worthy of eternal life? Consequently also, if thou takest them, the contrary results ; and thine act heaps on to thee afresh the burden of another's sins, and turns out to be for thee an occasion of eternal torment. What avails thee such profit as amercies and destroys thy soul, and fails to bring thee any ransom for thyself? Listen to the divine Scripture and learn frankly unto whom it is permitted to enjoy these goods. "The servants of the table, it says, partake of food from the table." And what is the food? "The sins of my people, it says, they shall eat." Therefore it warns us to make ready, saying: "Arise, before ye be fallen asleep, ye that eat the bread of sorrow."
- ix. Dost thou mark the import of the food? For elsewhere also it still more plainly warns thee to be afraid, giving this command: "Be ye obedient unto them, since they keep watch and vigil in behalf of your souls, as having to render an account for you." Why then dost thou draw such a burden on to thyself as well as woes inevitable, giving up, it may be, half the night to drunkenness? I omit to speak of other things, of how caught and fallen [in their excesses] they wheeze and labour in their breath and groan; while their turbid stomachs bubble and give vent to noisy exhalations, such that you can hardly hear the voice of the minister, much less be sober and intent upon vigils.
- x. As then thou art [not] wanting in devotion to hard work, so thou must abstain from seizing perquisites and be content with thine own. Behold thou hast neglected all these things and art intent on causing orphans and widows and poor to grieve after thee. For the treasure of God exists for the purpose of ministering to them, as we said above, that they may participate in it. "The Lord welcometh the orphans and widows." And "His eyes look upon the poor, and they shall cry unto me, and I will hear them."
- xi. Why then dost thou turn them also into accusers of thyself and feel no shame? If thou hadst [set] before thee gifts of broken bread,

<sup>47</sup> The inspiring idea of this and the following sections is alien to the modern mind. It is this. The person who makes an offering or gift for the poor of the church in atonement of his sins puts his sin, as it were, into that which he gives, and so casts it away therewith. But if the bishop, through whom the gift shall be laid before God, embezzles it, he himself contracts the sin and guilt which the other got rid of.

thou wouldst despise them; perhaps even deem it an insult to thyself to take them. And [yet] thou destroyest their property without any compunction; and dost not reflect that to do so is the same [as if you refused] to a beggar, when he pours out his sad story to you of affliction and oppression and troubles, till his tongue cleaves to the roof of his mouth from his sufferings; baring to you the while his wounded and palsied wasted body, and shivering and shaking with cold in his rags, in hope of getting ever so little clothing to cover his nakedness. But thou with fair and treacherous words dost snatch what belongs to others and then try to bury your crime in oblivion. For thou art in a hurry to make a widow of thy wife,<sup>48</sup> and orphans of her children, left to wander about as beggars. For they carry their lament to the doors of their inferiors. Remember then the word of the Lord Jesus, that "it is more blessed to give than to receive."

- xii. Wherefore I pray and offer my testimony before God and Jesus Christ, who will judge the quick and the dead when he appears and receives his kingdom, lest anyone be found wanting in these particulars, whom we have instructed, teaching him what is for the good of soul and body. And what greater boon could there be than this, or what spectacle more gladdening, than when the bishop according to God's good pleasure takes care of the church, and the ranks of the worshippers, elated with praise, sing in modulated strain the psalm; while the others assembled together give glory to the almighty Lord! And the orphans and widows are protected, the poor cared for, the needy sheltered. Such order as this is enough to open the doors of pity. The heavens drop plentiful dews, and the earth yields corn, wine and oil in abundance, the green pastures are covered with flocks; and to crown all, princes and kings live after their hearts' desire in everlasting peace, by the grace and loving kindness of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, with whom to the Father as well as to the Holy Ghost be the power and the glory now and always, for ever and ever, Amen.

CHAPTER VI.—*Of the same. A book of Tradition, concerning the order of the ministrants of Holy Church, and about the produce (fruits) of the laity presented unto the house of God.*

Our holy Illuminator, the great Gregory, having regenerated the land of Armenia by the birth of the font, and having presented for adoption by the heavenly Father those illumined by the baptism in Father and Son and Holy Ghost, then our land of Great Armenia, of the house of Thorgom, was thereby filled with joy and gladness. The king Tirdat in especial was radiant with faith and bestowed not a few presents on the ministrants that were his neighbors.<sup>49</sup> And on the sons of pagan priests he bestowed many gifts, saying to them: "Henceforth ye shall receive riches a hundred-fold and possessions, and first-fruits and produce in the holy church of

<sup>48</sup> The case contemplated seems to be that of a bishop who, while living in luxury himself off the offerings made to the church, is so selfish as to neglect even his own wife and children.

<sup>49</sup> Or kinsmen.

God; and in the time to come life eternal shall ye inherit, freed from the service of phrensied and idolatrous cults."

- ii. But they in answer spoke to the king and to Saint Gregory thus:—  
 God who is kind and good to men has not neglected the beings created by his pure hands; but in his compassion has made known to us through your grace the infinite power of his beneficence, and the incomparable mercy of his providence, and has not left us to perish with our fathers in our wickedness. Be his name holy and glorified in all things. Nevertheless bodily needs, so long as we are in this life, compel us according to our wants to make provision of food and raiment, and to satisfy modestly our other necessities. Yet we have no art or craft which may enable us to earn food and maintenance for ourselves and our children. For so long as we served devils, we were fed from their victims and fruits. But now we discern not clearly the fruits of offering by which we shall live along with our families, and be able to glorify the everliving immortal God.
- iii. Then the blessed Gregory said to them:—  
 Ye, my children, whom I have regenerated by the love of Christ, shall take care to serve the living and true God alone, and place your hope in him with a whole heart and raise your thoughts to where Christ sits on the right hand of the Father. There are the mansions and dwelling-places, there the life, which ye shall ask for of the Lord; and all this shall be added unto you according to the Scripture of our Lord God in his holy gospel. So then the fruits of offering of holiness rendered up unto the temple of God shall be for you blessings among the people instead of those filthy victims, in which ye were partakers with devils. Now shall ye offer the firstlings of the holy sacrifices and other fruits, and through the grace of Christ be found partakers with the holy angels; and there shall be for you fruits and firstlings appointed after the manner of the tradition which the great prophet Moses received from the Creator and handed down to the congregation concerning the offerings and fruits which were forever tendered by law inevitable to the levitical priesthood, so that the said priests might not be impeded in their religious attendance on the tent of witness.
- iv. In the same manner shall be appointed and defined for the new congregation the bringing of gifts for the holy of holies, that is for the table of purification; to the end that the entire produce of the threshing-floor and wine-press and of other crops may be blest, and that the fields and vineyards with the fruitful trees may yield abundant harvests to the profitable servants, according to the word of the wise one, which saith: "In the honouring of the Lord by righteous works, thy garners shall be filled with fulness of grain, and thy vats shall overflow to excess with wine."  
 And as the Levites gave tenths to the priests, although they themselves received tenths from all Israel, but at the same time gave tenths to the priests of all things, and as it was commanded to pay to the sanctuary of the Lord the ransom of every first-born, on the same plan must ye also proceed in all the congregation. And your portions shall be of the offerings, the hide and right back (literally: spine), the limb and fat, and the tail and heart and lobe of lungs, and the tripe with the lard, of the ribs and shank-bones a part, the

tongue and the right ear, the lips with nostrils and the right eye and all the secret parts.

- v. But of the threshing-floor and wine-vat and of the other crops each one shall pay you tenths, in order to the hallowing of everyone's profits and the increase of all. But by you also shall be made presents to the table of God, whence ye are become worthy before the rest to receive the spotless and incorruptible body and blood of our Saviour in commemoration of your salvation, as was formerly commanded through Moses by the Lord unto the priesthood of the Levites. And your contribution to the table of the Lord shall be one penny (literally: drachma) from each of your households; and the things dedicated by you and the firstlings of the offerings of redemption (or salvation), shall go to the *wang* of the head-priests, that is to say of the bishops. Just as on the congregations there are levied for you spiritual dues, so also must you pay your spiritual dues to the bishops, who are called overseers. And the latter shall not dare to peculate, but shall contribute all to the poor.
- vi. These then were the appointments of St. Gregory; and the tradition of that saint shall likewise be firmly imposed by us upon all the faithful. Laymen shall hand over all their fruits and firstlings to the elders without any hesitation, in order that their offerings may be acceptable before God.
- vii. Likewise also the priests shall pay all foreappointed dues to the bishops punctually and without lapsing into supineness; the more so as the givers of their benefices have means to seize on the deposit;<sup>50</sup> in order that they may not be condemned along with the illegal priests for their avarice. And to prevent certain ignorant persons from being, in pursuit of a bad custom, held worthy to receive an income out of dues, let those only, who have given themselves up to the study and had vouchsafed to them the grace of priesthood, be held worthy to receive dues; and let not scribes, who can read and write, and have been piously brought up in reverence, be deprived of their portion.
- viii. But bigamists who are altogether too addicted to the pleasures of the flesh cannot be allowed to share in the gifts of holiness. The wives of elders however who have remained widows and have vowed themselves to a life of chastity, shall be held worthy of their portion according to their merit in the dues of the table<sup>51</sup> and of certain consecrated [gifts]. And all to whom is apportioned of the dues and income of the holy table, have, none of them, authority in any way to appropriate to themselves the due of the Lord, which shall have been consecrated by themselves; but they shall discharge their debts to their principals out of love, and shall receive from them blessings. In order that the orders of the church may be preserved firm and immoveable, and that God may be glorified in all things, now and for ever and ever. AMEN.

FRED C. CONYBEARE.

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<sup>50</sup> Or render: "the more so as they are able to seize on the deposit of the beneficed ones," *i. e.*, of the clergy.

<sup>51</sup> *I. e.*, altar.

## RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

**STUDIES IN COMPARATIVE THEOLOGY.** Six Lectures delivered by  
REV. GEO. H. TREVER, PH.D., D.D., Milwaukee, before  
students of Lawrence University, Appleton, Wis. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings; New York: Eaton & Mains, 1897.  
Pp. vi + 482. \$1.20.

THESE lectures are full of bits of graphic and pictorial writing, admirably suited to a popular audience. Generally, too, they treat of other religions in a sympathetic way, and therefore, though the author makes no pretense of having studied them at first hand, he may interpret the religious life of the past to thousands of readers better than many an expert would. He has the art of putting things effectively, due probably to his pulpit and platform experience, but, just as we all have "the defects of our qualities," so his advantage is balanced by a corresponding disadvantage. Rhetorical flourishes, pardonable in lecturing, are out of place in a volume entitled *Studies in Comparative Theology*. Girding at people who "believe that the Divine Father would leave his children to grope like moles at random in the darkness, and then eternally damn them because they could see no more," he very properly adds that "To none of his creatures is God such a Moloch as to curse them because of a chronology or a geography with which they had nothing whatever to do;" but, if he is acquainted with people who entertain such a belief, it is uncourteous, to say the least, to inform them that such teaching "would be the most horrible Calvinism, an atrocious libel, indeed, upon their father God" (p. 373). In like manner, after giving a crude view of eclecticism, he adds: "This is about what some people mean when they prate about the religion of the future, the absolute religion, the elements of a universal religion, etc." Surely, we may speak of the absolute as distinguished from the relative, the elements or essence as compared with changing forms, the religion of the past or the future instead of the present, without "prating." It ought not to be necessary to remind writers of today that the old style of controversy, *de rigueur* during the Reformation period and subsequently, when it was believed that opponents should be well slated with vigorous expletives, if they could not be



got at with cord and rack, is quite out of date, and that they are expected to treat fellow-students with perfect courtesy. The old was not only bad style, but it implied an external and unhistorical way of looking at things.

Dr. Trever's volume is still more disfigured by his animus against a class of men whom he denominates "lynx-eyed critics," "the sage critics," or, generally, "the critics." Half or, in some circles, quarter of a century ago, critics were regarded as bad or, at any rate, dangerous people, and criticism was popularly opposed to orthodoxy. Critics were considered to be mere fault-finders, guided by no principle or rule save a concealed and inveterate opposition to "orthodox" Christianity; while use of the expression "higher criticism" indicated only superabundant conceit on their part, and, therefore, furnished occasion for gibes at their expense which any audience could understand. But "the business of criticism is to know the best that is known and thought in the world, and, by making this known, to create a current of true and fresh ideas." The acknowledged function of criticism is interpretation, and when one critic interprets a work of art, a writing, or a historic epoch inaccurately, it is the duty of other critics to show him—by reference to accepted canons—that he is in error and to put him on the right track. It is to be assumed, surely, that he has not erred wilfully, and, therefore, that he is more worthy of praise than the idle and stupid who accept every traditional view without question. Nowhere has the critical movement given us such valuable results as in history, and Delitzsch declared, therefore, that the spirit of historical investigation was the *charisma* of our age. Just because Christianity is emphatically a historical as well as an ideal religion, it welcomes the new science of history which has given us new methods. In applying these methods to the early period of the life of all nations, we may discover that legends or myths, once accepted literally, cover events, thoughts, and periods grander than the story; but in giving a new interpretation we do not destroy but fulfil. Thus Dorus and Æolus are no longer single men, but the nations of the Dorians and Æolians, and Shem and Ham stand for the populations of southwestern Asia and the north of Africa. Abraham is a representative man and his wanderings those of a large tribe; and we are thus able to understand how he was able to pursue the kings of the East with 318 warriors, born in his household, and by the aid of confederate tribes recover Lot. Jacob and Esau represent great international struggles between the Hebrew and Arabian tribes. Dr. Trever thinks

that this process is to resolve a great hero into "some ghost or other without any genuine historical reality in it. Thus," he says, "in the hands of the critics have fared Adam and Eve, Cain and Abel, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, Samson and Gautama, Homer, even Shakespeare has had his narrow escape." There is no need for alarm, even though some of the names recorded in legendary periods may be concrete summaries or eponyms of a movement. Alarm does justice neither to the constructive side of historical criticism nor to the fact that the religious value of the old story remains unimpaired.

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LAO-TZE'S "TAO-TEH-KING": Chinese-English, with Introduction, Transliteration, and Notes. By DR. PAUL CARUS. Chicago: Open Court Publ. Co., 1898. Pp. iv + 345. \$3.

THE make-up of this volume is peculiar. The contents are distributed as follows: Forty-eight pages of introduction, forty-one of Chinese text, forty-four of translation, 136 of "transliteration" (a word-for-word glossary), forty-seven of notes and comment, and twenty of index. We are led to ask what the purpose of the book is. Is it meant as an introduction to the study of the Chinese language? Then we cannot commend the choice for such a purpose of one of the most obscure pieces of Chinese literature extant. Is it a contribution to the study of comparative religion? Then it savors of pedantry to occupy over one-half the volume with matter that not one in a thousand students of comparative religion knows or cares anything about. Had the introduction, translation, notes, and index alone been furnished, thus permitting the issue of the essence of the book for one dollar, we should have had all that is really useful and a contribution for which we should have been profoundly thankful. As it is, he who is interested to learn through this issue about the philosophy of Lao Tze must purchase two dollars' worth of useless matter to get a dollar's worth of what he wants.

Lao Tze was a typical Chinaman, for whom the golden age lay in the past. He wrote but one book, about half as large as the second gospel, and it is this that is the basis of the work before us. To him it seemed that the ills of his time were due to a departure from the methods of that past. The ideal of a people, according to him, was to

know nothing and to want to know nothing. He would even have the historian, in recording events, return to the use of knotted cords in preference to using written characters. Accordingly, the panacea for the evils of his day was return to ancient habits and customs. Such a conception as progress was to him unthinkable. This was the basis of his philosophy.

The subject of Lao Tze's work is the Tao, and what Tao is let whoever knows declare. Certainly sinologists are not agreed. Dr. Carus translates it "reason," and equates it with the Greek and Christian Logos. This translation is certainly correct, so far as it goes, but it is not sufficiently inclusive. For example, the Japanese-Chinese term "Shinto" is nothing but "Shin-Tao," translating "Kami no Michi—the way of the gods." Thus the word Tao not only means "reason," it stands, also, as in the Japanese term just given, for the word "way" as used in Christian (Acts 19:9 ff.), Buddhist, and other religions. It may often be rendered "method."

With this modification Dr. Carus has made his translation, so far as the reviewer can judge by comparison (he is not a sinologist), a fair one. The introduction is interesting, though time is spent on trivial matters. Contact, in the sense of similarity of thought, with Christianity is noted. The really good points in this ancient and retroactive system are indicated. And in the notes many good and helpful remarks are made.

For the matter of the volume that is really useful we are very grateful. We are glad to have this translation and exposition of "the Old Philosopher's" work. Light from all sources is welcome. We only wish the Chinese text and glossary had been omitted. The volume is appropriately bound in Chinese yellow and blue, with the dragon on back and front. The type is good, the proofreading an improvement on that of some of the earlier publications of this company.<sup>1</sup>

GEO. W. GILMORE.

BANGOR THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

<sup>1</sup> [It may be well to add here the titles and dates of standard translations of the great Chinese mystic's classic. Besides a French translation by Stanislas Julien, in 1842, and two German ones by R. von Plänckner and V. von Strauss, in 1844, there have appeared three English translations, viz.: *Speculations on Metaphysics, Polity, and Morality of the Old Philosopher, Lao-Tse*, by CHALMERS, in 1868; *Taoist Texts, Ethical, Political, and Speculative*, by F. H. BALFOUR, in 1884; and *The Texts of Taoism*, by JAMES LEGGE, in 1891, being one of the "Sacred Books of the East." These three English translations are independent and masterly works, each by a man

SOME ASPECTS OF RELIGIOUS GROWTH. By EDWIN D. STARBUCK, Acting Professor of Education, Stanford University; late Fellow in Psychology, Clark University. Reprinted from *The American Journal of Psychology*, Vol. IX, No. 1, pp. 70-124.

THIS is one of a group of studies<sup>1</sup> on "The Psychology of Religion," the results of investigations made at Clark University and printed in its journals. The aim of the study is directly practical, "to see what insights into the spiritual life and what laws of growth will come from throwing together several religious biographies," and to draw conclusions that "may increase our wisdom in religious education, and in methods of religious work." The method—that of inductive science—is comparatively new in the study of the phenomena of spiritual life, and may be said to be yielding, already, valuable results in the direction of the aim just pointed out. The facts collected are arranged in sixteen tables, and the inductions of the writer are stated. These inductions are of great interest to parents and teachers and preachers, as well as to psychologists. Dr. Starbuck's special contribution to the "Psychology of Religion" is his recognition and study of four periods of religious growth, beginning with the time of "awakening" (ten to fifteen years), and culminating at maturity (about twenty-five), with specially detailed study of adolescence, and his conclusion as to the relation between cases of "conversion proper" and those of persons "whose growth has not been marked by any sudden break." The study accomplishes its ultimate purpose, modestly stated at the close, "to contribute its mite in furthering the interests of the spiritual life."

NATHANIEL BUTLER.

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who had made a lifelong study of Chinese on Chinese soil. They demand a strong *raison d'être* from any new translations, though the enigmatic language, the true and deep mysticism, and the rare ethical and spiritual quality of the "Taote king" will probably provoke many another western scholar to try his hand at the task. Those who need a provocative to thought would do well to peruse Lao Tsze's strange treatise. —THE EDITORS.]

<sup>1</sup> "A Study of Conversion" (STARBUCK), *Am. Jour. Psych.*, VIII, No. 2; "The New Life" (DANIELS), *ibid.*, VI, No. 1; "The Study of Adolescence" (BURNHAM), *Ped. Sem.*, I, No. 2; "The Moral and Religious Training of Children and Adolescents" (G. STANLEY HALL), *ibid.*; LANCASTER'S "Study of Adolescence," *ibid.*, July, 1897; DR. LEUBA'S study of "The Psychology of Religious Phenomena," *Am. Jour. Psych.*, VII, No. 3. See also article on "Religious Periods of Child-Growth," *Educational Review*, June, 1898.

SECHZIG UPANISHADS DES VEDA, aus dem Sanskrit übersetzt und mit Einleitungen und Anmerkungen versehen von DR. PAUL DEUSSEN. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1897. Pp. xxv + 920, 8vo. M. 22.

"Es ist die belohnendeste und erhebendeste Lektüre, die auf der Welt möglich ist; sie ist der Trost meines Lebens gewesen und wird der meines Sterbens sein." Schopenhauer's acquaintance with the Upanishads to which he pays tribute was made through the first European translation, and his words fittingly introduce the volume to which those who cannot serve a long apprenticeship in Sanskrit studies must now turn for an understanding of Hindu-speculations on the nature of the universe and the soul.

No western scholar is so well fitted as Professor Deussen for the work of translating the Upanishads. He is prominent among those historians of philosophy who within recent years have employed philological methods with such success in the interpretation of philosophical writings. The study of the Vedānta he has made peculiarly his own. His *System des Vedānta* is an admirable presentation of the teaching handed down by Çankāra, whose commentary on the Vedānta-Sūtras he has also rendered into German.\* At the Congress of Orientalists in 1893 he announced his plan of an *Allgemeine Geschichte der Philosophie mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Religionen*, in which the first of three volumes is devoted to India. One part has appeared and traces the beginnings of philosophic speculation in the Vedic hymns and Brāhmaṇas. For the second, which is to treat of the history of the Upanishads, outline the contents of the several works, and give a systematic account of their teaching, a volume of translations such as the present is indispensable.

About three hundred works of varying length, in prose or verse, or both, are known or reported under the title of Upanishads. The composition of some of them manifestly precedes the rise of Buddhism; others belong to comparatively recent times. The authors of a few of them can be determined, but for the most part we must be content with knowing perhaps the Vedic school in which the teachings were handed down, or the religious movement by which they were called forth. Professor Deussen presents translations of sixty of them, with introductions, analyses, and notes.

The order adopted is simple and suggestive. First come the

\* There is an excellent English translation of the same work by THIBAUT in the *Sacred Books of the East*, Vols. XXXIV, XXXVIII.

Āitareya and Kāuṣītaki Upanishads of the schools of the Rig-Veda, then the Chāndogya and Kena of the Sāma-Veda, the Tāittirīya, Mahānārāyaṇa, Kāṭhaka, Çvetāçvatara, and Māitrāyaṇa of the Black Yajur-Veda, and the Bṛhadāraṇyaka and Īça of the White Yajur-Veda. The Upanishads ascribed to the Atharva-Veda appear in five groups, according as they present essentially unchanged the early Vedānta teaching, or recognize Yoga as a means of attaining union with the Ātman, or exalt the life of the mendicant, or regard Çiva or the avatars of Viṣṇu as manifestations of the Ātman.

In the introductions to the Upanishads that form part of the traditional teaching of Vedic schools brief statements are given of the subjects treated in the related Brāhmaṇas and Āraṇyakas. The Upanishads themselves are more carefully analyzed. The introductions to the several sections are particularly helpful, giving now a well-chosen parallel of Greek or Semitic source, now an acute observation regarding the history of the text.

The translation preserves the variations of the original between prose and verse. That is a gain, and yet, in attempting to reproduce the original meters, a loss in precision is inevitable. Sometimes in prose passages, too, a rendering appears which does not quite satisfy, but it is evident that the translator has carefully considered the objections one might urge.

The book is heartily to be commended. It is not merely a new translation of the Upanishads, but the only translation with which anyone now need concern himself. It marks a distinct advance in our knowledge of the history and meaning of the documents, and is altogether the most important contribution yet made to their study.

A. W. STRATTON.

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EVOLUTIONAL ETHICS AND ANIMAL PSYCHOLOGY. By E. P. EVANS, author of *Animal Symbolism in Ecclesiastical Architecture*, *The Criminal Prosecution and Capital Punishment of Animals*, etc. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1898. Pp. 386. \$1.75.

THIS work consists, as its title implies, of two parts, which are to a considerable extent independent of each other. In the first part, "Evolutional Ethics," the ethics of tribal society, religious belief as a basis of moral obligation, ethical relations of man to beast, and metemp-

sychosis are discussed. In the second part, "Animal Psychology," the subjects are mind in man and brute, progress and perfectibility in the lower animals, ideation in animals and men, speech as a barrier between man and beast, and the æsthetic sense and religious sentiment in animals. Appended to the whole are a copious bibliography and an elaborate index.

The history of the evolution of ethics shows that the recognition of mutual rights and duties was confined at first to members of the same tribe. It was then extended to worshipers of the same gods, and gradually enlarged so as to include all races. Its most recent development has been in the direction of the recognition of animal rights. As to the latter Professor Evans says: "The only firm foundation of animal ethics is animal psychology. It is through the portal of spiritual kinship erected by modern evolutionary science that beasts and birds, 'our elder brothers,' as Herder calls them, enter into the temple of justice and enjoy the privilege of sanctuary against the wanton or unwitting cruelty hitherto authorized by the assumptions and usurpations of man."

The change in the attitude of men toward the subject of animal rights is incident to the change in their attitude toward the universe in general. Once it was believed that all creation centered about the earth, and each race held that the region inhabited by it was the center of the world. As a natural corollary to this, the whole animal creation was regarded as fit only for the service of man. Modern science, however, has shown that animal life in all its forms has much in common, and the recognition of kinship, in this case as in others, leads to the recognition of obligations.

Theologians have been especially prone to insist upon the total absence of any rights in animals which men were bound to respect. This opinion has been based upon differences between men and animals, which in themselves indicate nothing as to the ethical relations which ought to exist between them. Even the attempts made to protect animals by law do not, as a rule, recognize the right of the animal to protection, but are designed merely to avoid wounding men's sensibilities.

The book is replete with stories of animal intelligence, which, however, seem insufficient as a basis for generalization. There is a curious perversion of reasoning in the conclusion that, since the United States has asserted expatriation to be a "natural right," it is not at liberty to withhold citizenship from any who may apply for it. The author fails

to recognize that if expatriation be a natural right, it is a right only as against the state of origin, and can have no reference to any other state. It would seem also that no argument should have been based upon the testimony of Mr. Garner, after the author had shown its untrustworthy character.

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DIE LEBENDIGEN UND DIE TOTEN in Volksglaube, Religion und Sage. Von RUDOLF KLEINPAUL. Leipzig: G. J. Göschen'sche Verlagshandlung, 1898. Pp. vi + 293. M. 6.

It is now pretty generally admitted that some form of religious belief is universal. There is by no means so general agreement as to what the origin of religion was. It is very probable, however, that when an agreement has been reached, it will be found to be upon the basis of a multiple origin. The author of *Die Lebendigen und die Toten* says of his work: "The whole book presents itself as a piece of folk-psychology." Superstitions, beliefs in ghosts, vampires, doubles, and "white women" are religious beliefs. The book is, then, to speak more specifically, a study in the origin of religion; and since the author does not himself believe in a single origin, there is very little to which we can take exception.

The introduction is devoted mainly to a discussion of the soul and the primitive conceptions of the soul. So inconsistent with one another are the beliefs of many barbarous peoples that, unless we bear this in mind, we find difficulty in understanding parts of the book, since the author states many of these beliefs from the point of view of those who hold them.

The subject is discussed in five main divisions: "The Animals of Hell;" "Death Angels;" "The Struggle of the Living with the Dead;" "The Worship of the Dead;" "The Immortality which Man Hopes for and the Immortality which there Is."

As is well known, the dead among the Parsees are exposed in the towers of silence, to be eaten by the vultures. But before they die a dog is brought into the room, that they may look upon him when the breath leaves the body. Then, again, before the body is left alone to the vultures, a dog is made to look once more upon the face of the dead. Originally it was the dog which ate the dead, but only these relics of the former custom remain. In the cerberus of the Roman



mythology the same idea is involved. He permitted no one to pass out of the lower world, his duty having changed from the earlier one of eating the dead. The association of dogs, vultures, jackals, foxes, and ravens with the dead and the consequent superstitions which cling about them are due to the fact that these animals ate carrion and were always to be found where dead bodies lay exposed.

It is easy to see how "the terrors of the lower world are recruited from the forms of burial in the upper world." Just as from the custom of dogs eating the dead a cerberus appears in the lower world, so from the funeral pyre there is derived a fiery stream which prevents the return of the spirits to the world of life. Gradually the fiery stream is limited and is conceived of as surrounding only the place where condemned souls are confined, till finally the evil-doers are actually thrust into the flames, and the Christian doctrine of hell appears.

There is a widespread belief that a messenger appears to warn a man that his death is near. A lingering survival of this appears in our "messenger of death." These messengers are only the spirits of the dead who have gone on before, but now return to get the living and bring them, too, into the kingdom of the dead. Of the same nature are the "white women," spirits of ancestors remaining in the house with the living and warning them of danger and of approaching death.

Between the living and the dead there is a continual struggle going on. The dead are feared, and must be prevented from coming back to this world, or must be appeased. Out of this desire to appease the spirits which can do harm comes the worship of the dead, and especially of ancestors, since they are the spirits most likely to come back to disturb or annoy. "The worship of the dead is not the only religion, but it is of all the most natural and the most easily understood, the flower of piety and a deep necessity for every heart."

The immortality which man hopes for and the immortality which there really is are, in the author's mind, two very distinct ideas. Man hopes, if not for resurrection of the body, at least for the immortality of the soul. The comparisons of man's life and resurrection with the corn which falls into the ground and springs up to new life, and with the animals which reproduce their kind, are believed not to argue immortality, but only the continuance of the species to which the grain and the animals belong. So man gains a continuance of life through his children. To this feeling that a man's own life was in a sense continued in his children was due in part the strong desire of men to have children. But the author believes that the only immortality which one

should desire is that which comes from increasing the light which is in the world, from adding to men's wisdom.

Only the liar "has no share in the ideal immortality, which is nothing further than the sum of the light which has been gained since the beginning of creation. It is said the day of mankind will not last forever; and it is ridiculous that man, this creature of a day, should wish to have immortality when the days on earth of his whole race are numbered. Already the naturalist sees the time of the last man coming, the time when the earth in moon-like desolation will circle about the blood-red sun."

The book is pleasantly written and will prove interesting and suggestive as a study in folk-psychology and primitive religion, to whatever extent one may agree with the author's views on the soul and immortality.

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CATALOGUE OF THE MSS. IN THE MONASTERY OF THE "HOLY [ONE]" [that is to say, "of the Virgin Mary"] IN ANDROS. By S. P. LAMBROS. Athens; 1898. [*Κατάλογος τῶν ἐν τῇ κατὰ τὴν Ἀνδρῶν μονῇ τῆς Ἁγίας κωδίκων ὑπὸ Σπυρίδωνος Π. Λάμπρου. Ἀπόσπασμα ἐκ τῆς Ἐπετηρίδος τοῦ Παρινασσοῦ. Ἐν Ἀθήναις, ἐκ τοῦ τυπογραφείου τῆς Ἑστίας, Κ. Μαΐσπερ καὶ Ν. Καργαδούρη, 1898.*] Pp. 111, 8vo.

ABOUT fifty kilometers from the east coast of Attica, off the southern end of Eubœa, lies the island Andros, with the town of Gavrión on the west coast, north of the center. Professor Spyridion P. Lambros, of the University of Athens, who made the catalogue of the manuscripts in many of the monasteries on Mount Athos, spent the summer of 1897 in Andros and visited the monastery of the "Holy One," let us say the monastery Agia, at the beginning of September. He was accompanied by a physician named Alexander Paschali and by a candidate, now a doctor, named John Bogiatzides. The present catalogue is due to the labors of Professor Lambros, aided by his two companions.

The late bishop of Stauropolis, Constantine Pliziotis (ὁ Πληζιώτης), made a catalogue that was published in Antony Miliaraki's monograph on Andros and Keos. But this list of books was not accurate and not scientific enough to pass muster today. Lambros gives a list of the

numbers that he uses compared with those of Pliziotis and those of an old catalogue, see pp. 100-102. Eight volumes that Pliziotis noted are no longer in the library, and fourteen volumes that Lambros has noted escaped the eyes of Pliziotis. Aside from the books, Lambros mentions in the preface, p. 5, twelve communications from various patriarchs, beginning with the year 1597 and closing with the year 1800. Then, too, there are seventeen papers of one sort or another belonging rather to the business side of the life of the monastery. Finally we find, on pp. 103-11, four patriarchal documents of the seventeenth century pertaining to the Bulgarian capital, Sofia. Before we turn to the catalogue itself, it may be well to say that Professor Lambros would have done a kindness to his readers if he had made an index of the manuscripts in a short form at the end of the book, and then given a list of the centuries and a list of the classes of codices. The reviewer had to spend several hours making such lists before he could take up the closer examination of the book.

The list contains in all 104 volumes, if we count as volumes a package or two of fragments or separate documents. Excluding one of these numbers as not to be dated because of its fragmentary character, we have before us four volumes of the nineteenth century, twenty-three of the eighteenth, twenty-five of the seventeenth, twenty of the sixteenth, eight of the fifteenth, four of the fourteenth, ten of the thirteenth, six (if we count two pairs of leaves in two different volumes, eight) of the twelfth, and at last three of the eleventh.

To class the contents in a very general way, it may be said that six volumes are lives of saints, ten are more or less of a legal nature, twenty are liturgical in one sense or another, forty-eight are patristical in a broad sense of the word, nine are books for the Scripture lessons in church, and six offer parts of the Bible. One single volume, No. 61, contains the first five books of the *Iliad*; it is, however, only of the eighteenth century. There is a commentary in it, too.

The biblical manuscripts are three psalters and three copies of the four gospels. The psalters are of the thirteenth (No. 6), the fifteenth (No. 10), and the seventeenth (No. 93) centuries, respectively. Of the four gospels, No. 32 is of the year 1156, No. 53 of the year 1539, and No. 56 of the fourteenth century. No. 6, the psalter first mentioned, bears in a later hand the date 1292, which may be the real date of its origin. A late note tells of a severe and destructive snowstorm in 1659 on the 1st of March. The psalter of the seventeenth century, No. 93, was written in 1652 and the following four years, and is orna-

mented with a great many beautiful head-pieces and initials in colors and gold. No. 32, the gospels of the year 1156, contains the notes upon the number of "stichoi" in each gospel and has the tables of chapters. The scribe, Manuel Agiostephanites, wrote the manuscript at the order of John, the archbishop of Cyprus, and finished it in the month of July, 1156. In the year 1748 Parthenios, the prior of this monastery Agia, bound the manuscript. The volume is adorned with some large, but not very artistic, pictures. No. 53, the four gospels, was written in the year 1539, on the 20th of December, in the island Andros by Strategopoulos, whose family formerly came from Sparta of the Lacedæmons. This manuscript contains the prefaces to the gospels and the lists of the chapters, as well as various lists of the lessons for the church readings. No. 56 is a four gospels with very artistic pictures of the evangelists. It has the lists of the chapters.

The nine or ten or eleven books of gospel lessons, of which the name for each separately is an "evangelium" or a "gospel," according to the nomenclature of the Greek church, are the following: No. 30 contains on leaves 17 and 22 parts of Matthew, which I suppose are from a gospel, but they may be from a four gospels. No. 22 is of the thirteenth century, and contains both the gospel and the apostle lessons, but it is unfortunately mutilated. No. 74, or rather 74*b*, consists of two leaves in the binding of 74; they are of the twelfth century and have fine initials. No. 85 is worthy of remark on account of its binding. It is a gospel of the twelfth century, in two columns, with musical signs. The wooden backs, a centimeter thick, are covered with red velvet. On the four corners are little bronze plates with raised images of the evangelists. In the middle is the crucifixion in the same metal. The other cover has the evangelists on the corners, and then the Virgin in the middle, with the Christ child in her lap. This cover bears the inscription: "The archdeacon of the great eastern church, Arsenius the servant of God, offered this gospel in memory of himself and of his parents to the Holy Living Fountain in the island of Andros, in the year 1652." No. 86 is a gospel of the eleventh century, in two columns, with the musical signs. It is bound in purple velvet and seems to have been formerly at Athens, for it contains the following note: "On the second of July, in the year 1523, the eleventh indiction, the servant of God, the priest Athanasius, the agelarch and great oikonomos of the most holy metropolis of Athens, fell asleep in the Lord on Wednesday at seven o'clock in the

evening, and may his remembrance be everlasting and may God place his soul where the just repose." One page, written in the seventeenth century, gives a list of the vessels and robes in the monastery. No. 87 is a gospel of the thirteenth century, written in two columns. The beginning is lost. No. 90 is a gospel of the fourteenth century, in two columns. The end is gone. No. 92 is a gospel of the thirteenth century. A note in it, dated the 28th of January, 1632, says that Philotheos, a patriarchal exarch, gave this volume to the monastery of the "Holy and Living Fountain" in Andros, for the spiritual redemption of himself and of his parents, at the cost of five hundred aspres. This note would apparently be a proof that the full name of the monastery is "The Holy and Living Fountain," and that it has been shortened by the people into simply "The Holy;" but see below. It is to be regretted that Professor Lambros did not in his preface give an explanation of the name. The gospel No. 97 has two columns and many beautiful initials; unfortunately some have been cut out. In a note of the year 1239 the death of a monk is mentioned who belonged to the monastery of Christ, τοῦ Ἀντιφωνήτου τοῦ Γόθου. No. 103, a gospel of the thirteenth century, written in the month of April "by Michael Koulouki, with the help of George the Kalamonite, the protonotary of the holy metropolis of Rhodes," at the expense of Constantine Exotruchos, contains a note of its being bound in the year 1395, and the date of the present gorgeous binding is 1694. The binding is enriched with silver and filigree work and enamel. The front cover bears the crucifixion, besides the four evangelists, and the other cover presents the Creator and the Virgin and the emblems of the evangelists.

We observed that No. 92 called the monastery by a longer name. In No. 16 it is called simply the monastery of the "Living [One]." On the contrary, in No. 52 we have a still longer name: the monastery "of the most holy *Theotokos* of her who is also called the Holy and Living Fountain." Nos. 83 and 94 name it the monastery of the "Living Fountain." And No. 99 brings a long note by Theodosius, the protonotary of the great church, in which he, visiting the monastery on a journey, tells about its history as originally only a church that was turned into a monastery, and calls it the monastery of the "All Holy the Holy," and in another sentence "my All Holy which is called the Holy." It is not often the case that a monastery offers such a confusing variety of names. Of course, the explanation is that all these names meant for the initiated and for the surrounding popu-

lation simply the Virgin Mary, or, in Greek, the *θεοτόκος*, "she who gave birth to a god."

As to the combination of Polycarp and Barnabas in No. 64, compare the articles of Professor Zikos Rosis, of the theological faculty in the University of Athens, in the *Ἀνάπλασις*, October 1, 1894, pp. 2275-9, and Lambros's article "The Supposed Conclusion of the Epistle of Polycarp," in the *Academy*, London, 1896, No. 3599, p. 527. A note in No. 88 tells of a dire cloud and storm that came from Asia upon Mitylene in the year 1383, on the 6th of August, and killed all of the chief men of the city who lived on the acropolis (except one) and their servants. Following earthquakes destroyed the rest of the city and ruined the inhabitants. A later note in the same book says that on Friday, the 28th of July, in the year 1402, the Persian general, Tamerlis, defeated Pagiazitis (or is it the pasha?), the ruler of the Ishmaelites (of course, the Turks), in the East and the West, on the plain of Ancyra, and destroyed his power and took him prisoner.

These scattered notes out of this small number of manuscripts (and we have only referred to a few of those found here) show how much history lies hidden in the chance pages of eastern libraries. It is to be hoped that Professor Lambros or some other scholar will have time to search more accurately into all these volumes. Our thanks are due to Lambros for his unwearied work on the books that he lights upon in his vacations.

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ABHANDLUNGEN ALEXANDER VON OETTINGEN ZUM SIEBENZIGSTEN GEBURTSTAG GEWIDMET, von Freunden und Schülern. München: Beck, 1898. Pp. 262. M. 7.

LIMITS of space will allow only a brief indication of the contents of this series of essays. The first, by A. Berendts, is on the "Christologie des apokryphen 3. Korintherbriefes," two Latin texts of which have recently been discovered, while Dr. C. Schmidt has just found a Coptic papyrus, which shows it was also part of the "Acta Pauli" so well known in the early church. Berendts regards it as an "authentic representation of Paulinism in the second century," which shows (1) a Christology setting in clearer light that of Hermas and 2 Clement, and (2) a view of the plan of salvation, looking toward that of Irenæus. — The next essay, by G. N. Bonwetsch, is on "Die Schrift des Methodius

von Olympus 'Vom Aussatz'" (pp. 29-53). The treatise of Methodius on leprosy is one of the writings of that Father discovered by Bonwetsch in a Slavonic version, in which, after the allegorical method of exegesis, the teaching of Lev., chap. 13, is made refer to the Christian duty of penance.—The following article, by Adolf Harnack, will be noticed elsewhere in this JOURNAL by Professor Gregory.—The next essay is by F. Hörschelmann, and discusses the treatment of the "Katechismus im Religionsunterricht." He pleads for both Bible history and doctrine properly balanced in the instruction of the young, and shows how hard it is for the "new theology" to teach the Apostles' Creed and the Ten Commandments. He says the chief problem of "practical theology now is to smooth the way from the modern theology to church practical life." The orthodoxy of the Bible and Luther's Catechism is often very embarrassing (pp. 95-112).—The paper of F. Lezius (113-24) describes the book called *Libra*, written by the Priscillianist Dictinius of Astorga, who later (400) returned to the church and became a bishop. It is a defense of deception by the Priscillianists to protect themselves from persecution, and was probably called *Libra* because it contained a "just balance" of twelve questions, as a just life shows a balance of twelve virtues. This comparison came probably from the *Passio Thomæ*, then much read in Spain.—The article of Leo Meyer, on "Wunder," "a contribution to the history of the word," reaches no definite conclusions respecting either the Hebrew, Greek, or German terms involved.—Eugen Petersen discusses (130-43) "Die Reliefschranken auf dem römischen Forum," which were discovered in 1872, and present Trajan helping the poor. He suggests explanations of details which cannot be reproduced here.—Alfred Seeberg's "Bemerkungen zur Auslegung von Matt. XIX" (144-70) are a careful, thoughtful bit of exegesis on vss. 3, 10-12, 16, 17 (compared with Mark 10: 17-19), and 23-30, to which we call the attention of New Testament students.—The essay of Reinhold Seeberg on the "Busslehre des Duns Scotus" (171-95) is, next to Harnack's, perhaps the most original and instructive part of the series. He shows here, as he does in Vol. II of his *Dogmengeschichte*, just published, the great importance of the doctrine of "penitence," especially because the Reformation began with an attack upon it, and the central doctrines of Protestantism were offered as a substitute for it. Duns' doctrine of repentance is here for the first time fully set forth.—W. Volck, in his paper, "Zur Erklärung des mosaischen Segens, Deut. K. 33" (pp. 196-219), partly defends and partly retracts

the positions taken in an essay published 1873. He now thinks Deut. 33 contains sayings handed down in the tribes as from Moses, and put in their present form, with an introduction and conclusion, by some writer before the time of the kingdom.—F. Mühlau, "Zur Paulinischen Ethik (220-44), sets out from a criticism of Wernle's *Der Christ u. die Sünde bei Paulus* (1897), and Karl's *Beiträge z. Verständniss der soteriol. Erfahrungen u. Spekulationen des Ap. Paulus* (1896). These writers held that "the Christian does not sin," according to Paul; neither does the apostle teach any moral development of Christian life. He was blinded by missionary "enthusiasm" and eschatological "optimism." Paul was really a sort of "Methodist," and taught no sin in the believer. He was not a Protestant, and the reformers largely misinterpreted him to get their theology. The "new theology" does not know what to do with sin; and here it tries to show that Paul was blind in the same direction. Mühlau thoroughly proves the opposite.—The last essay, on "Melanchthons Loci praeicipui und Thesen über die Rechtfertigung aus dem Jahre 1531" (245-62), is by J. Haussleiter. He shows by means of an overlooked print of Melanchthon's "Loci," and a thesis on "Justification," of 1531, that a critical text, showing the historical growth of the "Disputations" and "Theses" of the reformer is still to be prepared.

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HISTORY, PROPHECY, AND THE MONUMENTS; OR, ISRAEL AND THE NATIONS. By JAMES FREDERICK McCURDY, PH.D., LL.D., Professor of Oriental Languages in University College, Toronto. Vol. II: *To the Fall of Nineveh*. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1896. Pp. xxi + 433. \$3.

A SECOND stately volume of this scholarly work by the professor of oriental languages at Toronto is already assured of a hearty welcome by reason of the excellence of its predecessor. The reader may be certain in advance that his expectations will suffer no disappointment, except that he will find himself sent on to a third volume which will be necessary to complete the task which the author has set before him. All students will unite in the hope that this final volume will be soon forthcoming.

This installment has all the excellencies and some of the defects of its predecessor. There is the same wide horizon, so unexpected and



so grateful, where the history of Israel is placed in its true perspective and thereby attains new reality and attractiveness. The same lack of constructive power appears. The book does not seem to be clearly articulated. The analysis is confused. There is want of proportion. The matter overpowers the organization. We confess also to weariness of the style. The combination of sonorous periods and diffuse repetitiousness seems to have grown upon the author. The continual reappearance of the pronoun "we" (fifteen times on pp. 34, 35) is out of place in historical narrative of this dignity, besides weakening the force of the statements. There are also occasional slips in the reference of pronouns. We also observe that twice at least Professor McCurdy has condescended to indulge in levity; once he has punned. The effect is peculiar. The reader, if he wishes, may experience it by consulting pp. 39 and 152. There is the same absence of maps and an index, the same paucity of references to authorities, which detract so much from the value of the book. And we record, also, with sincere gratitude, the same cordial sympathy with the subject, the same union of devout recognition of the high theme with reasonable, if not ample, freedom, born of modern scientific research, in dealing with traditional material. The solid framework which he has built up can, indeed, bear the weight of not a few faults, yet its very excellence makes us regret their presence.

The present volume divides into two distinct and practically independent parts. The author has halted, in his historical narrative of Israel's fortunes, at the fall of Samaria to interpose an extended exposition of Hebrew life in its elements and interior forces. More than half the volume (pp. 1-236) is thus occupied. The narrative is then resumed and carried down to the fall of Assyria (*ca.* 606 B. C.). Each of these portions deserves thorough and extensive treatment. Some general remarks only may be offered, as well as some criticisms of particular points:

1. The historical section occupying the second half of the volume deals with some of the most stirring episodes of the Old Testament. Isaiah and his times furnish a theme to stimulate as well as to test the powers of the historian. The material crowds in on every side. Hebrew and Assyrian documents abound. The prophetic discourses illuminate, and are in turn illuminated by, the historical narratives. The author shows ready control of all these sources. He is an excellent Assyriologist as well as Hebrew scholar, and offers original and spirited translations of the important documents. His conclusions on parti-

cular points are independent and well considered, and, therefore, repay study. It is interesting to observe that he rejects the hypothesis of an invasion and devastation of Judah by Sargon in 711 B. C. He offers a new date for the accession of Hezekiah, 719 B. C., but we fear that he will convince no one. It rests on a series of uncertainties, since no one can tell exactly the date of Marduk-bal-iddin's embassy to the king of Judah, or of Hezekiah's sickness; and, even if this were possible, no dependence can be placed on the "at that time" of 2 Kings 20:12. Most scholars will prefer to fall back on the definite statement of 2 Kings 18:13 and hold to 715 B. C. The author's dating of Isaiah's discourses is in some cases peculiar. Chap. 28 is assigned as a whole to the period before 722 B. C., in spite of the difficulties of vss. 7-29, by making vs. 15 refer apparently to the Assyrian alliance. Chaps. 18 and 19 are referred to Sargon's Ashdod campaign, 711 B. C. Chap. 10:28-32 is regarded as giving the actual course of the army of invasion. Chap. 23 was in large part written by Isaiah in 685 B. C. in Esarhaddon's time.

The account of Sennacherib's invasion is quite original, but at the same time very unsatisfactory. The problem of harmonizing the narratives of 2 Kings, chap. 18, and the Assyrian inscription is solved by the hypothesis of the breaking up of Sennacherib's army into detachments, one of which marches down through Samaria to Jerusalem, while others attack the various Philistine cities. Apart from the unlikelihood of the Assyrian king's distributing his forces in this fashion, the author, in his endeavor to trace and present the course of events, involves himself and his readers in a maze of confusion and contradiction. Do the best we can, it is impossible to comprehend the various statements, apparently flatly contradictory, on pp. 289, 297, 301. It may not be possible to bring the various sources into entire conformity, but anything is better than the author's puzzling solution.

A predilection for the statements of the Chronicler was shown in Vol. I, and is observed here also. So far as anything appears, they are regarded as valuable historically as those of 2 Kings. So, of course, we find a thorough and ingenious reworking through of the problem of Manasseh's punishment by the Assyrians (2 Chron. 33:11-13). How Manasseh came to fall away from Jehovah is explained by "wild impulses of a misguided youth" given free reign after Isaiah passed away, though how Manasseh could have been "misguided" when Isaiah was in power is not clear, especially when the good character

of the youthful Josiah is traced by the author to the good influences by which he had been surrounded. Manasseh's fall is connected with his paying homage to Esarhaddon about 680 B. C., when he or his special envoy may have visited Nineveh and have received an overwhelming impression of the greatness of Nineveh's gods. His revolt is connected with the great defection of the brother of Ashurbanipal and is indirectly proved by the mention of revolts of Arabian tribes east of Palestine and two towns of Phœnicia, west of it, whose subjection is referred to as undertaken about the same time by the Assyrian king. That no reference is made to the reduction of rebellious Judah is explained by the remark that the Assyrian "records do not contain an account of all the numberless details of provincial wars." However, as these very records do contain the accounts of the subjection of two Phœnician cities, called by the author "insignificant towns," and connected by him with the "more powerful" neighbor, Judah, the apparently insuperable difficulty in the way of accepting the Chronicler's narrative reappears more formidably than ever.

A large part of this portion of the book is concerned purely with Assyrian history only indirectly, if at all, connected with Israel. The author shares the estimate of Sennacherib held almost universally by scholars, that he was "boastful, arrogant, cruel, and revengeful to a degree uncommon even in Assyrian kings," as well as being a failure in his political measures. Esarhaddon he praises highly, regarding him as having won his influence by "his personal visitation and residence among his subjects." But Ashurbanipal lived in "selfish isolation," and the author feels compelled to abate somewhat of the admiration with which he is regarded by modern writers. No doubt this judgment is justified.

2. To pass now to the first part of the volume, the discussion of the inner life of Israel, the author begins with a survey of the past history of the Hebrews from the preparation for them upon the stage of oriental history to the disappearance of the northern kingdom before Assyria. The work is, on the whole, admirably done. Especially good is the recognition of the *progress* in northern Israel, from the semi-anarchy of the first days to the settled and splendid reign of Jeroboam II. Opportunity is offered for abundant generalization. Ability to generalize fruitfully is a mark of the true historian. Professor McCurdy does not bear this test as successfully as one might desire. He falls sometimes into commonplaces like the following epigrammatic gem: "Few kings in any age have been great men, and still

fewer have been good." Of course it would be easy often to challenge such broad statements as that which assigns to the primitive Babylonian kingdoms the expression of "that imperial idea which of itself gives unity and consistency to the most enduring national history the world has ever known," or that which differentiates the issues of Israel's history from those of others as being "primarily moral and only secondarily political." Surely, if any historical issues are worth studying, it is primarily because of their moral bearings. But all will agree with the author in his conclusion of this rapid résumé of Israel's outward history by the remark that there is another side of the history to uncover, the more vital and inward; one must search "how the social and political structure of Israel arose; . . . how the intellectual and religious habits and productions of the people were the embodiment of sentiments proper to them and to them alone; how their distinctively Hebraic elements were differentiated from the antecedent Semitic inheritance of usage and belief;" although all may not be willing to subscribe to the further strong statement, "how Israel alone among the ancient peoples of the earth was admitted into the holy place of essential and everlasting truth in the supreme region of morals and religion." With this programme the author goes forward to his study of the inner life of Israel.

It would be impossible to follow Professor McCurdy through his long and complicated discussion. The sources for our knowledge of Hebrew social life are very meager, and usually indirect. The results are often tentative and indefinite. The author deserves all credit for his thorough and sympathetic treatment. He has made a path through the thicket and branched off here and there to show how rich are the fruits to be gathered. But he has not been able to render his discussion attractive or interesting, and it must be said that he would have been much more likely to secure a hearing for it if he had broken it up and inserted its parts in their historical order as determined by the external history. For what is given here is really a second Hebrew history extending from the beginnings to the fall of Samaria, only treated from the inside. How much more naturally, as it seems to us, would both external and internal elements have been presented if taken together by the epochs of their growth rather than thus artificially separated.

The treatment of the material follows, in general, the development of the history. An introductory chapter treats of "The Elements and Character of Hebrew Society." Nowhere else in literature can be found

a more thorough analysis of the elementary forms of social life, the family, the family group, the household, the clan, the tribe. No question is shirked, and if the solution of the problems is not always satisfactory, that may be owing as much to the insufficiency of the material available as to any other cause. Particular attention is drawn upon the household and the clan, "the two fundamental political units among the Hebrews." The household is studied at great length, but we do not find the promised discussion of the clan, unless it may be said to come in the next chapter, which treats the first period of nomadism, or the patriarchal age, and the sojourn in Egypt, which the author calls the semi-nomadic age. He speaks of the "Hebrew community" from the earliest period and argues back to its existence from the condition of the Hebrews in Egypt. As there they "were already in possession of all the elements of a stable society," they must have had one before they came, and substantially such a one as the narrative of the patriarchal age represent. Conversely, if the patriarchal history contains a basis of truth, the narrative of the Egyptian sojourn must be true. The exodus involves the essentials of the patriarchal history, and *vice versa*. This is dangerous reasoning and to us is quite inconclusive. Later it reacts with emphasis upon the author's conception of Moses, whose work, according to him, was not originally and primarily creative, but "mainly regenerative and disciplinary," "constructive largely because it was reconstructive." Such a conclusion must be reached by one who has built up a theory of a "Hebrew community" with a stable society, a "specialized and complex organization," a system of social and religious observances, reaching back into the remote past. The primary failure to grasp and solve the problem of the primitive social condition of "Israel" is due chiefly, in our judgment, to the author's separate treatment of the history and the social life referred to above. For our first question is, What was the "Hebrew community"? Was it one clan or twelve? What historical facts do we know about it? And when light is thrown on those questions, it is time to discuss social conditions. But, with the author's hypothesis, the work of Moses was, politically, to energize, organize, and unify the people; religiously, to make the ritual a matter of united observance. After all, he did more for subsequent ages than he did for his own, since his generation did not really need much to be done for it. That is, if we understand our author, his legal codes were intended for later epochs of the national life (p. 93).

Another chapter is devoted to the social evolution of the time of

the settlement in Canaan. This, too, is semi-nomadic. Moses had given the people a national organization; they work out their salvation in their new home. The essential step forward is connected with the life in cities, which breaks up families and clans and introduces new obligations, judicial and religious. Local interests destroy the old unity. Amalgamation with the Canaanites introduces dangers of religious and social degeneration. But all this breaking up is in order to the evolution of a higher form of organization. The author uses the word "city," in this connection, in altogether too broad a sense. Evidently he means local, as distinguished from nomadic, organization, and he would have avoided misunderstanding by using these more general terms. We are inclined also to think that he has not developed with sufficient clearness the fact that, while the old nomadic clan disappeared, a new local clan took its place. The tribal system was continued only in a new form adapted to the changed situation.

The third period of social history was that of the monarchy. It may be traced along two lines, the growth and regulation of the military power, and changes in the administration of civil affairs. In discussing the former the author distinguishes three periods: one of disorganization, as in the time of the Judges; one of a general militia, as in the time of Saul; one of a military class, beginning with David. He declares that the system of armed retainers of royalty was discouraged by the best Israelites. We believe that the evidence of this would be hard to find. The handling of this point seems quite inadequate. Nor is the treatment of the administrative development under the monarchy satisfactory. The author utterly fails to understand the work of Solomon, whose administration, apart from the building of the temple, he characterizes as that of a "personally ambitious and self-aggrandizing tyrant." Great emphasis is laid upon a point which is very doubtful, viz., that northern Israel was politically from the first very far behind Judah. David "placed Judah politically a century ahead of the rest of Israel"! And yet from the time of the disruption northern Israel stepped to the front politically and religiously.

Having followed Israel's development in these three periods, Professor McCurdy closes this part of his book with a chapter entitled "Society, Morals, and Religion," in which, apparently, he follows out again the evolution of these three factors in Israel's life. Here topics like classes of society and their relations, social decay and its causes, the "social problem," regenerative forces in Hebrew society, have their consideration. We confess to a little confusion, in which it

seems to us the author shares. He has to take up topics already treated, and cross-references abound. Still, this chapter must be regarded as the most valuable contribution which he has made. Many new subjects are introduced, many points are presented in a fresh light. Merely to have such matters as slavery, the "stranger," administration of justice, poverty, etc., taken up and handled is a great boon for which no student of the Old Testament can be too grateful to the author. They are subjects which are usually passed over unnoticed in most manuals. Among so much that is interesting and profitable, we select for special review the treatment of slavery. All ancient peoples were slaveholders. The Hebrews were no exception. As nomads they had few slaves, but with the development of agricultural life slave labor was a necessity. Yet in early times, when the freeman still worked on his own fields, they were not in great demand. Only later, when war and politics occupied the hands of the citizens, or industry and commerce called for more workers, did slavery assume greater proportions. Such, in general, appear to be the main lines of the development of slavery in Israel. The author, however, takes some strange positions. He suggests that war supplied a victorious nation with captives to be reduced to slavery, and that then the only use to be made of them was to put them to work, *i. e.*, find work for them to do—an early emergence of the labor problem, surely. He forgets that the most natural thing was to sell them. Historically, the process was not first slaves and then, by means of them, the development of agriculture and commerce, but exactly the opposite. So also the rise of great estates was followed by the increasing employment of slave labor everywhere in the ancient world. The author has somewhat confused, also, the relation of the slave and the "stranger" (*ger*). The absorption of the Canaanites was accomplished not so much by reducing them to slavery as through the system of *gerim*. His interpretation of the slave law of Deut. 23:15 f. is absurd, as a careful reading of the law reveals, and the surprise at the ordinary interpretation adopted is quite uncalled for. To permit slaves to flee from city to city in Israel unmolested would have produced anarchy. We question whether slavery, as practiced in Israel or in any other ancient people, "was on the whole a great blessing to the land and the people." At a certain stage of social development, undoubtedly. But, "on the whole," it was rather one of the elements of economic disaster in the ancient world. And that it "contributed to a development in Israel of the philanthropic temper, the spirit of compassion, the sense of a wide human brother-

hood," is still more doubtful. How can the writer assert, in view of Ex. 21:2, 7; Lev. 25:44, that "alone among the Semitic peoples, ancient or modern, Israel has left no recorded traces of a traffic in the bodies of men, except in its prohibition"? Much may be said in behalf of the amelioration of the lot of the slave among the Hebrews, but nothing is gained by exaggeration.

But we must close our observations on this thoughtful and instructive discussion. It is so suggestive and admirable that one wishes it were better. The author has not yet given us his critical analysis of the documents of the Old Testament, and without that we cannot judge of his results; he has often failed in careful distinction of historical periods, and hence has given often no clear idea of the development of institutions. He is possessed with the idea of the singularity, the uniqueness of Hebrew social life; and yet every page of his discussion reveals how in these respects the Hebrews were one with the Semitic peoples around them. Happily he could not overstate the moral grandeur of the Old Testament teachings in their highest ranges, and he has borne glowing testimony to their value for the life of today. In this all will gladly follow him and will rejoice to hail so puissant an advocate of the restoration of the Old Testament to its rightful place as an unequalled teacher of social and political morality.

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GESCHICHTE DES VOLKES ISRAEL, bis zur Restauration unter Esra und Nehemia. Von AUGUST KLOSTERMANN, DR. THEOL., ord. Professor an der Universität Kiel. München: Beck, 1896. Pp. xii+271. M. 4.50.

It is difficult to assign Professor Klostermann a position among the various schools of Old Testament study. In textual criticism his emendations are bold almost to rashness. He has vigorously attacked the modern critical schools, yet has his own theory of pentateuchal criticism. Individuality is always interesting, and, if not carried to eccentricity, may do valuable service in stirring up old questions and compelling established views or authoritative dogmas to justify themselves afresh at the bar of a vigorous and original criticism. So Professor Klostermann may be trusted to give in this history something new and worth considering.

The title suggests Professor Stade's work on the same subject, but



anything more opposed in method and result could hardly be imagined. The one employs all the resources furnished by auxiliary sciences, anthropology, Assyriology, geography, etc. But the professor at Kiel is writing a history of the Old Testament church on the basis of the documents which that church has produced, and, hence, does not regard it as his province to interpret or correct those contributions by light from without. Indeed, he goes so far as to hold that it is of little value to employ the material of the Old Testament not strictly historical, such as the prophecies or the Psalms, for the purposes of historical elucidation. One has, according to him, a great historical work or series of works in the biblical books Genesis to Nehemiah, and these must be the real source of our knowledge. Criticism on the part of the Old Testament church has already done its work in producing those books, and we are but far-distant and dimly discerning followers. There are, indeed, certain branches of critical work which still remain open to us to be exercised upon these documents, determining their proper text, etc., etc., but in going outside of them we are turning away from the light instead of assisting in the illumination.

Anyone can see that this general position immensely narrows the range of the writer's field and detracts, at least in one point of view, from the value of his contribution. It has its—one might almost say—ridiculous side, as in the case of chronology where the biblical contributions to Hebrew chronology are interpreted for themselves and a scheme drawn up without regard to the Assyrian synchronisms. On the other hand, the writer's attention to the specific material in hand is intensified and a constant endeavor is made to understand and interpret the words and underlying ideas of the Hebrew sources, especially as the outgrowth of the specifically Old Testament religious spirit.

The result—sufficiently curious—is that Professor Klostermann's best work is done on that part of the Old Testament history which is least historical. He has contributed practically nothing to the understanding of the times from David to the exile. But his discussion of the primitive period, the patriarchal age, and the times of Moses is original and stimulating. He begins with the earliest ages, since the Old Testament historical material began there, or, to put it in another way, the consciousness of the Old Testament church carried it back to the beginning. The creative week he regards as the result of reflection; the stories of Adam and the pre-deluvians as the working

over—or, to use his suggestive word, *rebirth*—of non-Israelite traditions. The purpose of the narratives was to set all this primitive past in the light of the religious knowledge of Israel. The stories of the patriarchs constitute a well-arranged sermon, presenting them as models of piety to Israel and as founders of its world-wide mission.

But, then, what is historical in this? Klostermann makes use of the argument, much favored nowadays, from the religious self-consciousness of Israel. Later Israel could not have had this consciousness of the religion of the patriarchs unless it had been founded on real tradition. The religion of the later generation was what it was because the patriarchs had the religion which was attributed to them. This is turning of the evolutionary argument against its supporters in a surprising fashion, but we fear that they will not regard it as convincing. It is one thing to maintain that a later stage of religious development requires a previous preparation, and quite another thing to prove that the previous stage is practically what later idealization of tradition makes it.

A very generous use is made of the physical side of the miraculous events of early Hebrew history. Electricity played a large part at Sinai. The drying up of the Jordan and the fall of Jericho's walls are connected with seismic disturbances at that time. The sun "seemed" to halt at the battle of Beth-horon. These positions illustrate the independent attitude which the writer takes. On the one hand, he maintains with vigor and unyielding consistency the view that the religious element and moral impulse in Israel were primary and fundamental. The religion preceded the national life. "Israel did not become a religious community only upon the destruction of its political organization, but the consciousness implanted in it by Moses of being the priestly body (*Gesinde*) of Jahwe is from the first the impelling agent in its forming itself into a firm political organization." The character of Jahwe in Israel was from the first moral. The physical element in his name, connected with the tempest, was early symbolized and spiritualized into the destruction of wrong and the restoration of purity and right. Hence, he is the God of hope, in whom the oppressed may trust. To the Mosaic community all this is summed up in the new interpretation of the name Jahwe, "I will be that I am," the one God of self-revelation. Human history becomes a development, guided by the true God.

GEORGE S. GOODSPEED.

ASPECTS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT, considered in Eight Lectures, delivered before the University of Oxford, by ROBERT LAWRENCE OTTLEY, M.A., successively Student of Christ Church and Fellow of Magdalen College, sometime Principal of the Pusey House. *The Bampton Lectures for 1897.* London, New York, and Bombay: Longmans, Green & Co., 1897. Pp. xix+448, 8vo. \$4.

AFTER the higher criticism has done its work upon the Old Testament, what is the religious value of those Scriptures? This inquiry is on the minds of many, occasioning often unrest and doubt. To confirm, under these circumstances, Christian faith is the purpose of these lectures. They seek to give the religious value of the Old Testament after its reconstruction by modern criticism. Their author is favorably known from a historical work upon the incarnation. His special field of study has been the New Testament, historical theology, and the literature of the church fathers, and hence he writes upon the Old Testament as a layman, and this renders his apologetic work the more valuable. He looks at the results of biblical criticism from the angle of Christian experience enlightened and enriched by special studies in the doctrine of the person of Christ and the history of Christian belief.

*Lecture I* presents the author's fundamental premises: (1) A belief in the incarnation which suggests the method of activity to be expected elsewhere in divine revelation, a method with no limit of condescension except that imposed by the law of perfect holiness. (2) A belief in inspiration, a gift of spiritual enlightenment, whose operation is seen (*a*) in the personality of Israel's teachers, (*b*) in Israel as a community whose spiritual aspirations are given in the Psalter, and (*c*) in the work of compiling, editing, and collecting the records of revelation. (3) An acceptance of the results of modern criticism. (4) A recognition of the authority of Christ, who saw in the Old Testament a revelation of God, but who came not to teach history or science, and consequently an appeal to his authority on such points is dangerous. (5) A recognition of the authority of Christian experience which appropriates whatever in the Old Testament can edify conscience, while it passes by all that falls short of Christ's teaching.

*Lecture II* gives five aspects under which the Old Testament is to be studied and which are the subjects of the following lectures. In this connection the early chapters of Genesis are discussed, and the position is maintained that these chapters, mythical and poetical in char-

acter, deal, not with the substance of redemptive history, but rather with the facts of human nature which lie behind it, justifying and rendering credible the revelation of divine love displayed in man's restoration, and finding their verification ultimately in the moral experience of mankind.

*Lecture III* treats of the "Historical Element in the Old Testament":

(1) Patriarchal period: The narratives are historical in the picture of patriarchal life, in the reality of a special manifestation of God to individuals, but they are an idealization, a method of historical writing inherent in the purpose of the Bible, and justified in the fact that the sacred writers are reading the story of human life from a divine point of view. Genesis contains those ideas of God and man, of righteousness and judgment, of responsibility and moral government, of failure and hope, which are presupposed through the rest of the Old Testament, and which prepare the way for the mission of Christ. (2) The Mosaic period: The exodus is historically the starting-point of a higher religion with a new conception of God, and the germ of the subsequently developed theocracy. "The significance of the Pentateuch for Christians lies in the fact that the fundamental conceptions which pervade each Testament are the same: the redemptive action of Almighty God; the separation from an evil world of a people brought by grace into a covenant relation with its divine king and consecrated to his service; the foundation of a kingdom of God upon earth; the setting up of his tabernacle with men, and the building of a city which bears the title, *The Lord is there.*" (3) The historical books: Their main importance is their "prophetic" character exhibiting Jehovah's redemptive grace, Israel's failures to keep the obligations of her election, and the divine method of deliverance.

*Lecture IV* has for its subject "The Progressive Self-Revelation of God." The Old Testament exhibits not merely an inevitable evolution of human thought, but a real progressive self-manifestation of God, seen in the sphere of worship, of ethical ideas, and in the Old Testament names of God.

*Lecture V*, on the "Ancient Covenant and its Worship," discusses the idea and history of the covenant, its requirement seen in the decalogue, its outward embodiment in the tabernacle and sacrifices, and their symbolical and typical significance revealed in the New Testament. It is held to be immaterial whether the traditional (Old Testament) view of the covenant relation is correct, or that this relation between Jehovah and Israel was first conceived in the prophetic period. A Chris-

tian apologist can afford to admit that the elaborate description of the tabernacle is a product of religious idealism resting upon a historical basis, but colored by reminiscences or traditions of the temple of Solomon.

The remaining three lectures have for their topics, "Prophecy and the Messianic Hope" (treated in the usual manner), "Personal Religion in the Old Testament" (the religious teachings of the Hagiographa: the idea of a future life, of a personal providence, and a sense of the fruitfulness of suffering), and the "Old Testament and Christianity." In this last the interesting fact is noticed that modern criticism, by destroying in many instances the historic worth of the Old Testament, leads to a recognition of the conclusion, obtained subjectively and so much abused by the church fathers, of the so-called "mystical" sense in Scripture, "the conveyance of spiritual truths under the appearance of history" (Origen). "Our duty is to examine what eternal truths are intimated therein" (Augustine).

The scope of these lectures is thus nothing much less than the entire field of Old Testament theology. With the positions of the writer as a whole we are in hearty sympathy, and we know of no better work to place in the hands of those that are fearful of the results of modern Old Testament criticism. While willing to admit in argument the conclusions of extreme criticism, the writer himself is inclined to moderate and mediating positions. To some these lectures will be open to the charge of vacillation and a failure to give a rigorous construction of Old Testament theology. But the view that Old Testament doctrine was rigorously developed in a straight line, which finds so much favor with certain scholars, may not be as near the truth as that which, with a constant onward progress, sees likewise an ebb and flow. In one point, however, we dissent from the author. In treating of the tabernacle he is inclined to see a permanent symbolic significance in the different parts of the structure, and he quotes with approval a writer who finds a hidden mystery in everything connected with the tabernacle—with, for example, each color and measurement. There is, also, to our mind, a failure to set forth clearly that the relation of God to Israel, given in the Old Testament, mirrors the relation of God to all mankind. But we cannot commend too highly the deep spirit of devotion, evangelical religion, and noble catholicity which mark these lectures as a whole. They are genuine, spiritual sermons. The writer also is no narrow churchman. In his concluding paragraph he well says: "If the church of God be anything, if human reason

and conscience be anything, if the Holy Ghost be a living power in the life of redeemed humanity, we must not overlook nor underestimate sources of divine knowledge other than Scripture which God has placed within our reach. The church and the Bible certainly coexist in the world as two great sources of authority, mutually corroborative of each other and, to some extent, mutually corrective of each other. Both of them have a share in leading to the knowledge of God in which consists eternal life, but the mistake is not uncommonly made of overlooking the true function of either one or the other. By the teaching of the New Testament we are encouraged to put ourselves under the guidance of the church, so far as it extends, looking to it for the form or outline of sound words which it supplies to us in the creed. To Scripture, on the other hand, the church bids us look as filling in and giving substance to the outline of faith which we have already received in the creed. But within and beyond the Bible and the church there is a guide of whom we in practice think too little. We ought to trust to that *unction from the Holy One* which rests on Christians, unveiling to us as we are able to hear it the inexhaustible significance of our holy faith, and illuminating for us the Scriptures which enshrine it."

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DIE GESCHICHTE DES PROPHETEN JONA. Nach einer karschunischen Handschrift der königl. Bibliothek zu Berlin. Ein Beitrag zur Jona-Exegese. Von DR. BENEDICT WOLF. Berlin: Poppelauer, 1897. Pp. 54+xiv. M. 2.

THE pamphlet of Dr. Wolf is of very modest dimensions, but by no means insignificant. The curious Carshuni setting of "Jonah," which is reproduced and discussed, is found in two codices in the Sachau collection of Syriac manuscripts in the Royal Library of Berlin. They were both written in Mosul, and are both modern, the one bearing the date 1699, the other 1824. Although they differ in several respects, they probably represent a common original. The former is the text of this edition, readings from the other finding place in footnotes. The date and authorship are quite unknown, but it is very cautiously suggested that the writer may possibly have been one Ananjesus, who lived in Mosul about 690 A. D., and composed a number of homilies.

The story, as retold in this Syro-Arabic text, runs briefly as follows :

Jonah's refusal to obey the divine command in the first instance was owing to his fear lest the Ninevites should repent, and he should therefore appear as a prophet of falsehood. When the storm arose, his fellow-voyagers threatened the life of the master of the vessel, and Jonah offered himself as a victim to save the latter. His offer was not accepted until he had been three times pointed out by lot. He is represented in this way as an extremely conscientious man—as, indeed, a saint of unusually sensitive temperament. The monster which swallowed him is not defined. The Syrian Christian thought it enough to describe it in a general way. Before taking leave of the prophet it exhorted him to do his duty. He obeyed and delivered his message. The people of the city were first moved, and then the king, who is named Sardanapel, that is, Sardanapalos, the Assurbanipal of the monuments. The repentance of the Ninevites was answered by a letter from heaven, and the divine forgiveness was ratified by the breaking out of the sunshine after a period of ominous gloom. Just about this time Jonah had withdrawn from the city to see what would happen. When nothing occurred, he reproached God with having made him a prophet of falsehood. Overcome by grief he fell asleep, and whilst he slept, a gourd sprang up and shielded him from the sun. Before long he slept again, and when he woke, the gourd had withered. In reply to his petulant complaint that God cared more for Nineveh than him, his servant, Jonah was assured that his mission was not really a failure, since it revealed the glorious truth that peace is granted to all who repent. Jonah learned the lesson, thanked God for his mercy, and left Nineveh, escorted by the benedictions of the people. Their reformation, however, lasted only during the pious Sardanapel's life. After his death Jonah was forgotten, the old sinful habits were resumed, and Nineveh fell. It is remarkable that the author, who may have been a resident in Mosul, and was thus familiar with local traditions, exhibits acquaintance with the fact that Sardanapalos was not the last king of Assyria.

Dr. Wolf seems inclined to recognize a nucleus of historic fact in the biblical story. It cannot, indeed, relate to the reign of Assurbanipal, who flourished almost a century after Jonah's day. Perhaps the popular mind confused this great ruler, who seems to have been religiously disposed, with Assurdan III, 773 to 756 B. C. A remarkable eclipse of the sun in the reign of the latter (on June 15, 763 B. C.) may possibly be the darkness alluded to, or rather implied in, our Carshuni version and its sources.

These sources are probably Jewish. Interesting parallels are adduced from Philo, Yalkut Shimeoni, the *Pirke* of Rabbi Eliezer, etc. The Christian author is thought to have obtained his Jewish material through Ephraem Syrus, whose treatment of the story of Jonah, in his commentary and in his metrical homily on the repentance of the Ninevites, is shown to run parallel in several points. But what is the meaning of the remark that he (Ephraem) gives the scholion of Bar Hebræus about the difference between the Massoretic text and the Septuagint as to the interval to elapse before the destruction of Nineveh?

Dr. Wolf has rendered a service to the history of exegesis in disinterring this Christian Midrash and making its contents available for general use. A full translation, however, would have been welcome.

There is a strange erratum on p. 48: *Hosianna* for *Hesione*.

W. TAYLOR SMITH.

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PHILOLOGY OF THE GOSPELS. By FRIEDRICH BLASS. London: Macmillan & Co.; New York: The Macmillan Co. Pp. viii + 250. \$1.75.

PROCEEDING from the thesis that Luke's gospel is distinctively a literary work, and discussing the preface to that gospel, Blass takes up, in two chapters, its date. At the close of that, at the end of the fourth chapter, he finds a clear and elegant transition to the subject of textual criticism, which fills the rest of the volume, in the words: "And here we may abandon this subject and pass to considerations of a different order." The writer denounces theologians and their work constantly, and we may suppose that this is a token of the philological training and method which Blass prefers: title, *Philology of the Gospels*; Part I, "Rambling Observations touching the Gospel of St. Luke;" Part II, "Rambling Observations touching the Textual Criticism of the New Testament and in Particular of the Gospels." That is what he seems to have had in mind, though he does not divide and name the parts. The reviewer thinks that this must be a new philological method, seeing that he cannot recall similar examples in the works of eminent philologists.

The unnamed second part opens in chap. 5 with a presentation of the importance and method of textual criticism in the New Testa-



ment; passes to the textual condition of the gospels of Matthew and Luke; treats in chaps. 7-10 of the text of Luke, or of Luke and Acts, and closes with chap. 11 on Mark and 12 on John. In the whole volume only the fifth, eleventh, and twelfth chapters are free from direct, formal reference to one or the other of Luke's two books. If Blass had only enjoyed the methodical instruction of one of the despised theologians, he would have learned that for the material which he presents some such title as "Observations upon the Gospel of St. Luke, with Occasional References to the Remaining Three Gospels," would have been more pertinent. He would also have been taught how to dispose his material logically.

It would be quite impossible, within the bounds of a review, to refer even to the many questions touched upon by Blass in these pages, and he himself insists upon it repeatedly that the reader must turn to his other books upon Luke. The amount of crude reasoning, wild conjecture, and fanciful writing in this volume is out of all proportion to the sober, sound work in it. Four sentences are worth posting, or, as would be said in Germany, worth hanging a little lower, as a token of the spirit congenial to this philological method. After referring to Harnack, one of the most modest of men in spite of his talent, Blass says: "Has that confessedly untrustworthy guide of laymen, scientific theology, after so many errors committed during fifty years, now of a sudden become a trustworthy one? Or have we good reason to mistrust it, as much, or even more, than we had before? In ordinary life no sane person would follow a guide who confessed to having grossly misled him during the whole former part of a journey. Evidently that guide was either utterly ignorant of the way, or he had some views and aims of his own, of which the traveler was unaware [*not aware*], and he cannot be assumed now to have acquired a full knowledge, or to have laid those views and aims wholly aside" (see pp. 35, 36). On p. 179 he writes: "The audacity and presumption of theologians — I speak chiefly of some German theologians — is nowhere exhibited more scandalously than here." It is true that such an arraignment of all scientific theology overreaches itself, and the author himself, in another slightly less offensive passage, on p. 83, shows that there is even for him no question of returning to the dogma of the "absolute infallibility of the inspired writers, not only in matters of faith, but also in matters of fact." Nevertheless, it is desirable that such remarks be placed clearly before the view of the reading public. If Blass denounces scientific theology, and if he believes, as Weiss, Harnack,

and the reviewer do, that in a very good sense *pectus facit theologum*, it would be in place for him, as a philologico-theological reformer, to display a spirit more worthy of Neander and of his motto. In so far as Blass, in this English book, casts more than once a slur upon German theologians in particular, he certainly has forgotten the familiar German proverb touching the character of the bird which defiles its own nest.

Let us look at one passage, which it seems possible to consider briefly, and that without positive need of turning to Blass' other books. It is the interesting passage about the adulterous woman, the passage interpolated at John 7:53—8:11, and Blass discusses it on pp. 155—64. Blass believes that he can distinguish two forms of Luke and of the Acts. Please observe now the sentence on pp. 162—3: "As long as the chain of external and internal evidence remains unbroken, by which it is proved that the section about the adulteress is both Lucan and absent from the oriental Luke, we have in it the firm proof for the existence of a different early Roman Luke, that is, for the existence of two authentic forms of Luke." The untutored mind of the layman whom Blass is now trying to rescue from the clutches of scientific theology will certainly suppose that there is a "chain of external and internal evidence" to remain unbroken, and that Blass has "firm proof" for his ingeniously supported theory. Should a glance at the state of the case fail to discover the evidence here, laymen, or even the pernicious scientific theologians, cannot be blamed for thinking that Blass is badly off for proofs. The reviewer may simplify the case by saying that he thinks that the story may very well be authentic and as old as, even though it does not belong in one of, our four gospels. First, what is the chain of external evidence from our thousands of manuscripts with the translations and the Fathers? A few late Greek minuscule manuscripts, all, apparently, leading to one older manuscript, and that older manuscript by no means to be put upon a level with the great uncials. No translation has the passage here, not even the Latin. No Father has the passage here. To speak plainly, the "chain of external" evidence is not even a single full link. It is not much more than a freak of evidence. And, to make the confusion complete, Blass, in the face of his feeble link, strikes off their first sentence and puts the passage two verses earlier! Really, with such vagaries, one must be thankful that Blass leaves a sound verse in the whole New Testament. Philological method, indeed! Such method would make Bentley, Ernesti, and Ritschl turn in their graves. But if the external

chain be so invisible, surely the chain of internal evidence must be very firmly welded. Where do we find the internal evidence? In two points: first, in the fact that the passage fits so "wonderfully" after Blass has put it two verses farther back than his lame external evidence permits, and I contend that that is worse than no internal evidence; it is internal evidence for a place in which the verses are not even to be found in that freak of testimony in those few minuscules. And, nevertheless, Blass is so much pleased with the result that he writes: "I venture to say that this connection is so perfect that it cannot be the result of chance, but must really go back to the author," and he actually adduces, as a literary parallel, Acts 15:41-16:4; 18:1-3, 4. No philologically, or I might, perhaps, say theologically, trained man would believe that a scholar could print such sentences. The second point is the fact that the style is pronounced to be Luke's. This Blass has proved, he says, in another book. I cannot think that his proof there is better than the proof we have just seen here. I suppose that he presses the words common also to Luke and explains the words not in Luke as individualities of Luke in this passage; Blass suggests similar proofs elsewhere in this book; and just as feeble proofs have, I regret to say, sometimes been used by that "scientific theology" which Blass so much deprecates. There is the whole proof. Then Blass gives, on pp. 159-63, three pages of "ifs" and of suppositions, not worth one straw for the consideration of the question, seeing that there is no proof for the whole position, and closes with that remarkable sentence as to "firm proof." Blass should go to Harnack and learn method.

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THE EXPOSITOR'S GREEK TESTAMENT. Edited by W. ROBERTSON NICOLL, M.A., LL.D. Complete in 5 vols. Vol. I: *The Gospels of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke*, by REV. PROFESSOR ALEXANDER BALMAIN BRUCE; and *The Gospel of John*, by REV. PROFESSOR MARCUS DODS, D.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton; New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. Pp. viii + 872. Cloth, \$7.50.

ALFORD'S Greek Testament has been for more than a generation the most widely used of all English commentaries on the Greek text. The volume containing the gospels appeared in 1849, the fourth and concluding volume in 1860. Its comprehensive scope, constructive

method, and the generally sound conception of biblical science that dominated it, set Dean Alford's work immeasurably in advance of Bloomfield and other English contemporaries, and it became at once a leading text-book and manual. By no means the least of its services to English students was that it introduced them to the best results of German criticism and exegesis. Its long-enduring usefulness, however, has been due less to its importation of foreign learning than to its positive merits of method and exegetical skill.

"*The Expositor's Greek Testament*," Dr. Nicoll announces in the general editor's preface, "is intended to do for the present generation the work accomplished by Dean Alford's in the past;" a worthy project, but, in this age of widened biblical research and popularized criticism, not easy of accomplishment. This first volume, containing the gospels, was assigned to Drs. Bruce and Dods; the editors of the forthcoming four volumes are not named. Alford's plan is closely adhered to, providing for a body of marginal references illustrating New Testament grammar and idiom, subjoined textual notes, the remainder of the page being devoted to the commentary proper; and not only is the material similarly upon the page, but the letter press occupies precisely the same space.

The present volume makes a welcome addition to our New Testament apparatus, increasing our indebtedness to the two distinguished scholars just named. Both of the introductions, that to the synoptic gospels by Dr. Bruce, and to John's gospel by Dr. Dods, show a master's hand. The nature of the synoptic problem is stated with unusual clearness; in the method of its solution Dr. Bruce adopts the hypothesis which now commands a majority vote, the hypothesis of two main written sources: "a book like our canonical Mark, if not identical with it, as the source of narratives common to the three gospels, and another book containing sayings of Jesus, as the source of the didactic matter common to Matthew and Luke." In enumerating the other leading theories, the first, "the hypothesis of *oral tradition*," is not quite accurately named, nor fairly described: "The statements made by the apostles from time to time, repeated and added to as occasion required, caught up by willing ears and treasured up in faithful memories: behold all that is necessary, according to the patrons of this hypothesis, to account for all the evāgelic phenomena of resemblance and difference." Gieseler's theory, with its fuller elucidation by Norton, Ebrard, Wetzell, and others, not to speak of its able "patrons" among English critics, is hardly to be bowed out of court in this fashion.

Particularly fresh and interesting is the section on "Historicity," and the evidence adduced of a real interest on the part of the primitive church in historic facts. Mark's gospel in its own way "testifies to the influence of the historic as distinct from the religious spirit in the early period of the Christian era," and Luke stands out prominently as a type of what was evidently a large class of early believers who were dominated by the fact-loving spirit. "Historicity," however, is not to be confounded with absolute accuracy, or with perfect agreement between parallel accounts in the gospels; "harmonistic is a thing of the past." It may need saying to the unwary reader that Dr. Bruce uses the term harmonistic *in malam partem* ("antiquated harmonistic" is his term in another passage), not the scientific method of ascertaining the real harmony of historical records. His acceptance of the too common interpretation of knowing Christ "after the flesh" in 2 Cor. 5:16, as being "the fact knowledge of Jesus," provokes inquiry as to whether paragraph 3 on p. 15 fairly states the historical situation.

Of the special introductions, that on Matthew is the least satisfactory. One looks for a fuller interpretation of its scope and purpose, and for such a conspectus or tabular analysis as would aid the student in apprehending its structure and the relation of its discourse chapters to the body of the narrative; compare, for example, Professor Burton, "Purpose and Plan of the Gospel of Matthew," in the *Biblical World*, February and March, 1898.

The Greek text placed at the head of the page is none other (barring frequent variations of spelling) than the *Textus receptus*. At first glance this is simply amazing, and the explanation afforded in the introduction (p. 52) does not relieve the case. This text, we are told, "may seem to be entirely out of date. But it is an important historical monument, and it is the Greek original answering to the English Testament still largely in use in public worship and in private reading. Moreover, while the experts in modern criticism have done much to provide a purer text, their judgments in many cases do not accord, and their results cannot be regarded as final." Are students to make the *Textus receptus* a working basis until that remote day when the judgments of experts come to be in final and precise accord? Surely this is not the method of science. "One of the student's earliest tasks is to familiarize himself with a critical text, such as that of Tischendorf, Westcott and Hort, or that which answers to the Revised Version. But neither editor has gone back to Burgon. As a matter of fact, the

commentary below the text either expressly or silently adopts the most of the readings in which the three critical texts just named agree, although exercising an independent judgment. Dr. Dods prefers *γενομένου* of the *Textus receptus* to *γινομένου* in John 13:2 as "giving the better sense," which we think needs more proof than is furnished. In Matt. 28:19, on the other hand, Dr. Bruce is very bold, and adopts *βαπτίσαντες*, believing *βαπτίζοντες* to be "probably a conformation to *διδάσκοντες* in next clause." The so-called "western non-interpolations" in Luke are each noted; a hint should somewhere be given of their peculiar history. In John 3:13 Dr. Dods notes that *ὁ ὢν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ* are words "added in the *Textus receptus*," but comments upon their meaning as if they were, after all, to be considered in some sense a part of the discourse. On the whole, it would be impossible, we think, to construct from the notes the precise Greek text adopted.

The commentary proper—the body of exegetical notes—abounds in suggestive matter. Critical questions touching the synoptic narrative and discourse receive much attention, and one comes constantly upon fresh points of view in passing from chapter to chapter. Indeed, in this part of the volume there is a *plus* of criticism and a *minus* of exegesis. The passage in Matt., chap. 11, beginning "Come unto me," is an example of Dr. Bruce's tendency to subordinate the exegetical to the critical interest. We are too often assured that a narrated fact is "credible," or that we may reasonably consider a certain "logion" of Jesus genuine.

Dr. Dods holds himself more closely to the exegete's proper task. The marginal notes on grammar and idiom are carefully done and suited to the student's need. And here the question is in place, why the marginal space is left almost entirely unused in the portions on Mark and Luke, discontinuing for a considerable part of the volume that useful feature of the Alford plan. Both of the commentators have too frequently neglected translation. The old-fashioned method is still the best, though it may not always make so readable a page, of giving first of all a close translation of the phrase or sentence to be interpreted. To take a single instance out of many, we should like to have Dr. Bruce's rendering of Luke 10:21, or Dr. Dods' of the words *ὅτι ἐγὼ ζῶ καὶ ὑμεῖς ζήσετε* in John 14:19.

We also miss carefully discriminated definition, in which respect the exegetical student needs help and stimulus more than in any other. On the difficult word *πληροφορέω* in Luke's preface there is an excellent note, but on the phrase *ὁμολογέω ἐν* in Matt. 10:32 and

Luke 12:8 the reader is abandoned to his own resources. In Matt. 3:15 *δικαιοσύνη*, and 16:18 *ἐκκλησία*, are terms in which painstaking definition is indispensable to the execution of the interpreter's task. As to the latter, Dr. Bruce would probably not object to Cremer's definition, "the Christian community in the midst of Israel," but the reader is left in uncertainty. In Matt. 8:20 ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου is thus explained: "a remarkable designation occurring here for the first time. It means much for the speaker, who has chosen it deliberately, in connection with private reflections, at whose nature we can only guess, by study of the many occasions on which the name is used. Here it seems to mean the man *simpliciter* (son of man = man in Hebrew or Syriac), *the unprivileged Man*," etc. At Matt. 3:7 the Pharisees and Sadducees have a single descriptive sentence: "The first mention of classes of whom the gospels have much to say, the former being the legal precisians, virtuosi in religion, the latter the men of affairs and of the world, largely belonging to the sacerdotal class (consult Wellhausen, *Die Pharisäer und die Sadducäer*)."

Our space will permit only a few further references by way of illustrating Dr. Bruce's style of comment. John's baptism of Jesus is viewed as "consecrating him to his Messianic calling;" as to the dove-like appearance, "whatever is to be said as to the objective element, the subjective at all events is real." John the Baptist fares hardly: "Their ideas of righteousness separated the two men [John and Jesus] by a wide gulf." The Sermon on the Mount should rather be entitled the Teaching on the Hill; that is to say, it probably represents "the teaching, not of a single hour or day, but of a period of retirement." Of Christ's idea of the kingdom as presented in the sermon: "Christ speaks of the kingdom here, not as a known quantity, but as a thing whose nature he is in the act of defining by the aphorisms he utters. If so, then it consists essentially in states of mind. It is within. It is ourselves, the true ideal human." The note on Matt. 5:16 contains this remark: "The double-sided doctrine of this logion of Jesus is that the divine is revealed by the heroic in human conduct, and that the moral hero is the true son of God." Τοῦ πονηροῦ in the Lord's Prayer is taken as masculine, but the rendering "from evil" is preferred. "It mars the reality of the Lord's Prayer on western lips to say, deliver us from the evil one." On Matt. 10:41: "The man who has goodness enough to reverence the ideal of goodness approximately or perfectly realized in another, though not in himself, shall, in the moral order of the world, be counted as a good man." Good taste would have suggested the

omission of the parenthetic sentence in the note on Mark 14 : 52 — an illustration that fails to illustrate either the text or Bengel's note. At Luke 9 : 1, *δύναμιν καὶ ἐξουσίαν*, "power and right; power implies right. The man that can cast out devils and heal disease is entitled to do so, nay bound. This principle found an important application in St. Paul's claim to be an apostle, which really rested on fitness, insight."

Notwithstanding its valuable matter, which all scholars will be quick to recognize, and its frequent felicitous comment, we cannot regard this volume as well adapted to fulfil the specific practical mission proposed by the general editor. Of exegetical method it is far from being a model. Besides the list of errata following the preface, many misprints still remain for correction in future editions. No rule seems to have been followed in its accentuation of oxytone words in the notes, when they stand alone or final. The title of Burton's *Syntax* is not correctly given on p. 59. In general the titles of books as given in the notes need revision; Schürer's *Geschichte* is cited in a variety of ways. On p. 180, in the note on vs. 29, the italicized *on* should be *of*; p. 220, col. 1, read *εἰδία* for *εὐδία*; p. 222, col. 1, before the words "in a limestone cave," erase comma; p. 719, col. 1, for *ἐκεῖ* read *ἐκεῖ*.

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DIE HEILSBEDEUTUNG DER TAUFGE IM NEUEN TESTAMENTE. Von LIC. THEOL. PAUL ALTHAUS, Pastor zu Brüggen in Hannover. Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1897. Pp. xii + 321. M. 4.50; bound, M. 5.40.

THIS book is the outcome of convictions regarding the saving significance of baptism, intense enough to find no extravagance in Luther's strongest expressions, even those in his post-anabaptistic teachings upon that rite. Its style of discussion is also a little uncomfortably suggestive of the *hoc est meum corpus*, the *hocus pocus* insistence of that controvertist at the Marburg conference. Its arrangement is repetitive and too much given, as the Puritan phrase is, "to condescend on particulars." But such features of composition, while vices in a writer, are virtues in a preacher, and enable us to infer with some probability the homiletic origin of these pages.

The following summary of the concluding statements of the treatise



will give an idea of its teaching. "Baptism is the sacrament of individual establishment in grace. As 'the bath of forgiveness' it introduces into fellowship with God. 'Here without price is brought to the door of every man a riches and a remedy which swallow up death and preserve men alive' (Luther). Baptism is so incomparably glorious and high that heaven and earth cannot comprehend it. In it is the fulness of God offered for man's appropriation. Through it is 'poured into man's lap the blessedness of divine adoption' (Luther), and through it the whole Christ, ever at work in his church, reveals himself. The benefits of salvation are in it as a sum. 'Therefore every Christian has in his baptism enough for lifelong learning and practicing' (Luther)."

It is to be expected that around a subject so strenuously treated will lie "thick as autumnal leaves in Vallombrosa" rejected interpretations and explanations. Indeed, one of the most interesting features of the book is just its *Gegen*-list. It includes some of "the chief of the mighty men" of Teutonic theology. Names British and American do not occur upon it; indeed, the author shows no knowledge of such writers. He has no tolerance for theories. They are either metaphysical, magical, or theosophic, and undertaken "zumeist im Interesse der Verteidigung der Kindertaufe"—principally to defend infant baptism. He is a "bonus textuarius." To him "the knowledge of the nature and value of New Testament baptism can be *alone* obtained from the New Testament." Therefore he tells us: "A dogmatic establishment of infant baptism *in specie* is not offered in these pages. It is outside our task and rather follows it. The New Testament deals with adult baptism in its varieties, not with infant baptism. It knows only the one baptism, the nature of which is always and everywhere the same."

The work consists of an "introductory," a "chief," and a "conclusionary" part. The introduction deals with the baptism of John. It was an intermediary between the Jewish lustrations and the Christian sacrament, merely symbolical, and permitted by Christ only till he became conscious of his "own special, incomparable vocation-work." Through it, however, "baptize" became a Christian *terminus technicus*. It was used as the equivalent of *λούεσθαι*, which in the Septuagint represented the Hebrew *וָיָחַ*. As the Hebrew and septuagintal terms meant "to wash," "baptize" also means "to wash."

The second and principal part deals with Christian baptism. This is Spirit-baptism. It is "in the word." There is, in fact, an "inniges Ineinander von Taufe, Wort und Geist." It is "into remission of

sins, for the Holy Spirit received in it mediates this blessing." It is further, and chiefly, Christ-baptism. In it, by means of the present Spirit, Christ baptizes with the Spirit, and thus gives himself to the baptized in a personal connection so real that it makes the facts of the life of the giver an experience to the recipient, and conveys to him salvation. This is the supreme conception of the rite presented by Paul. This union with Christ involves a union with his body, the church, and so baptism is the *sacramentum initiationis*. But this baptismal change is not *per se* "subjective" or "ethical." It is merely "objective" or "soteriological." It ought, however, to be followed by the "subjective" and "ethical."

The last part discusses faith as related to baptism. "Faith is its usual subjective condition, but, as pre-baptismal, it is not *fides salvifica*. To be *salvifica* faith must appropriate salvation, but this it can only do in baptism. Baptism, therefore, furnishes the "Wendepunkt"—the turning-point—at which the faith which desires salvation becomes the faith which grasps salvation: "the place where the *velle accipere* of the gracious soul becomes its *accepisse*."

This cursory review presents a book of no irenic cast. It will evoke aversion or admiration. But, whatever the emotion its study may excite, it will be admitted that its sincerity and thoroughness of treatment make it a respectable contribution to the literature of baptism.

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BOWLING GREEN, O.

THE SOCIAL TEACHING OF JESUS. An Essay in Christian Sociology. By SHAILER MATHEWS, A.M., Professor of New Testament History and Interpretation in the University of Chicago. New York: The Macmillan Co. Pp. 235. \$1.50.

THIS volume is noteworthy as the first serious effort to formulate a complete section of the social teachings of the Bible from the modern point of view. The reception which it has already received emphasizes the demand for a distinct department of research and scientific formulation dealing with the social data of the Scriptures, which ultimately is sure to create a biblical sociology. That the material for such a department of study is both abundant and clearly enough defined to warrant its differentiation will be evident to anyone who seeks to discover, classify, and synthesize the scriptural data concern-

ing, *e. g.*, the evidences of social design in creation or redemption, the bond of social unity, the goal and direction of social progress, the power available to promote progress and realize the social ideals, the media through which the power is to be applied to life, the nature and relation of specific social structures, and the ethical and spiritual relationships in which the social classification of men involves the individual and the church. It is fortunate for this new and increasingly important line of study that its initial publication not only comes from one so well qualified for his task, both by exegetical equipment and social insight and intelligence, but that it deals with the social teachings of Jesus, upon our understanding of which the interpretation of all the related biblical data depends. Had the author borne in mind the vital relation of the social teachings of Jesus to those in the Old Testament that led up to them, and those in the New Testament and subsequent Christian experience which are as closely identified with them as the conclusion of a proposition is with its logical premises, his discussion might have differed in at least these particulars. The sphere he allows to "Christian sociology" might not have been so exclusively restricted to "the social philosophy and teachings of the historical person Jesus, the Christ." His discrimination against applying the qualifying adjective to processes of sociological investigation and in allowance of its use to characterize the formulation and application of results is most warrantably and admirably drawn. But, if within the latter sphere sociological effort be made, either to formulate a science of a Christian society, or scientifically to develop a society worthy of the Christian social ideal, the scientific result of such effort would seem to have claim to be considered Christian sociology. If for no other reason than that it gave scientific recognition to the facts and forces of Christian history and experience, which have hitherto been almost as much ignored in scientific sociological literature as if they had never existed, such a view of social phenomena would, for the present at least, need something to designate its differentiation. Again, in developing the remarkably well-balanced statements of Jesus' teaching regarding the interrelationship between the essentially social nature of the individual man and the social order of the kingdom of the Father, the author might have been considerably less sweeping in his denial of the political and economic implications inevitably involved in that "divine brotherhood . . . capable of expressing itself in a universal society." For, in his very justifiable caution to safeguard the teach-

ings of Jesus from being identified with schemes of social amelioration, and rival systems of social philosophy, he almost suggests the denial of the legitimacy of relating these divine ends to any conceivable human means for their realization. While, for instance, it is literally true Jesus "neither forbids trusts nor advises them, is neither a champion nor an opponent of *laissez faire*, neither forbids trades unions, strikes, and lockouts, nor advises them, was neither socialist nor individualist," the denial should hardly be carried so far as to imply that his present-day disciples should be without conviction or attitude toward these things, which are the most crucial tests of the presence or absence in them of Christ's own spirit of brotherliness. In the very ingenious balance preserved between Jesus' use of sonship to God in the more restricted sense and his significant failure to deny "that relationship of God and men which we moderns denote as the paternity and sonship," more emphasis might have been justly placed upon the truth "that this conception of the love of God is the very core of the Christian teaching, of which Jesus was himself the living revelation," which, the author asserts, "the most casual reading of the New Testament shows."

In the appeal which the discussion as a whole makes to the reader's favorable judgment of the author's scholarly fairness, judicial reserve, firm statement of his own opinion on many disputed points, linked with great consideration for those who would differ from him, and of the Christian balance steadily maintained between the emphasis upon the individual and the social life, the volume demonstrates its capacity to awaken interest, start study, and lead to further development in the interpretation and application of the social teachings of Scripture.

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THE NEW TESTAMENT CHURCH. By REV. W. H. H. MARSH, Logansport, Ind. With Introduction by FRANKLIN JOHNSON, D.D., University of Chicago. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1897. Pp. xvi+544. \$2.

THIS is a discussion of the New Testament doctrine of the church. The writer thinks "the time has fully come when the whole question concerning the constituency and polity of the New Testament church must be thoroughly recanvassed, and especially by Baptists." And this book is an earnest and comprehensive effort in this direction, by a

Baptist, who "offers no apology either for defending the basal principles of his own denomination, or for whatever criticisms of its methods or tendencies this work may contain."

The value of the book, as a whole, is in its frequent and forceful insistence upon many of the fundamental points that are common to evangelical Christendom, and which by this author are given an emphasis sadly needed in the life of the church today. For example, "the teachings of Christ" with respect to discipleship and the New Testament church are most admirably and tersely put: "Christ conditioned everything on personal loyalty to himself. Fitness for his service was regeneration. Its paramount law, whatever he taught. Its end, his glory." The need of doctrinal and ethical instruction is also pressed by the author as absolutely indispensable to a church that would be loyal to Jesus Christ. "New Testament doctrine," says the author, "is for assimilation. It is not there for speculation, nor merely for creed-making purposes." "The doctrines of Scripture, as well as the Christ of Scripture, are inseparable from true faith and sanctified knowledge." With all this, and much more, in the book the consecrated judgment of the great body of Christian believers will most heartily agree. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that "existing indifference to doctrinal instruction is ominous for evangelical truth and saving faith."

The author admits that peculiar perils attend the administration of the polity of Baptist churches. But he says: "There is a safeguard. It lies in three things: give supreme place to the guidance of the Holy Spirit; magnify the authority of the church; have a definite conception of the work of the church." Nothing could be more admirable. Ordinarily, the practical points with which the author follows the discussion of a topic in any given chapter would be widely approved.

The book is open to serious criticism, in its lack of clear distinctions, exact definitions, and logical sequences. In this respect we deem it quite inadequate to its end.

Nowhere in the book is there a clear, precise *definition* of the word "church," as used in the New Testament. This is a fatal omission. At the outset of every such discussion it is vital that the author give himself to exactness in the use of words. He makes frequent use of the word *ἐκκλησία*, but gives it no precise meaning. How would he define "the church in the wilderness" of which Stephen speaks, Acts 7:38? According to the author, there was no church in the wilderness. How would he define the church for which Christ gave

himself? Did he not die for the Old Testament saints as well as the New? Are they not all one redeemed body, called out of every kindred and people and tribe and tongue, from Adam to the end of the age? And is not this ransomed host of all the ages the "one church," by which at last is to be made known "unto the principalities and powers in the heavenly places, the manifold wisdom of God"? These words cannot by any possibility be limited to a *partial* embodiment of God's great redemptive thought.

Clear distinction is also lacking in the three great types of church government given by the author. There is a complete begging of the question in the very terms employed. "Monarchy, oligarchy, and autonomy" would not be admitted by any but the merest fraction of Christendom as characterizing the distinctions in church government. "Prelacy, Presbyterianism, and autonomy" are not mutually exclusive. The Presbyterian church is as autonomous as the Baptist church. What is autonomy? The author says "its underlying principle is government by the people." But this is claimed to be one of the peculiar glories of Presbyterianism. Autonomy is self-government, whether democratic or representative. The distinctive feature of Presbyterian polity is government by elders, as *representatives of the people*. When the people choose their own rulers, it is a misuse of terms to characterize them as sacrificing their autonomy. Indeed, the author, in discussing "organized fellowship" and "the principle of representation" in autonomy, comes perilously near the authority of general assembly, though he lets it wear another name.

Some glaring non-sequiturs mar the book. Speaking of the necessity of ethical instruction, and quoting many ethical passages in illustration, he says (p. 268): "The graces and dispositions they inculcate are the fruits of the spirit . . . . Where these are cultivated, the Holy Spirit will be present to efficiently guide all the affairs of a church . . . . Such churches would have little use either for the authority of a bishop, or the legislation of a presbytery, or the decision of a synod." This *ergo* is remarkable.

Again, persons to whom the epistles "are addressed are always assumed to have been regenerated by the Holy Spirit" (p. 148). Certainly, this is one of the commonplaces of evangelical belief. And again: "Christ has made no provision for one unregenerated church membership" (p. 255). This, also, is a universally accepted truism. But *ergo*, what? No infant baptism. Another strange leap of logic.

A statement which the author makes concerning Presbyterianism

should be corrected. Referring to the council at Jerusalem, he says (p. 403): "The Presbyterian system is confessedly based upon it nearly altogether." Far from it. The Presbyterian system is based upon New Testament doctrine of the eldership, and of the unity of the church.

We can all heartily agree with the author that there are three things necessary to the united efficiency of our ministry and churches—an ideal New Testament ministry, an ideal New Testament church, and an ideal denominational mission. But who shall define these ideals? The very question at issue is the very question left unsettled by this book. Its hazy indefiniteness and its failure to connect at critical points are its radical defects.

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DIE LEHRE DER ZWÖLF APOSTEL. Text, Uebersetzung und eingehende Erklärung nebst Untersuchungen über die Entstehung, sowie die Bearbeitung der Didache in den späteren Schriften. Von PROFESSOR EMIL VON RENESSE. Giessen: J. Ricker'sche Buchhandlung, 1897. Pp. vi + 113. M. 5.

REVIEWING Hoole's edition of the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* in the *Biblical World*, November, 1895, pp. 391-2, it was said: "So often and so admirably has the Teaching been edited and annotated that there should scarcely be a warrant for another edition, unless it contained some new and valuable material, throwing light on some hitherto obscure passages of the text and enlarging our knowledge of the time and circumstances in which the original tract was written. Is this the case with the present book? The answer has to be, No!" The same, we are sorry to say, must be said, even more emphatically, of the book before us, which follows very closely along the lines of Schaff's edition—the latter, in the main, itself a compilation—thus rendering the book, at the very outset, unnecessary for English readers. Preface and text are in many instances simply a verbatim translation of Schaff's in 1889 (January), who then could use words now entirely out of date. Some of the main errors in text and commentary are pointed out by H. Achelis in the *Theol. Litzeitg.*, 1898, No. 4. Harnack's *Apostellehre, etc.*, should have been mentioned in its second edition (p. 40). Of writers later than 1889 scarcely any notice is taken, although the

*Theolog. Jahresbericht* and Krüger's excellent *Geschichte der altchristl. Litteratur* (1895) and *Nachträge* (1897) are easily to be consulted. At times Schaff's original is so materially condensed in the German as to lose vital points. P. 77 (middle) Renesse says: "Giffert, ein Zuhörer von Schaff." Two mistakes. Schaff in 1889 writes (p. 97): "One of my students, Mr. Arthur C. McGiffert." Renesse in 1897 should have known that McGiffert is Schaff's successor in the Union Theological Seminary. Pp. 108-9 Renesse adds one paragraph on the teaching and the Sibylline oracles, not found in Schaff; it is compiled from Harris, but with omission of some of the important recent literature, *e. g.*, Rzach's edition of the Sibylline oracles, etc. The old unsatisfactory etymology of *Sibyl* is dished up again.<sup>1</sup> P. 80 no knowledge whatever is betrayed of Harnack's famous treatise on *De aleatoribus* in *Texte u. Untersuch.*, V, No. 1 (1888), nor of Iselin-Heusler, "Eine bisher unbekannte Version des ersten Teiles der 'Apostellehre,'" *ibid.*, XIII, No. 1 (1895). These are only a few errors and omissions that have come to our observation. No one that has Schaff's book will for a moment think of even consulting a book which on every page betrays that the author's knowledge is entirely "second hand," that aside from Schaff's compilation he knows no literature concerning the Teaching of the Apostles.

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CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS UND DAS NEUE TESTAMENT. Eine Untersuchung von LIC. THEOL. HERMANN KUTTER, Pfarrer in Vinelz (Schweiz). Giessen: J. Ricker'sche Buchhandlung, 1897. Pp. 152. M. 3.60.

THIS monograph is a careful investigation of the attitude of Clement of Alexandria to the New Testament. Such specific studies are of great value, since only by them can the basis be laid for a safe induction preparatory to a history of the canon. Especially does Clement need careful study since, by reason of his freedom of thought and critical carelessness on the one hand, and his loyalty to Catholi-

<sup>1</sup> Attention may be called here to the etymology just recently proposed by H. Lewy in the *Philologus*, Vol. 57, 350-51, who derives Σιβυλλη, or rather Σιβύλλη, from the Semitic (Aramean *sābā, sabbā*, "old woman, granny," the masc. form of which occurs in the Talmud with the meaning of "a man of learning, scholar") + the diminutive ending -ύλλη, the word thus meaning properly "little granny" (*Grossmütterchen*).



cism and tradition on the other, he appears to lend support to quite different opinions concerning the Bible of the early church. In this brief review we can do little more than summarize the conclusions to which our investigator has come.

Kutter takes his start fundamentally from Zahn's conclusions and also acknowledges his debt to his immediate predecessor, the Catholic critic P. Dausch (*Der neutestamentliche Schrifthanon und Clemens von Alexandrien*, 1894, I. Teil). He follows Zahn in admitting that Clement did not have our formal conception of a canon, but contends that it by no means follows that he did not make a clear distinction between Scripture and other books. He differs from Dausch in denying that Clement elevated the authority of ecclesiastical tradition to that of Scripture. His principal effort is to try to go behind the formal expressions about Scripture which Clement used and learn his whole mental attitude on the subject. In this he has certainly aimed at the right thing. Clement was often careless in his expressions, sometimes inconsistent with himself. He had his own peculiar notions, too, though at other times controlled by the belief of the church. We must study his whole way of dealing with the New Testament and judge his formal expressions in the light of it. Kutter, therefore, asks whether, in spite of Clement's arbitrariness in the use of Scripture, we cannot learn the real distinction which he made between Scripture and other books and the principle on which it was based.

Kutter notes at the outset that Clement was saturated with Scripture. Quotations from it fall from his pen in great numbers and with the freedom of one who was accustomed to regard it as his favorite and final authority. At the same time his exegesis was fanciful, unscientific, and often absurd. This fact is abundantly illustrated. The natural sense of Scripture was generally of the least importance to Clement. He did not really understand the biblical writers. He had no fixed principles of hermeneutics. He was bent on allegorizing everything. Just because it was divine Scripture, therefore the Bible had a mystic sense. Sometimes, indeed, when refuting heretics, he did appeal to the plain teaching of Scripture; but, as an interpreter, Clement illustrates nearly all the faults of which an exegete can be guilty. In making his quotations, also, he depended mainly upon memory, so that they are often inaccurate or mixed, and sometimes erroneous. All this, however, while careless according to our modern methods, was common among the Fathers, and shows, as Kutter points out, that Scripture filled Clement's mind and was the main reservoir

from which his thought flowed. Even the very words of Scripture were felt to be of high significance. Whatever opinion Clement held about this or that book, the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments were his sources of authority; and, we may add, in this Clement obviously reveals the opinion of the second-century church.

What books, then, constituted Clement's New Testament? Kutter replies, with all critics, first of all the four canonical gospels. Nor did he add any others to these. He treats a few extracanonical sayings of Christ's (*agrapha*) as possibly genuine, but did not conceive of them as forming a gospel. He cites twice the gospel according to the Hebrews, but after Plato and the "Traditions of Matthew," and merely to illustrate his argument. The gospel according to the Egyptians he cites only because the heretics appealed to certain passages in it, their interpretation of which he contests. While seeming to speak of it as canonical, this was only, says Kutter, by way of concession for the sake of his argument (pp. 51-7). Probably he had never even seen the book. So the Traditions of Matthew (the gospel of Matthias?) was only known to him by hearsay, and his use of the gospel of Philip, the protevangelion of James, and the Ebionite gospel, though thought possible by Zahn, is really quite doubtful. No other gospels than the four canonical ones were recognized by Clement.

Turning next to other ecclesiastical literature, Kutter finds that, while Clement of Rome is often cited, and is called an apostle, and while the epistle of Barnabas is cited and its author called an apostle and identified with the companion of Paul, yet neither is rated as on a par with the New Testament writings. From both of them Clement feels at liberty to differ. Twice (*Strom.*, II, 20, v. 11), indeed, he seems to appeal to Barnabas as a dogmatic authority, but even then his manner of quotation is unlike that used when appealing to Paul. Neither does he, as Harnack alleges, really call Barnabas *γραφή* (p. 79). Clement was fond of the *Shepherd* of Hermas and regarded its visions as real revelations; but he did not class the book itself as authoritative, though his high regard for it led him sometimes to cite it quite like Scripture, yet always with a difference. He certainly used the "Didache," but Kutter questions if he meant to call it Scripture (*Strom.*, I, 20). He may have applied the term to the teaching given in the Didache. The Preaching and the apocalypse of Peter were, however, accepted by him as Petrine and authoritative; and on this point he seems to have differed from the Alexandrian church, as the witness of Origen shows. Of the catholic epistles he recognized as

canonical 1 Peter, 1 John, and Jude, probably 2 John, and possibly James; 2 Peter and 3 John are not referred to. The Acts is cited as of the highest authority, though Kutter, without sufficient reason, thinks that Clement did not give it equal sanctity with the gospels and epistles. The apocalypse of John is called, by preëminence, simply "the Apocalypse," and attributed to the apostle. In short, of our New Testament only Philemon, 2 Peter, and 3 John remain without some attestation by Clement, and most of the books are quoted abundantly, and as dogmatic authorities; while, of later literature, only the Didache, the Preaching and apocalypse of Peter seem to be classed with them, and they are cited but twelve times against 976 citations of the others.

Kutter finally inquires on what principle Clement distinguished Scripture from other ecclesiastical literature. Dausch errs, he says, in alleging that Clement made church tradition of equal authority with Scripture. On the other hand, it was not Scripture *per se* which was Clement's authority, for he used the term itself loosely. His real authority was the Lord speaking in Scripture. The Scriptures were to him the record of a progressive revelation which constituted "the tradition of the Lord." On it was ecclesiastical tradition based; but the latter, while giving fundamental truth, is not the ultimate authority, and "the tradition of the Lord" is best understood through the interpretation of Scripture obtained by the "true gnostic." To the Scripture, thus interpreted, Clement finally appeals. His tests of a book's authority are two: (1) the tradition of the church; (2) the fact that the book contains the teaching of Christ and his apostles. For the teaching of the apostles was the teaching of Christ, and the apostolic age closed the delivery of his doctrine. In conceiving of the apostolic age, however, Clement was uncritical. He made it close with Paul, yet accounted the Johannine books as belonging to it. But apostolicity was his test of canonicity, and his Bible consisted of "law, prophets, gospels, and apostles." At the same time, Kutter thinks that Clement did *not* know of a definite *collection* of books called "the New Testament," though, as appears from what has been said, the elements of such a conception lay close to hand.

Our space has forbidden us to do more than recite the important results obtained by our author. The statement of these is doubtless the most helpful way of calling attention to the work. Its great merit is its effort not to rest content with Clement's formal statements, but to penetrate behind these to his real attitude of mind toward the New Testament. So far as its results go, it brings Clement much nearer to

the traditional doctrine of Scripture than has been done by many other critics. We believe that Kutter might have gone even farther; for Clement seems to us practically to have had a *collection* of books called "dominical Scriptures" or "New Testament," and to have conceived of Scripture itself as inspired. We have found this monograph, however, very suggestive, and his discussions able and unbiased.

GEORGE T. PURVES.

PRINCETON THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

DIE GRIECHISCHEN CHRISTLICHEN SCHRIFTSTELLER DER ERSTEN DREI JAHRHUNDERTE, herausgegeben von der Kirchenväter-Commission der königl. Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften. *Hippolytus' Werke*, I. Band: Exegetische und homiletische Schriften. Herausg. von G. NATH. BONWETSCH und HANS ACHELIS. I. Hälfte: Die Kommentare zu Daniel und zum Hohenliede. II. Hälfte: Kleinere exegetische und homiletische Schriften. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1897. Pp. xxvii + 374; x + 309. M. 18.

IN the year 1866 the Vienna Academy of Sciences began the *corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum*, of which, under the general supervision of Carl Schenkl, some thirty-five volumes have thus far appeared. A worthy companion of this series will be the edition of the Greek Fathers of the first three centuries, published under the auspices of the Royal Academy at Berlin. In 1891 the academy appointed a "church father commission," consisting of Diels, Dillmann, von Gebhardt, Harnack, Loofs, and Mommsen. This commission decided to publish the Christian Greek literature of the first three centuries, including the heretical and apocryphal works and the Jewish literature revised and worked over by Christians. Where original sources were lost, recourse was to be taken to early translations. The introductions and the translation were to be in German. Fifty volumes, each of from 500-600 pages, at a price, approximately, of M. 25 each, have thus far been planned, the whole to be published within fifteen to twenty years. Financially the enterprise is assured by the liberal endowment of Hermann and Elise (*née* Heckmann) Wentzel. Harnack, who probably gave the first impetus, undertook to pave the way for the individual editors by furnishing in his famous *History of Early Christian Literature* a critical survey of the material in hand, and a guide for the history of tradition of the early literature, as far as could be done within three years.

The series has been happily inaugurated with the critical edition of the works of Hippolytus, that heretical bishop of Rome (ca. 217-35 A. D.), by G. N. Bonwetsch and H. Achelis. The work of these editors deserves all the more praise when it is remembered that Hippolytus was by no means a truly great author, but rather tedious, voluminous, scribbling. The honor, however, of beginning the series need not be grudged to that honest, erudite church father, neglected by his contemporaries and later writers. Much new material has been found since Paul de Lagarde, in 1858, published, on 216 small octavo pages, his *Hippolyti romani quæ feruntur omnia græce*; and yet, for some fragments, this edition of Lagarde is still indispensable, as Jülicher has truly pointed out.

The preface of Bonwetsch to the two commentaries is divided into four parts: (1) Prefatory remarks to the commentary on Daniel, beginning with a brief recital of former researches and a careful estimate of earlier editions, due credit being given to predecessors. (2) Pp. v-xiv describe the manuscripts, at the editor's disposal, of the Greek text, as also of the Syriac and Old Slavic translations. The Greek MSS. were collated several times, as well as the fragments preserved in *catenæ*, all of which go back to one archetypal manuscript, not identical with any one of the three now extant. In the famous passage on the date of Christ's birth, *In Dan.*, iv, 23, 13 (Bonwetsch, p. 242), the editor adopts the reading of the Greek Chigi-MS. (Rome) and found also in the fragments of George, bishop of the Arabians.<sup>1</sup> (3) On pp. xiv-xx we have the *testimonia* of later writers concerning the Daniel commentary of Hippolytus. (4) These are followed (pp. xxiv-xxix) by additions and corrections, and a list of abbreviations (p. xxviii). The text of the commentaries on Daniel and on the Song of Songs is printed on pp. 2-340, 343-74; text and translation (into German) on opposite sides. The fragment of the commentary on the Song of Songs is based—aside from a Greek fragment well known—mainly on the Slavic translation in German rendering. Philologists, no doubt, would have preferred the Slavic text in its original. The whole work of editing these texts, originals and early translations, shows the utmost care and philological acumen, as well as painstaking fidelity in the rendering of the Slavic and other texts. All variant readings

<sup>1</sup> See also *Nachrichten von d. kō. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen*, phil.-hist. Kl., 1895, 527, and *Studien z. den Kommentaren Hippolyts*, p. 85; on the other hand, see against this reading, HILGENFELD in *Zeitschr. f. wiss. Theol.*, 1897, 635-6; and, again, E. BRATKE, *Theol. Litbl.*, 1897, No. 45.

and peculiarities of manuscripts, and the authorities consulted, are given underneath the text. In short, the edition satisfies every demand of science.<sup>2</sup> A critical résumé of his studies of these two commentaries the learned editor published in his "Studies to the Commentaries of Hippolytus to the Book of Daniel and the Song of Songs."<sup>3</sup>

The second part of this first volume is edited by Hans Achelis, one of the foremost students of the works of Hippolytus. Contributions of fragments from Slavic and oriental sources in German translation were furnished by specialists, and take up nearly one-third of this Part 2. Also here every line has been collated, and much new material is added. The general arrangement is the same as in Part 1. Perhaps it may be objected that this second is not strictly exegetical and homiletical, only Nos. 2-18 of the twenty-six fragments belonging here, arranged according to the order of the biblical books; the others, especially No. 1, *De Antichristo*,<sup>4</sup> and 19-26<sup>5</sup> being of dogmatic, polemic, or historical character. Genuine and spurious material in Nos. 19-26 is not strictly separated; much of the acceptedly spurious should only have been mentioned in the preface. Space would then have been gained for the introductions, etc., now printed separately in the editor's "Studies,"<sup>6</sup> which one has to consult constantly in order to gain a clear picture of the whole. The objection of many reviewers, that the *catenæ* have not been used often enough, has been answered by the editor with the announcement that he has ready for publication, since 1895, an extensive treatise on the Genesis *catenæ* and on *catenæ* in general.—It is true, the critical apparatus could be

<sup>2</sup> Reviewers have found fault with the editor for using the Tischendorf edition of the LXX instead of the more excellent Cambridge edition by Swete. The editor has answered to this that the press work of the *Daniel commentary* was completed on April 4, 1895, while Swete's third volume appeared only in the latter part of the fall of 1894 and could not be used for the critical apparatus of the commentary.

<sup>3</sup> *Studien zu den Kommentaren Hippolyts zum Buche Daniel und Hohenliede*, "Texte u. Untersuchungen," Neue Folge, 1. Band, Heft 2. For a review of these studies by Professor Gerhard Ficker, see this Journal, Vol. II, pp. 684-6.

<sup>4</sup> Based on a collection of four manuscripts.

<sup>5</sup> These are fragments of the "Chapter against Gaius," and of the treatises "On the Resurrection," addressed to the empress Mammæa, and "On the Resurrection and Imperishableness;" the homily *eis τὰ ἄγια θεοφάνεια* (pronounced spurious by both Achelis and Bonwetsch); the fragments *περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πάσχα*; a devotional *διήγησις Ἰππολότου*, preserved by Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca*, and in two appendices—"Pseudo-hippolytea," especially the "De consummatione mundi."

<sup>6</sup> See below, pp. 948-9, of this volume.

reduced in many instances, and the text at times is ambiguous and obscure; yet the whole make-up of the volume is elegant and fine, the paper excellent, and the press work well done, notwithstanding the unpleasant fact that throughout the volume breathings and accents are often broken off.

Vol. II of the works of Hippolytus is to contain a complete chronological survey of the author's writings, and indices, in addition to his anti-heretical and chronological treatises. May the editors of this first volume soon present us with the second volume. The two together will constitute a critical *editio princeps* of this so long greatly underrated church father. We heartily congratulate the Royal Academy of Sciences at Berlin, the "church-father commission," and especially its leading member, Professor Harnack, upon such an auspicious beginning of this most important undertaking; we heartily thank the editors for the severe task which they have, so successfully, accomplished for the benefit of all students of patristic Greek literature; we heartily appreciate the great care and zealous work shown by the publishers in bringing out, in such splendid dress, this grand volume.

W. MUSS-ARNOLT.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

CATENEN. Mitteilungen über ihre Geschichte und handschriftliche Ueberlieferung. Von LIC. HANS LIETZMANN. Mit einem Beitrag von Professor Dr. Hermann Usener. Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr, 1897. Pp. vi + 85. M. 4.

WE hope that this pamphlet is only the first of many more of the same character, representing, as it does, materials for a complete catalogue of all catenæ manuscripts. After a brief survey of the work done in this line since Richard Simon (1693), the author describes the history of the transmission of *catenæ* manuscripts. Catenæ are compilations by writers from the sixth century of our era and later, from the writings of the early Fathers, for the purposes of exegetical study. Procopius, of Gaza, is considered the first of these compilers. Such compilations exist in great quantities for almost all the books of the Old and New Testaments, and prove thus to be a source for our knowledge of early Christian exegesis. Their importance has been generally underrated, and their contents were studied but little. In our days it was especially Paul de Lagarde who, in a review of Dindorf's edition of Clement (1870), called attention to the great importance of a systematic

study of *catenæ* for the editing of early church fathers. Lietzmann then explains the different *catenæ*, and shows why the marginal *catena* was the earliest. The notes—for such the *catenæ* are—were, of course, written in a much finer hand than the text, so that at times seventy lines of notes averaged five to ten lines of the text proper. The next step was the “text *catena* ;” the commentary (= *catena*) following directly upon the verse or verses to be interpreted ; the two were distinguished either by the size of the letters, or by different ink, or by the width of the columns assigned to either ; in some early manuscripts also by the use of double quotation marks. Of the greatest importance were the names of the authors from whose writings the excerpts (*catenæ*) were taken. In carefully written manuscripts the names were made prominent by the use of different ink or larger letters, or by both. This, later on, led often to the omission of an author’s name ; the copyist, although intending to fill out the name, omitted to do so from sheer carelessness ; only the space indicated the name. If now a more careful scribe copied such a manuscript, he would fill the space with such words as “another,” “anonymous,” etc. ; careless copyists, on the other hand, paid no attention to these spaces, but ran together the different quotations, so that in many manuscripts quotations from a number of authors are now given to one alone. This, of course, calls for great care on the part of editors of *catenæ*. After the description of the *catenæ* material still extant, Lietzmann proceeds to state that a *catenæ* catalogue should embody two main parts : (1) a minute, technical description of the individual manuscripts containing *catenæ* ; and (2) the prologues and a very large list of specimens, together with variant readings from these manuscripts. Added thereto should be all the quotations of which the authors can be determined, and an index, for each manuscript, of authors quoted.

On pp. 28–34 Professor Usener shows, on the basis of a thorough study of *catenæ*, that the commentary on Job, wrongly ascribed by a later hand to Origen, is the work of Julianus of Halicarnassus, the great opponent to the council of Chalcedon and its decrees. Pp. 35–85 contain a sample of the larger work promised by the author. We have here extracts from the Paris *catenæ* manuscripts of the Old Testament and the gospels. Lietzmann’s work is heartily welcomed, and his efforts toward a complete collection to be encouraged. But whether one man alone can accomplish such a tremendous task is greatly to be doubted. It would be very desirable if a number of scholars from all countries of Europe where such collections are



found would band together and thus enable the publication of an almost complete and exhaustive catalogue of catenæ materials. We welcome the work which, together with Heinrici's excellent article on "Catenæ," in the new third edition of Herzog's *Realencyclopaedie*, Vol. 3, 754-67, will do much toward stimulating the work so auspiciously begun.

W. MUSS-ARNOLT.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

DIE ACCLAMATIONEN UND GEBETE DER ALTCHRISTLICHEN GRAB-SCHRIFTEN. Von DR. J. P. KIRSCH, Professor an der Universität zu Freiburg (Schweiz). Schriften der Görres-Gesellschaft, 1897, II. Köln: J. P. Bachem, 1897. Pp. viii + 79. M. 1.80.

THIS monograph considers early Christian epigraphy with reference to liturgical prayers for the dead, and the related dogma of the communion of saints as held by the Catholic church. Its major part is a sample inventory of varieties of early epigraphic appeals or petitions to the dead or prayers for the dead, classified as addressed to the departed themselves, to God, or to the saints. These appeals or prayers are regarded as so many echoes of a presupposed liturgy for the dead. The samples are full of interest, though the patient compiler rambles from century to century to maintain his artificial division.

As a historical study it is suggestive, but beyond that inadequate and unsatisfactory. The handling is not incisive, not convincing; a laborious gleanings, not a generous harvest. That wordings from epitaphs may have come from the prayers spoken by those who repeated a burial service, and that a vital connection may exist between these old inscriptions and the earliest ecclesiastical liturgies, is altogether a possibility, for the same Christian love and faith, the same vigorous Christian confession and hope, lay behind both epitaph and liturgy. But to claim that a liturgy of prayer for the dead lay behind the inscriptions is to draw a random inference, unproved by evidence. And still further to affirm that apostolic tradition created this liturgy, however plausible it seem to the writer, is altogether an unscientific procedure.

One significant condition intimately concerned with these appeals is found in the unique character of the catacomb burial itself. The

nearness of the dead gave the thought of communing with them, and of appeal to them. The situation beautifully explains many expressions of the early inscriptions, if it does not give the actual psychological basis for many of the petitions to the dead and prayers to or for them, not alone in epitaphs, but in church liturgies.

CHARLES C. STEARNS.

HARTFORD, CONN.

HANDBOOK TO CHRISTIAN AND ECCLESIASTICAL ROME. By H. M. and M. A. R. T. London: A. & C. Black, 1897-8; New York: The Macmillan Co. Part I; pp. 547; \$1.75. Pt. II; pp. 355; \$1.75.

WHEN completed, this work will consist of four parts in three volumes. The first two volumes, on *Christian Monuments* and *The Liturgy in Rome*, have already appeared. The third volume, on *Monasticism in Rome* and *Ecclesiastical Rome*, is expected shortly.

The book is intended to meet the wants of visitors in Rome, and also to instruct the larger public which can never behold the Eternal City. It aims to go sufficiently into details to answer most of the questions that would naturally arise in a fairly close, but general study of the monuments and institutions of post-classical Rome.

The volume on *Christian Monuments* discusses the origin of the Roman church; the basilica in its history, architecture, and decorations; the interior of a church, explaining the various parts and their meaning. Then follow chapters on the churches. A large number of the most interesting churches is selected. Of course, most space is given to St. Peter's, the Lateran, and St. Paul's outside the walls. The last 167 pages of the volume are devoted to the catacombs.

The volume on *The Liturgy* begins by assuming that "From the dawn of the church all the elements of the mass are clearly traceable," but adds that "the liturgy itself is a wonderful growth." The first chapter, of 93 pages, treats of the liturgy. The ordinary of the mass is given in the Latin and English, and full explanations of the words and ideas on the opposite pages. The second chapter discusses liturgical accessories, such as the sign of the cross, vestments, origin of vestments, liturgical colors, incense, music, bells, and so on. Then follow chapters on the divine office; the ceremonies of the church; the feasts of the church; holy week; the catechumenate, and the penitential system.

The conception of the work is excellent. When completed, the book will be serviceable to all classes of intelligent people. The initiated will find in it a guide, with supplementary instruction, while the uninitiated will use it as a dictionary and compendium of information gathered from many large works, most of which will not be accessible.

The Protestant reader will not fail to notice that the book is written from the Romanist point of view. All the customary assumptions of Romanism are openly or tacitly accepted to guide the authors in their statements. Of course, Peter was the first pope, and his episcopate lasted twenty-five years. Paul was, indeed, a very superior person, but he had numerous faults (Vol. I, p. 120), which kept him below the full measure of the perfect stature of Peter. And so we find the usual tethers that almost invariably prevent Romanist writers from being strictly accurate or scientific in their treatment of ecclesiastical subjects.

There are numerous typographical and other errors all through the book, as, for instance, a reference to Gibbon's "*Rise and Fall of the Roman Empire*." These errors cannot, we think, be attributed to ignorance, but rather to the difficulties inherent in such a work, and, possibly, sometimes to carelessness. But no doubt they will all be corrected in the first revision. It seems strange, moreover, that in the bibliography Lanciani, the greatest living authority on Roman archæology, should have been omitted.

J. W. MONCRIEF.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

JONAS AUF DEN DENKMÄLERN DES CHRISTLICHEN ALTERTHUMS.  
Von DR. OTTO MITIUS. Mit 2 Tafeln und 3 Abbildungen  
im Text. Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr, 1897. Pp. vii +  
114. M. 3.60. (=Archæologische Studien zum christ-  
lichen Altertum und Mittelalter, hersg. von Johannes  
Ficker. Heft. 4.)

THE monograph of Mitius is a very careful study of the artistic treatment of the story of Jonah during the first seven Christian centuries in the West, and as far down as the thirteenth century in the East. Examples later than the seventh century are, however, very few. Most of the one hundred and eighty enumerated in the list at the end of the volume date from the second to the sixth century. The subject was a favorite theme of Christian contemplation during the

second and third centuries, when the church was engaged in a life-and-death struggle with dominant heathenism. The God who saved Jonah, they reasoned, can assuredly save from death. So they delighted to see various incidents in the story depicted on the walls and ceilings of the subterranean chambers in which they laid their dead. There are fifty-one Jonah paintings in the Roman catacombs. In the following centuries the subject was often represented on Christian sarcophagi. Fifty-four examples are supplied by Rome and eighteen by the provinces. During this period Jonah began to be thought of as a type of Christ and a preacher of repentance, and some traces of these ideas can probably be found on some of these funeral reliefs.

But pictures of Jonah were not restricted to the grave and its associations. They were to be seen on utensils and ornaments in daily use. Kitchen pottery, lamps of earthenware and metal, jewels set in rings, glasses decorated with gold leaf, bronze medallions, carved ivories, and (in later times) miniatures in religious books bore the image of the prophet in one or other of his adventures. Indeed, no subject was so popular, not even the incidents recorded in the gospels. The representations of Jonah take the first place among the monuments of early Christian art, both as to number and age. One of them, in the Lucina crypt of the catacomb of San Callisto, is assigned by competent judges to the close of the first century. And their popularity was not confined to Rome. They have been found on the Rhine and the Danube as well as on the Tiber, in Sicily and Sardinia, in north Africa and Syria.

Another remarkable circumstance about the treatment of Jonah in early Christian art is the existence of a developed cycle in the second and third centuries. The representations taken from the biblical story have added to them a picture of Jonah resting after his deliverance. A parallel phenomenon in other subjects handled by Christian art is not found until the fourth and fifth centuries, on the reliefs of the sarcophagi. A further peculiarity is the narrow range of the sculptures as compared with the paintings. Some scenes depicted in the catacombs are absent from the reliefs. This is the reverse of the usual order.

The method followed by Mitius in his review of the extensive material with which he has to deal is, on the whole, clear and satisfactory. The paintings in the catacombs are first considered, scene by scene, with some remarks on their grouping at the end of the section. The reliefs on the sarcophagi are then treated in the same way. The

other Jonah pictures, on lamps, rings, etc., are disposed of more rapidly, a chapter for each class.

The survey is naturally followed by two chapters treating respectively of the origin of the Jonah pictures and their significance. The attempts which have been repeatedly made to trace them to heathen models are unfavorably criticised. Whilst not denying the influence of heathen art to some extent, Mitius finds the origin of these pictures elsewhere. He regards it as highly probable that the church obtained the idea of Jonah as a signal example of God's saving power from the liturgy of the synagogue in association with two other favorite examples: the three youths in the furnace, and Daniel in the lions' den. The idea was incorporated in the Christian liturgy, and thus became quickly known to all. When it had got a firm hold of the popular fancy, it was appropriated by art. This view has probably some truth in it. A Jewish origin of the early Christian conception of Jonah is quite possible. There can be no doubt that the worship of the church owes much to that of the synagogue. But it can hardly be questioned that the interest of the early Christians in Jonah was greatly quickened by the reference recorded in the gospels, if not created by it. The three scenes which seem to have attracted them most were Jonah's peril, Jonah's deliverance, and Jonah's rest on the seashore, the last, as already observed, being an addition to the Bible story. These symbolized respectively death, the resurrection, and the rest of paradise.

The illustrations are regretably few—only five out of one hundred and eighty examples—and all refer to comparatively late productions. As good illustrated works on the catacombs are inaccessible to many students, a selection of the most notable catacomb pictures would have added considerably to the interest of the book. We hope that future writings of the same kind from the scholarly pen of Mitius will be enriched with a larger amount of artistic decoration.

W. TAYLOR SMITH.

EXETER, ENGLAND.

THE DECIAN PERSECUTION. By J. A. F. GREGG. Hulsean Prize Essay for 1896. Edinburgh and London: W. Blackwood & Sons, 1897. 6s.

"It may well be doubted whether Christianity was ever called upon to endure a more damaging assault than was directed against it by Decius. Without sound discipline, without previous experience,

the church was challenged in 250 to face for the first time the concentrated onset of the powers of this world: all future ages, on the other hand, could look back to the example of the victory, and be guided by the bitter experience which had written the history of that year of discipline in letters of blood."

Our author has presented a work on this somewhat obscure, but important period, which, while invaluable to the student, is also adapted to the wants of an intelligent English reader. It possesses two marked merits. First: Every available iota of information has been subjected to the most minute criticism. An intellectual danger, however, attends this process. As when one spends too much time in reading fine and blurred print, with a tallow candle, near-sightedness results, so the habit of minute criticism incapacitates for a broad historical view. Concentration of attention upon minutiae diminishes the power of generalization. The biographer of Alexander Campbell claims that the close examination and comparison of verbal details, demanded in his revision of the translation of the Acts of the Apostles, rendered him unable to take that powerful grasp of a subject for which he had been so conspicuous; and that for quite a period after the completion of his task his pulpit efforts ceased to manifest their former unity and point.

But this minute investigation is as essential to historical perfection as a minute topographical survey to success in landscape gardening. Our author has mastered the minutiae without allowing the minutiae to master him and suppress the power of generalization.

In the second place: The treatise is characterized by the absence of rash conjecture. It is a common habit to read one's own presuppositions into a history. A gentleman, stopping a few days in one of our cities, and desiring to make some historical investigations connected with the locality, asked a friend if he could direct him to anyone likely to have the documents. "Go to Dr. B.," was the answer. "If he has not the documents, he can evolve all the facts out of his own consciousness." Owing to the absence of documents, the historical writer is, at times, compelled to enter the realm of conjecture. Conjectures, however, need not be random guesses. The conjecture may be such a perfect explanation of all the circumstances as to carry an absolute conviction of its truth.

We commend the work to the general reader and to the student as combining critical scholarship with a comprehensive grasp of the situation.

THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY

DIE QUELLEN ZUR GESCHICHTE PRISCILLIANS. Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung der Würde eines Licentiaten der Theologie. Von JOHANNES DIERICH, CAND.THEOL. Breslau: Druck der Breslauer Genossenschafts-Buchdruckerei, Ursulinerstr. No. 1, 1897. Pp. 44. M. 0.80.

THE name of Priscillian will always awaken melancholy interest. He was the first man ever put to death by the Christian church on the charge of heresy. Many so-called heretics had lost their lives by the violence of Christian mobs, and many had been banished by the emperors; but the church, as an organization wielding the sword of civil authority, did not venture legally to execute any heretics till 385, when Priscillian and some of his followers suffered martyrdom. It is significant that both the prosecutors and the victims in this instance were Spaniards, and we may see in it a foreshadowing of many similar events which were destined to make Spain a shuddering and a byword. Moreover, the decree under which the victims were prosecuted had been made by a Spanish emperor, and the sentence was pronounced by another Spanish emperor. Priscillian confessed all the heresies and immoralities with which he was charged; but he did so under torture, and his confession cannot be used against him by the historian. In Würzburg there is a manuscript containing various documents from Priscillianist writers, and among them are three statements from Priscillian himself. This manuscript Dierich uses in his dissertation, testing it critically in various ways and finding it accurate at every point. On the basis of this investigation, he maintains that Priscillian was orthodox. The crime of the unhappy man was that he held informal meetings with his people, and that he encouraged the laity to take part in the exercises, women as well as men. He was also unduly inclined to asceticism. The democratic character of his work and the rigor of his life, which was misinterpreted as a pretense, brought upon him suspicion, persecution, and death.

FRANKLIN JOHNSON.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

THE AGE OF CHARLEMAGNE. By CHARLES L. WELLS. New York: Christian Literature Co., 1898. Pp. 500. \$2, *net*.

By the age of Charlemagne is usually understood the pivotal period between the seventh and the tenth centuries—two bright and stirring centuries between two dark ones.

It has been said that "the age of Charles the Great is more cele-

brated than known, and the founder of the new Romano-Germanic empire has found more panegyrists than historians." However this may be, the subject, like all great subjects, will never be exhausted, and, excellent as the work of any decade may be, the changed conditions and new lights of the next decade are sure to clarify the old subject and require new adjustments. No apology is, therefore, necessary when any student, after careful and protracted study, chooses to impress his individuality upon the results of his work and give them to the world.

Mr. Wells proposed to be, not a panegyrist, but a historian. He has, consequently, in most of the points chosen for elucidation, made himself familiar with the original sources, and with the literature on the period down to modern times. Naturally he has derived much benefit from Mombert's standard work on Charles the Great. The result was that he found himself in a right position properly to interpret his material.

While he says that he has put the main stress on the political side of the subject, it can be truthfully said that his treatment of the religious and educational sides is very satisfactory, so that his book will be of great service to the church historian. For instance, his extensive treatment of the Pseudo-Isidorian decretals will be especially welcome. But political, ecclesiastical, and intellectual elements are so blended in this period that no discussion is possible without giving large attention to them all.

It was the purpose of the author to let the sources speak for themselves. The reader will, therefore, be prepared to find numerous and lengthy quotations all through the volume. The selections seem to have been judiciously made, and so he has secured, not only greater vividness, but, what is more important, greater accuracy.

We regard this book as one of the best, if not the best, in the uneven series of which it forms a part.

J. W. MONCRIEF.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

MARTIN LUTHER IN KULTURGESCHICHTLICHER DARSTELLUNG. Von ARNOLD E. BERGER. Zweiter Teil. Erste Hälfte, 1525-1532. Berlin: Ernst Hofmann & Co., 1898. Pp. xiv+299. M. 2.40; bound, M. 3.80.

In this first part of his second volume Berger has been very successful in carrying out his original design of showing Luther's rela-



tionship to the common culture of his day. He first takes up the weakening of the Reformation forces through the differing territorial and social conditions under which they existed, showing Luther's connection with the German conditions. Then, in a short chapter, he considers the relationship between Luther and Zwingli. This is in some respects the most unsatisfactory part of his volume. The key to his treatment of these two great reformers may be found in the following sentence: "Luther's religion was of a thoroughly individualistic, Zwingli's of a socialistic type" (p. 33). This difference he tries to trace to a difference in social environment, but in making good this distinction, and in establishing its historical origin, he has no little difficulty.

In the third chapter Berger takes up the sacramentarian controversy. He looks upon this dispute as inevitable. "That it caused them to forget completely," he says, "the common ground on which both disputants stood, and raised the division into a more passionate separation than the facts seemed to warrant, was less grounded in the nature of the controversy itself than in the strong individuality of the opponents, and so it came about that neither of them had any understanding of the exegetical and dogmatical foundation of the other" (p. 90). There is great justice in Berger's position on this matter, and the advantage of a history of theological disputes by a historian of literature here becomes apparent. Luther and Zwingli had different practical and social problems to contend with, and no doubt this is the reason they drifted apart. Even the theological historian must be impressed with the fact that in this matter it is not Luther who is speaking, but certain conditions and consequences of the Reformation, which the man who once had cared only for the truth, regardless of consequences, had not foreseen, and now feared. If at any time in his life the great German reformer can be explained and accounted for in the circumstances of his time (and this is the object of Berger's work), it is right here.

The fourth chapter is on the division of the church. Here our author takes up three topics, namely, (a) "The Reformation as a Factor in European Politics," (b) "The Division of the Reformation Interests," and (c) "The Entrance of the Reformation on its Churchly Epoch." Here he is on his favorite ground, and has many very suggestive passages in his book. He has carried on very successfully the labors of Kolde, and no book we have ever seen has brought out so clearly the relationship between the religious and the social and economical

problems of the Reformation period. We shall await with interest the appearance of the second half of this volume, which is to be on "Luther and the German Culture."

GEORGE H. FERRIS.

TARRYTOWN, N. Y.

GESCHICHTE DES KÖNIGREICHS JERUSALEM (1100-1291). Von REINHOLD RÖHRICHT. Innsbruck: Verlag der Wagner'schen Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1898. Pp. xxviii+1105. M. 30.

CERTAINLY no one else is so well qualified to write the history of the kingdom of Jerusalem as Herr Röhricht. For many years it has been his hobby. Numerous books, pamphlets, and articles from his pen, and especially the "Regesta" of the kingdom, which he published in 1893, have given ample proof of his mastery of the subject. His diligence and perseverance have been remarkable, burdened as he has been with the duties of a *Gymnasiallehrer*. He complains, too, that not all the sources were within his reach; but it can be safely asserted that his work will need little revision, so thorough is his acquaintance with the sources at hand and so careful has been his use of them.

The headings of the chapters are somewhat unsatisfactory, being simply the dates of the period covered in the chapter, but the author has in part atoned for this by prefixing to the book a full table of contents and adding three adequate indexes. If anything is lacking to the book, it is, perhaps, a chapter or two on the life, manners, and customs of the kingdom. Innumerable details bearing on this subject are, of course, scattered throughout the book; but a subject so unique and interesting might well have found separate treatment, to the great advantage of the whole work. Herr Röhricht has followed out in all its details the political life of the crusading states and has thereby laid bare all the petty meannesses, selfishness, jealousy, corruption, and short-sighted policy of their rulers. He has shown that, although their position was a difficult one, placed as they were among their political and religious enemies, the Christians in the East really brought their fate upon themselves. They followed no wise and well-defined policy steadily, but led a hand-to-mouth existence, with little or no understanding of the larger political and social problems pressing upon them, the proper solution of which would have prolonged their existence. They had no common cause, but each princelet sought his own interests, often at the expense of a neighboring princi-

pality. There was no unity in the history of these crusading states, so Herr Röhricht was compelled to cast his work in the unpleasant form of a chronicle, which makes a consecutive narrative impossible.

OLIVER J. THATCHER.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

L'ÉTAT ET LES ÉGLISES EN PRUSSE SOUS FRÉDÉRIC-GUILLAUME I<sup>er</sup> (1713-1740). Par GEORGES PARiset, Docteur des lettres, Chargé de Cours à la Faculté des lettres de l'Université de Nancy. Paris: Armand Colin & C<sup>ie</sup>, 5, rue de Mezières; 1898. Pp. xx + 989.

SINCE the war of 1870 the French have shown a tendency to study the history and institutions of Germany with diligence. This book is one of many evidences of their desire to understand their great neighbor more perfectly. The author was attracted to his subject also by his interest in the problems presented by the relations of church and state. These problems, he says, are for the nineteenth century what those of investiture were for the Middle Ages. They were exhibited in all their complexity under Frederick William I, whose domineering disposition and great administrative ability combined to make him the head of the Lutheran and Reformed churches, in fact as well as in theory, and also to pay attention to the Catholics, the Moravians, the Jews, and other denominations in his dominions. M. Pariset does not attempt to solve these problems. He holds that they cannot be solved till we are better acquainted with the facts which illustrate them, and he undertakes nothing more than a presentation of some of the facts gathered from the history of a small territory and of a limited period of time.

His book is in many ways remarkable. He leaves no aspect of his subject unconsidered. He discusses with much insight and discrimination the power of the Prussian state over the Prussian church; the constitution of the church itself; the relation of the church as an organization to the people, and the means by which it ministered to them in spiritual and temporal things; the religious life of the people, including their superstitions; and, last of all, the dissenters and foreigners in their contact with the established church. Each of these subjects is examined on every side, and is illustrated by anecdotes and biographical sketches. Many diagrams and statistical tables are scattered through the book, presenting a multitude of facts in a manner which reveals their significance to us at a glance.

One might expect to find in so large a book devoted to a subject so narrowly circumscribed a certain expansion in concession to popular taste. On the contrary, M. Pariset has found it necessary to condense his too abundant materials. Observing this, one might expect to find a certain dryness. On the contrary, the pages are full of interest and charm. Observing this, one might expect to find romance instead of history. On the contrary, the author has adhered rigidly to his facts. He combines the thoroughness of the German with the Frenchman's love of analysis, of proportion, and of clear exposition. A partial bibliography of books and documents employed embraces about five hundred titles. More than two hundred of these represent biographies of Prussian clergymen of the period under review, which M. Pariset read in order to become thoroughly acquainted with the inner life of the church.

One cannot help wishing, after all, that M. Pariset had chosen some other subject. The reign of Frederick William I was not a great period in the history of the state or of the church. The eminent abilities of M. Pariset as a historian are needed in fields of far greater importance.

FRANKLIN JOHNSON.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

CARDINAL MANNING. From the French of F. DE PRESSENSÉ.

By E. INGALL. London: William Heinemann; St. Louis, Mo.: B. Herder, 1898. Pp. 220. \$1.25.

PURCELL'S *Life of Cardinal Manning* was an authorized biography by a Catholic writer, and yet, by direct charges and still more damaging insinuations, it constituted an arraignment of the most severe sort against the great prelate. The present work, by a Protestant, de Pressensé, son of the great historian of that name, is a defense of the character and memory of the cardinal against charges of his chosen Catholic biographer. The most rigid Protestant need not desire to see Purcell's estimate of Manning prevail, except in so far as it is the truth, but it is not necessary that the defense should carry with it the abandonment of the essential ground of Protestantism. The author repeatedly speaks of the pope as the "vicar of Christ;" of Rome as "the capital of Christianity;" of Catholics as "the faithful." In the chapter on Manning's Protestant years, Catholicism is referred to as "the truth to which he afterward yielded submission." There is never a shade of disapproval in speaking of the most extravagant claims of

Romanism. The reader charitably assumes that this arises from a desire to give a perfectly colorless narrative, in which the author's own position shall not be apparent, until one finds him speaking of "the leprosy of Nonconformity," and openly condemning Anglicanism as an illogical and inconsistent middle position. The book must be considered as a thoroughly polemic work, written for the express purpose of antagonizing Purcell's position, and burning incense before the shrine of the cardinal.

WINFRED ERNEST GARRISON.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

**THE STORY OF GLADSTONE'S LIFE.** By JUSTIN MCCARTHY. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1897. Pp. 436. \$6.

THIS book should not be judged by the ordinary standards for estimating biography, for it is exactly what the title indicates—the story of Gladstone's life.

That the work appeared before the death of the illustrious subject has but little significance, for the parliamentary life of Mr. Gladstone had ended, and it is the marvelous influence that he held over the House of Commons which is McCarthy's theme.

The opening sentence of the first chapter contains the chief thought of the whole book, and this the writer illustrates by incident and reminiscence to the continuous delectation of the reader: "I think I may take it for granted that Mr. Gladstone is the greatest English statesman who has appeared during the reign of Queen Victoria."

Mr. Gladstone began his career as a Tory and ended as a Liberal, if not a Radical. The way in which all England conformed to the evolution of one man is shown in the many reform movements championed by Gladstone, and especially in the repeal of the so-called "taxes on education." The removal of the tax on paper would reduce the rich man's six-penny newspaper to a price within the reach of the laborer. The House of Lords obstructed the measure for one session. "But the country had full faith in Mr. Gladstone's determination, and it was quite certain that the peers would not resist him for very long." The next session saw Mr. Gladstone's scheme passed into law. The House of Lords thus said in effect: "Well, if Mr. Gladstone and the House of Commons want this iniquitous measure, of course they must have it—we must only let them ruin the country, and make no further work about it."

The story of the life of a man whose work is useful to the world

should be written by a friend and admirer. The critically prepared biography has its purpose, and its place in historical literature, but that purpose differs greatly from that of the loving friend who chronicles the triumphs and influence of a great man.

Mr. McCarthy, in writing what has plainly been a joyous task, has given to the world a book which for style and matter will equal the best of his other books, and will profit and fascinate all its readers.

GEO. E. FELLOWS.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

ZUR FRAGE NACH DEM URSPRUNG DES GNOTIZISMUS. Von WILHELM ANZ, Licentiat der Theologie (= Bd. XV, Heft. 4, of *Texte und Untersuchungen*. Edited by O. von Gebhardt and A. Harnack). Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1897. Pp. 112. M. 3.50.

THIS essay sets itself to establish two things: first, that the central, the fundamental doctrine of early gnosticism was the ascent of the soul from this world through seven planetary heavens ruled by hostile archons, till it reached an eighth heaven where God dwells; and, second, that this early gnosticism sprang from the religion of Babylon under a certain side influence from Persia. Most critics are now agreed that oriental elements were prominent in the beginnings of gnosticism, and that its tendency was practical rather than speculative. Kessler, in his book on *Gnosis und altbabyl. Religion* (1882), concluded that gnosticism had its origin in the old Babylonian religion; and Brandt, in his *Mandäische Religion* (1889), pointed out the resemblance between the doctrines of the "Christians of St. John" and early gnosticism. Anz follows the same line of inquiry, with special reference to the central doctrine of gnosticism, which he finds in the later Babylonian belief, and in a special manifestation of it which took the form of free will and knowledge in reaction against the fatalism of astrology. Knowledge was the way of salvation by which man pressed through the seven hostile planetary heavens to the world of light, happiness, and God. The moral living built on knowledge, whether of an ascetic or an epicurean type, started from the point of view that man thereby gains deliverance from the fatalistic rulers of the world, and makes himself worthy and certain of divine help in the ascent of the soul. Such a religion of deliverance, with its pessimistic view of life and its longing after higher existence, met with a ready response in the

ancient world, though as it spread upon Hellenic-Christian soil it necessarily lost its original character. The power of the stars was thrust aside by the problems of mind and matter, law and grace. The seven world-powers melted into one demiurge; and the way of life through mysteries was succeeded by the self-deliverance of the sage. Anz finds the central doctrine especially reproduced in the Ophites, the earliest Christian gnostics; for they were not inclined toward Greek speculation, and were anti-Jewish. Here it ran its natural course of "mysteriosophy," till it ended in the absurdities of "Pistis-Sophia," and the first and second books of "Jeu," which were never intended to be put in practice. He finds, though less clearly, the same doctrine in the schools of Valentine and other gnostics.

Much interesting material is collected to show that the Babylonian religion existed when gnosticism appeared; that it alone gave the peculiar doctrine of planet powers alluded to; that magic, so presupposed in this system, had its home in Chaldea, and that the only two systems outside Christian gnosticism which show the doctrine of "the ascent of the soul through the seven planetary kingdoms" are those of the Mandeian religion and the Mithras mysteries, both of which were under Babylonian influences. The tower of Babel, with its seven towers, one above another, and a temple tower above all, was really the symbol and model of early gnosticism. It is "a metaphysical reproduction of the tower of Babel." How this central doctrine arose in Babylon Anz can answer only hypothetically; but that it was the central doctrine, and that it arose in Babylon, he thinks he has proved.

This is an interesting, carefully written, scholarly essay; and really opens the way for fresh inquiry into a very complicated question. The author makes his contention very probable; we hardly feel that he has put it beyond question. The fact that Celsus, who is our authority for the "central doctrine" in Mithras worship, refers it to Greek and Persian sources; the impossibility of tracing any historic connection between the Ophites and Babylonia; the silence of early writers on gnosticism respecting the "ascent of the soul" as a cardinal doctrine of this system, with the further fact that it is the latest forms of gnosticism which present the eschatological mysteries of soul-ascent; finally, the mixture of Jewish thought about "seven heavens" and similar ideas in the earliest Ophite gnosticism—all lead us to hesitate in receiving a theory, based so largely on mere similarity of views on one point, in such a vast collection of thoughts as are comprehended under gnosticism.

DAS TAUFSYMBOLUM DER ALTEN KIRCHE nach Ursprung und Entwicklung. Von DR. BERNHARD DÖRHOLT, Privatdocent an der Akademie zu Münster. Erster Teil: *Geschichte der Symbolforschung*. Paderborn: Druck und Verlag von Ferdinand Schöningh, 1898. Pp. viii + 161. M. 3.

In symbolics there is no more interesting document than that creed of uncertain origin and many names: the *symbolum*, the *symbolum minus*, the *symbolum apostolicum*, or *apostolorum*, the *apostolicum*, and, at least in western Christendom, the *Taufsymbolum*. Upon this creed Dr. Dörholt, whose Catholic orthodoxy is beyond suspicion, is preparing a work. The first part is before us. It is a "History of Creed-Research," a descriptive catalogue of those writings which have discussed the apostles' creed. A larger and more important part, containing "A History of the Creed" itself, is to follow.

The moderation which characterizes the work is seen in the title, where for the apparently question-begging term "apostles' creed" is substituted the less assumptive "Taufsymbolum." Yet even by this considerate selection titular neutrality is not attained, for there are many who would deny that the Romish "Taufsymbolum" was that "der alten Kirche."<sup>\*</sup>

The period covered by this book does not extend farther back than the Italian Renaissance. The creed, though called "apostles'," had an interval of seven centuries between its eponymi and its first extant appearance. That appearance it made in the pages of one Pirmin, a monk good at the trowel, but poor at the pen. It was declared by him to be a collaboration of the apostles and *therefore* called "symbolum." His story was for a further seven hundred years so firmly accepted that even the greatest schoolman dared not hint hesitancy of faith by a stronger qualificatory clause than *sicut tradunt auctores*. Then came Valla. Among the many opinions which he attacked was this Pirminian story. In the shock of his assault began that credal literature to which this book is devoted.

Our author classifies his material under three periods. His first, that of *Anbahnung* or "preparation," extends from Valla (about 1450) to Vossius and Usher (about 1650). It gave us pleasure to see the notice bestowed upon the often overlooked Bishop Reynold Pecock. Perhaps, as Dr. Dörholt says, his influence in the creed controversy

<sup>\*</sup> [See on the apostles' creed the article by PROFESSOR GEORGE H. GILBERT in the *Biblical World*, September, 1898, pp. 153-61, entitled, "The Apostles' Creed Revised by the Teaching of Jesus."—THE EDITORS.]



died with him. Yet his *Donet* and *Repressor*, written in the people's tongue, became a part of that ante-Reformation literature of England which did so much to make the movement in that country "broad-based upon a people's will." We were impressed with our author's attitude to the *Catechismus Romanus ex Decreto Concilii Tridentini*. This document teaches Rufin's and Pirmin's legend concerning the apostolic manufacture of the creed. We need not believe it on that account, says Dr. Dörholt, for no statement demands acceptance from being in the catechism. Its authority arises solely from "the sources of religious truth—Scripture, tradition, and ecclesiastical decisions. The creed-legend is not of apostolical tradition, and therefore does not belong to the content of Catholic faith."

Our author with a too great complaisance designates his second period—from Vossius and Usher (about 1650) to Lessing (about 1778)—as that of *Wissenschaft*. *Wissenschaft* forsooth! It was an age of library dwellers whose eyes, accustomed only to ancient tomes, were purblind to the clear light that shone outside of stained glass and cobwebbed clerstories—an age of giants in acquisition, but mannikins in originality. Vossius at its outset presents the usual Protestant arguments against the historical apostolicity of the creed. He is replied to by an Augustinian and a Franciscan. Thus begins a sort of theological tennis play. It is well set forth in these pages. The same argumentative "balls" are served, the same logical rackets "receive" and "discharge" them. Usher makes an antiquarian find, and Du Pin, the Catholic, breaks the monotony a little by taking the Protestant side and drawing into the fray a Benedictine. But so tiresomely iterative becomes the controversy that Immanuel Walch, in his *Antiquitates Symbolicæ*, though it lay within his scope, declines to engage in it *ne nauseam—moveam*.

Lessing, in his *Anti-Goeze* controversy, presented the suggestion that the apostles' creed might be an after-expression of an oral *regula fidei* which existed in the church before the writings of the New Testament. With this hint our author considers his third period—that of methodical research on a critical basis—to begin. He regards the Lessing hypothesis as its dominant influence. It molded thought in Germany. It influenced the Norwegian Caspari to his valuable researches. In England it made possible the works of Ffoulkes, Lumby, Swainson, and Hort. Our author holds that the creed question "will more strongly and loudly than ever demand a solution;" but finds in the researches of Harnack, Kattenbusch, and Zahn, who

have placed the date of the "old Romish symbol" before the middle of the second century, a reason for hope.

Dr. Dörholt has our thanks for an interesting and informing volume. The research is extensive and, we judge, accurate. The material is given with just enough fulness to convey each author's principal contention. While in itself the present work is thus valuable, it will, we trust, be much more valuable when it becomes a part of that treatise upon the whole subject for which it has done much to make us desirous.

ROBERT KERR ECCLES.

BOWLING GREEN, O.

APOLOGIE DU CHRISTIANISME. Par ALOYS BERTHOUD, Professeur a l'école de théologie de l'oratoire, Genève. Lausanne: Georges Bridel & C<sup>ie</sup>, 1898. Pp. x + 663. Fr. 10.

THIS work, like Bovon's *Dogmatique* (reviewed in this JOURNAL, Vol. I, pp. 1082 ff.), is a product of contemporary Swiss Protestantism, and exhibits much of the same breadth of spirit which characterized that. It is, however, unlike that work in being an almost pure product of French thinking. But little acquaintance with the course of German thought is manifested upon its pages, and scarcely a reference is made to any German writer. But the book is not to be condemned hastily for such a fact. It is not an ignorant or a careless book. It takes a broad range and discusses the subject thoroughly. It is thus a proof of the common diffusion of certain great bodies of thought, both in opposition to Christianity and in defense of it, which are found in every land and meet everyone who deals with religion either in a practical or a theoretical way.

The discussion is divided into three parts, the first treating of Christianity and the human soul, or the moral necessity of the Christian fact; the second, of Christianity and science, or the possibility of the Christian fact; the third, of Christianity and history, or the reality of the Christian fact. This division makes it evident at once that the line of defense of Christianity is to follow the universal modern tendency among those who are now most successful at apologetics, and to emphasize the worth of Christianity in itself and its dignity as one of the great forces of the world. The treatment is full and good, without being striking or specially original. The style lacks the simplicity and directness in which the French generally excel, being somewhat involved, so as to render it difficult to get immediately at the thought

of the writer. As a whole, the work is eminently respectable, without deserving the epithet of great; but, were there not so many other manuals of apologetics, possessed of the same excellencies as this, it would be impossible to withhold from it the more flattering designation.

In the introduction, Christianity is defined as "the religion which has for its object the person and work of Jesus Christ." "The intervention of God in Christ for the elevation of fallen humanity, such is, in two words, the gospel." Though he expressly distinguishes between Christianity and confessional dogmatics, our author takes his stand with what would be called in this country evangelical orthodoxy, and maintains it to the end. The first part is divided into three books, of which the first discusses "the needs of the human soul." The "religious sentiment," its reality and normal character, are defended, particularly against Spencer. Then the postulates of the conscience, particularly its affirmation of "the absolute supremacy of the moral world," are developed. "Man cannot gain union with God except by the path of obedience to duty." Hence the knowledge of sin, the reality and profound significance of which are ably defended against every form of palliation. Hence "the necessity of redemption." A chapter follows upon "the rights of the heart."

These ultimate needs of the soul must be satisfied, and a second book is devoted to the investigation of the heathen religions, to see whether they are capable of performing the task. They are reviewed as to their teachings upon the idea of God, the problem of evil, and the belief in a future life. The section upon the idea of God is one of the most valuable in the book. Berthoud exposes the errors of the method which seeks to explain the most primitive condition of men by the help of the savages of our own day, whom he rightly denominates "degenerate peoples." "Monotheism was a revelation of the religious life, a conscious, heroic return to the primitive intuition of the divine spirit." The deficiencies of the heathen conception of God, even of the most elevated, are exposed with a fine and careful analysis. Egypt sunk into prevailing polytheism because "the supreme God was there conceived, not as a living and concrete reality, but as an incomprehensible abstraction." Aristotle's God produces the world without knowing it and without willing it. Plato still lingered in the bonds of polytheism, his supreme God was neither the creator nor infinite, his religion totally unfitted to become a popular religion.

When the inadequacy of the heathen religions has thus been exhib-

ited, the third book can now proceed to show how Christianity does actually meet the needs of the soul. It delineates "the God of the Bible," exhibited by the incarnation as a God of love, the way of "salvation by faith," and "the consolations of the gospel." There is nothing here specially to remark, except to note the true evangelical tone of the whole.

The second part now takes up the "possibility" of Christianity. In three books are successively handled the theory of knowledge, the Christian conception of the universe, and the supernatural. In antagonism to positivism, a place is vindicated for the moral consciousness, which is made the organ of religious knowledge. Mystery exists in religion to preserve our moral liberty. Christian certainty rests ultimately upon the revelation by himself of God to the human spirit. Then there must come the experience of salvation, through the channels of which knowledge of God and of divine realities will enter. In this Berthoud accords with Frank of Erlangen.

In pursuing the second subhead, the author treats of the relations of the Bible and science, and comes to the usual conclusion among evangelicals of our day that these two come at the facts of the world from an altogether different point of departure, the Bible being concerned with their religious significance alone. "The problem of origins" leads to a discussion of "evolution," in respect to which the position taken is quite conservative. The plain fact of a gap in the evolution between the inanimate and the animate worlds is made to reinforce the strict creation of man. One feels in this discussion the limitations which European theologians have put upon themselves by their general inattention to natural science. The Christian conception of the universe is, finally, said to culminate in a "geocentric" view, which makes this earth, as the scene of the redemption, of infinite value for the entire universe.

The last book in this part, taking up the supernatural, vindicates by the usual arguments drawn from the personality of God and from the specific Christian experiences the possibility and the reality of the supernatural, including a stout defense of miracles. An interesting portion of this discussion is the section upon hypnotism, and allied phenomena, in which the morbid character of most of them is maintained, quite in agreement with Podmore's discussion of the results arrived at by the Society for Psychical Research.

The third part, discussing Christianity and history, is divided into three books, dealing with the history of Israel, the life of Jesus, and

the course of events since the conversion of Paul to our own day. I take time to note only the attempt made in the first book to arrive at an estimate of the true value of the higher criticism and its relation to the materials of dogmatics and apology. The question here is declared to be whether the biblical history, taken as a whole, is true. An antithesis exists between the results of the criticism and of the study of archæology. While the former puts the date of the writings late and tends to rob them of their reliability, the latter is declaring more and more that their history is correct. Emphasizing, now, the consideration that lateness of composition does not necessarily destroy historic credibility, Berthoud tests the history of the book by what we know of other sources of history in Egypt, Assyria, and elsewhere. The result is the conformity to history of the tenth of Genesis, and of the story of Joseph, of the Exodus, and of the history of the Kings. With these main central points confirmed, the moral sincerity of the book, recording the faults of its chosen heroes and condemning them, is taken as sufficient proof of the total historic trustworthiness, mere details and minutiae aside.

Thus the course of the apologetic argument is brought to its end. No one will read the book without profit, and a repeated study will increase the reader's respect for its fulness and worth.

FRANK HUGH FOSTER.

OAKLAND, CAL.

DAS CHRISTLICHE PERSÖNLICHKEITSIDEAL, oder der Kern der christlichen Ethik auf psychologischer Grundlage. Ein Versuch von PFARRER ERNST KRETSCHMER. Leipzig: Dörffling und Franke, 1897. Pp. 96. M. 1.60.

THIS essay presents in a very succinct form the essential features of Christian ethics. The author attempts to discover the fundamental law of character as contained in the Old and New Testaments, and, at the same time, to give a psychological analysis of its constructive factors. He marks out the limits of duty to God, neighbor, self, and nature, and within this outermost circle he clearly outlines the specific content of Christian life.

He says the highest good of the Christian is God. This implies that likeness to the Father is the goal of all moral striving. This is not a mere objective standard or law of conduct, but has had a perfect realization in the Son of Man. Such perfection is accomplished in the

believer through Christ by the Holy Spirit. The writings of prophets and apostles are helpful in forming this ideal of life, but the words of Jesus as recorded in the four gospels are final authority.

The author's psychological discussion is exceedingly brief, considering the weight given to his conclusions at this point. The nature of sentiment (*Gesinnung*), and the two fundamental moral and religious sentiments, respect and love, are, however, somewhat clearly set forth. Sentiment is a condition of the soul which rises into consciousness under some special stimulus. This aspect of mind is closely akin to feeling and will, and is referred to in Scripture as the heart of man. Respect, which through esteem and veneration culminates into reverence, is a feeling of worth. Love also is a feeling of worth, but is distinguished from respect by the personal interest which characterizes it. The feeling of respect for another leads to a conviction which becomes the very core of faith. The feeling of love is associated with reliance upon another for some element of welfare. Here respect and love meet, and are sealed by the crowning sentiment of trust.

The motive and coördinating principle of Christian character is a due appreciation of God's worthfulness, which constitutes the essential nature of reverence and love for him. This is the truth as taught in the words and life of our Lord. All the positive virtues which are expressed in worship, care for the well-being of others, proper use of one's own powers of mind and body, and right conduct toward the lower creation, spring from this one source. Not only is this the taproot of virtue, but it supplies also the means for correcting all tendency to abuse of one's powers. One of the best portions of this discussion is the section entitled "*Verhältnis zur eigenen Person.*" True self-love, which leads to self-preservation, grows out of the estimate formed concerning the soul in the light which comes from Christ.

KALAMAZOO COLLEGE,  
Michigan.

ELIPHALET A. READ.

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THE CLERICAL LIFE: A Series of Letters to Ministers. By JOHN WATSON, D.D., PROFESSOR MARCUS DODS, D.D., PRINCIPAL T. C. EDWARDS, D.D., PROFESSOR JAMES DENNEY, D.D., T. H. DARLOW, M.A., T. G. SELBY, W. ROBERTSON NICOLL, LL.D., J. T. STODDART. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1898.

ALTHOUGH the authors of these letters are named on the title page, in the volume the names are not attached to the letters; each author

writes under a *nom de plume*. Each letter also is addressed to an imaginary person who stands as a type of many. Men in real life evidently suggested the portraits which are so skilfully drawn. In these admirable letters many a pastor will find his difficulties discussed, and the remedies for them pointed out, or his faults, of which he may have been unconscious, uncovered and held up before his eyes, so that he will feel how vastly important it is that they should be corrected.

The following are some of the themes treated: "To a minister who finds that some of his most attractive young men are skeptical;" "To a young minister who is given to anecdotage in the pulpit;" "To a minister whose sermons last an hour;" "To a minister who regards himself as a prophet of criticism;" "To a minister who has studied in Germany;" "To a divinity student." These six topics are a fair specimen of the twenty which are discussed in this volume. Some of the letters are keen satire, in which the faults and foibles of the ministry are hit off with rare humor. Others, written in a serious vein, treat with discrimination and suggestiveness some subjects pertaining to the habits and inner life of the clergy which are seldom mentioned in treatises on pastoral theology.

We find here and there an ambitious sentence, but, as a whole, the style of these letters is simple, clear, bright, and forcetful. Books like this are a boon. We can heartily commend this volume to all in the ministry and to all students for the ministry.

GALUSHA ANDERSON.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

**THE NEW PURITANISM:** Papers by Lyman Abbott, Amory H. Bradford, Charles A. Berry, George H. Gordon, Washington Gladden, during the semi-centennial celebration of Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, N. Y., 1847-97. With introduction by ROSSITER W. RAYMOND. New York: Fords, Howard & Hulbert, 1898. Pp. 275. \$1.

IN writing the history, whether political or religious, of the United States during the last fifty years, account must be made of Plymouth Church; and the records of its semi-centennial jubilee contained in this attractive volume have more than a local interest. The "historical paper" commonly prepared for such occasions is wanting; but the material it should contain is found, in part, in Mr. Raymond's "Introduction," and in Dr. Abbott's sermon, "The New Puritanism," preached on the fiftieth anniversary of Mr. Beecher's first sermon in Brooklyn.

Dr. Abbott depicts in a rapid historical survey the Old Puritanism which was dominant when that famous ministry began in 1847, the attitude of the evangelical Christianity of that day toward the anti-slavery movement, and the New Puritanism with which Plymouth Church and its eloquent preacher speedily became identified. Mr. Raymond calls attention with pardonable satisfaction to the maintenance in undiminished vigor of the social and spiritual life of the church during the ten years that have elapsed since the death of its illustrious founder, and to the evidence thereby offered that Mr. Beecher was a successful organizer and a devoted pastor, as well as a great preacher.

Dr. Abbott has scanty praise for the Old Puritanism. It developed in men a deep sense of sinfulness, but this feeling was somewhat morbid. It taught a reverence for God, but its reverence had more of fear than of love. Its revivals were emotional, rather than ethical. The Congregational churches which adhered to the theology of Edwards contributed little or nothing to the temperance or the anti-slavery movements. This fatalistic religion, with its denial of free will and its doctrine of election, created a reaction whose most important manifestation is found in the revival of philosophy under Coleridge, supported by Erskine, Maurice, Bushnell, and others. It is the modifying influence of "this rational and spiritual philosophy of life" upon the Old Puritanism which has made the New Puritanism, with its teaching that man is free, that God is the all-loving Father, that the religious life is the life natural to man.

Dr. Bradford, in his sermon on "Puritan Principles and the Modern World," has nothing to say of a New Puritanism. Puritanism, in its distinctive principles, is today what it always has been. If it was once a system of religious bigotry and spiritual despotism, it was "because its principles had not had time to work into life and institutions." The best elements of the life of the world today are the expression of the Puritan spirit, and Henry Ward Beecher himself was a Puritan of the Puritans. This claim may be allowed if we accept first Dr. Bradford's conception of Puritanism, from which all that in its history is harsh, unlovely, and narrow is eliminated.

Dr. George A. Gordon discusses "The Theological Problem for Today," which is, in a word, the construction of a theology founded upon a God for mankind, revealing himself in Jesus Christ. God has a Christian purpose toward humanity; and "*if God shall succeed*" (the italics are Dr. Gordon's) universal salvation will be the "final result." In his vision of a theology-to-come, the working out of which is the



present-day task of the church, a theology which shall form "an intellectual basis for the new faith, passion, and enterprise of the church of Christ," Dr. Gordon discovers the supreme divinity of Christ, the incarnation, the dispensation of the Holy Spirit, and salvation through the achievement of a righteous character. If this is Universalism, it is at least a far richer, more positive and symmetrical teaching than that which has commonly gone under that name.

Dr. Gladden, in his setting forth of the "Social Problems of the Future," calls attention to the difficulties which beset all attempts to meet the questions of taxation, monopoly, labor organization, and pauperism, save by the courageous and unswerving application of the law of brotherhood.

"The Church of the Future," in Dr. Tucker's definition of it, must stand for intellectual freedom, for social redemption, for the fearless use of the truth, and for the training of the social conscience.

Dr. Charles A. Berry's address upon "Beecher's Influence upon Religious Thought in England" emphasizes the fact that Mr. Beecher was a great orator because he was a powerful thinker. His influence was not that of a pulpit rhetorician merely, reaching those only who came under the spell of his personal presence. In England he taught impressively and convincingly from the printed page. Dr. Berry unites with Dr. Abbott in finding the secret of Mr. Beecher's power over men and his peculiar contribution to the thought of the age in which he lived in his vivid conception of the living presence of Christ in the world, the deliverer and companion of men.

Taken altogether, *The New Puritanism* is an inspiring book. One hears in it voices of courage and hope, summoning the church of Christ to larger service and to clearer vision of the truth which makes men free.

A. K. PARKER.

CHICAGO, ILL.

#### A TREATISE ON THE PREPARATION AND DELIVERY OF SERMONS.

By JOHN A. BROADUS, D.D., LL.D. New (twenty-third) edition, edited by EDWIN CHARLES DARGAN, D.D., Professor of Homiletics in the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Ky. New York: A. C. Armstrong and Son, 1898. Pp. 560. \$1.75.

THIS is the the twenty-third edition of a very popular treatise on homiletics. The book, as it was first written, has been before the pub-

lic for twenty-eight years. It has been received with such favor that it has passed through twenty-two editions. It has been used as a textbook by many theological schools in both Great Britain and the United States. Many Christian pastors of all denominations have been stimulated by its pages. Two editions of it were issued in England. It has been studied, in its English form, in the mission schools of Japan. Translated into Chinese, it has been serviceable in training Chinese theological students. An edition in Portuguese has been prepared for the use of the mission schools of Brazil. No treatise on homiletics in the English tongue has probably ever been received with such favor.

The present editor, Dr. Dargan, was, for nearly three years immediately preceding the death of Dr. Broadus, his associate professor of homiletics. Brought thus into very intimate relations with the author, he learned the changes that he proposed to make in a new edition of his treatise. Some of these Dr. Broadus committed to writing in the form of notes, he verbally mentioned others in repeated conversations with his colleague. All these alterations proposed by the author have been incorporated in the text of this edition, together with a few by the editor himself.

We have no wish even to suggest any adverse criticism. The book needs no commendation; it speaks for itself by its unparalleled success.

GALUSHA ANDERSON.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

A VINDICATION OF THE BULL "APOSTOLICÆ CURIÆ." A Letter on Anglican Orders. By the CARDINAL ARCHBISHOP AND BISHOPS of the Province of Westminster. London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1898. Pp. 122. 1s.

THE papal bull on Anglican orders, published recently, called forth, soon after its appearance, a reply from the Anglican archbishops of Canterbury and York. The reply has occasioned this vindication from the pens of some of the highest English Roman Catholic prelates. It contains little that is new. Indeed, the chief purpose of its writers is to set forth the argument of the bull in the clearest language, and thus to remove some misapprehensions. The argument of the bull, as of this vindication, refers almost wholly to a single point. The Anglican orders are valid if the Anglican reformers, who withdrew from the papacy, and hence had Roman Catholic ordination, intended

to do, in ordaining priests and bishops, what the Roman Catholic church intends to do. A clergyman of the Roman Catholic church, in performing any ecclesiastical office, does no more than he intends to do, and, to make any rite valid, he must perform it with the proper intention. What does the Roman Catholic church intend to do in ordaining priests and bishops? A priest must offer sacrifices; that is what his priesthood is for; a priest without authority to offer sacrifices is not a priest. The Roman Catholic church, in ordaining a priest, intends to confer on him authority to offer a real sacrifice of Christ in the mass, and, in order to this, to procure the transubstantiation of the bread and the wine of the eucharist. The mere priest cannot transmit this authority to others, a function limited to the bishops. Hence, in ordaining a bishop, the Roman Catholic church intends to confer on him authority to transmit the priesthood to others by the laying on of hands. The bishops who brought Roman Catholic ordination with them to the Anglican church might have intended these things in ordaining others, and in that case the Anglican orders would have been valid. But it is clear that they had no such intention. They expressly repudiated the doctrines of transubstantiation and of sacrifice in the eucharist, and could not have intended to confer a real priesthood in ordaining to the ministry. Hence the Anglican communion has no valid priests or bishops. Such is the argument of the bull and of this vindication. The controversy, which is rapidly becoming voluminous, revolves about this single point, though incidentally including some others in its scope. This vindication is a writing of much dignity and courtesy, and shows a sufficient acquaintance with the literature directly bearing on the subject.

FRANKLIN JOHNSON.

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**DIE AUFGABE DER ORGEL IM GOTTESDIENSTE**, bis in das 18. Jahrhundert. Geschichtlich dargelegt von GEORG RIETSCHEL, D. und ordentlichem Professor der Theologie und erstem Universitätsprediger in Leipzig. Leipzig: Dürr'sche Buchhandlung, 1893. Pp. iv + 72. M. 3.

THE purpose of this interesting book is to demonstrate by an argument from historic usage during the earlier days of Lutheranism that the true, central function of the organ in public worship is to lead and support the congregational song. Liturgical theorists, it is stated, are

unanimous in assigning the organ to this duty above all others, but it is a fair question whether the facts of history warrant this view. Professor Rietschel undertakes to collate the evidence (*a*) from the Protestant Agenda of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, (*b*) from the prefaces, etc., of singing books, (*c*) from sermons about the organ or in commemoration of organists, and (*d*) from didactic handbooks designed for organists' use.

The results of the systematic study of these sources are projected against the background of a valuable, though very succinct, statement of the use of the organ in the Romish church prior to the Reformation and during the sixteenth century. It is shown that this Romish use had already developed into three distinct forms—the independent prelude to the mass or other service, the accompaniment of single choir pieces, and, sometimes, a peculiar playing of the organ in the place of a ritual choir exercise or in antiphony with it. Evidence is adduced to show that the early reformers, from Luther onward, were compelled to regard the emphasis thus placed on the concertizing possibilities of the organ as objectionable, particularly when contrasted with the new liturgical prominence which they were giving to the direct outpouring of the congregation's devotion in choral singing.

It would be useless to attempt to summarize here the extensive array of facts and opinions which our author has gathered. The conclusion toward which his whole investigation really tends is this, that there is a vital distinction between true church music and concert music, even of a distinctly sacred character, and that the prime requisite in public worship is the maintenance and cultivation of the former rather than the latter. He holds that the influence of the theory held by the organist regarding the use of his instrument is profound in determining in any given case whether the drift of the musical exercises shall set toward the purely devotional or toward the concertistic extreme. The latter, he believes, is hostile to the historic genius and spirit of evangelical Protestant liturgics, and hence should be combated.

The value of the facts that are here gathered is indubitable, especially for the historian of German church music. And the argument based upon them is strong in practical urgency, so far as it goes. But the logic is not irresistible. Historic usage is not the only court of appeal regarding liturgical praxis, nor one to be used without qualification. In the particular point here considered it is made clear that the greatest danger lies, not in using the organ in public worship, but in

using it with a false ideal of what is to be accomplished. This brings us back to the fundamental truth that liturgical formulæ, rites, and machinery are always to be estimated and valued in terms of the personal intentions and sentiments of those using them. They do not have, and cannot have, any virtue in and of themselves.

Applying this principle to the case in point, we are bound to say, in spite of the very elaborate argument of Dr. Rietschel, that we can easily conceive that the organ *may* be well used in public worship for purely impressive purposes as a solo instrument, provided only that by personal effort a proper atmosphere has been created and a proper attitude of mind generated in both organist and congregation. Against such a use, if thus guarded, no historical argument, however strong, is valid.

WALDO S. PRATT.

HARTFORD THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

JEWISH LIFE IN THE MIDDLE AGES. By ISRAEL ABRAHAMS, M.A.  
New York: The Macmillan Co., 1897. Pp. xxvi + 452.  
\$1.75.

THIS volume is one of the series of "The Jewish Library," published simultaneously by the Macmillan Co. and the Jewish Publication Society of America. The writers in the series are representative Jewish scholars of England and America, and the present author is adequately equipped in learning and in sympathies to deal with the subject in hand. He brings to the performance of his difficult task those qualities which especially distinguish the leading British writers of the day—a mind scientifically trained and a literary style of great power.

The difficulties with which the author has to cope are twofold, and both of them evident in the title. The one lay in the elasticity of the expression "Middle Ages" as applied to the Jews; and the other in the fact that Jewish life lacking homogeneity in the various countries, it was possible to treat only of Jewish *lives*, and not of Jewish *life*.

The Middle Ages for the Jews were not contemporaneous with the mediævalism of the non-Jewish world. It was only after the decline of feudalism and the rise of the modern spirit that there was actual mediævalism for the Jews. It was then that rabbinical authority began to tyrannize over the Jewish mind. Previously thereto Jewish life may have been concentrated and conduct formalized, but thought

was free as the elements that support universal existence. And it is only a century since emancipation came and modernization—in the sense rather of a return to the old than of the adoption of a new spirit—commenced. Nevertheless, the Middle Ages of the non-Jewish world seriously and well-nigh permanently affected the Jews. In the feudal economy there was scarcely room for the Jew, and he became the chattel of the ruler, his condition varying with the disposition of the latter class. His environment became narrower, and he lacked the impetus to freer development and nobler, because broader, achievement, which are possible only where intercourse is untrammelled and true adaptation unrestrained. Mediævalism did not cease until the ghetto walls fell, but with the extra-Jewish change came also the intra-Jewish renaissance, a movement beginning about the middle of the eighteenth century and still in process. Such being the scope of the Middle Ages for the Jews, it is readily seen that the author could not confine himself to the Middle Ages proper.

Again, it was only after this latter period that Jewish life becomes in the least homogeneous, and then only superficially. There is not that, in the inherent character of the Jewish people themselves, to bring about uniformity. Whatever of uniformity there is was due to the agency of the ghetto; and within the ghetto there was at least an outward appearance of it. It is this that has produced the impression, both within and without Jewry, that there is to the Jewish life an essential distinguishing entity: within, giving rise to spurious conceptions of nationality; and without, to petty and unfounded prejudices. The present author shows that this essential entity is of a religious, and not of a racial or of a political, character; that religious thought being genetically free, life is correspondingly varied and diverse; and that therefore his book must treat of lives rather than of life (p. xxiv).

The volume should do much to correct erroneous impressions that are current concerning Judaism and the Jew. There are probably no problems more discussed and less understood, both by the scientific and by the popular mind, than these. Mr. Abrahams endeavors to place the responsibility where it belongs, and if the reader will but preserve a historical perspective, he will find much to admire in the customs and ceremonies set forth. He must remember that he is reading of Jewish life *in the Middle Ages*; and whatever this chronology may imply, he must not forget that the vast difference between the status of the modern and that of the mediæval Jew renders the latter's detailed life a subject of historical, rather than of any other, value.

The author's is not the duty to show the service rendered to the world by the Jew through his religion. It is to tell the story of what he accomplished and how he lived in the *worldly* rôle that he was called upon to fill. The excellent division of the chapters has much to do in portraying this aspect of the subject, and a valuable index renders the storehouse of facts and fancies readily accessible.

The work is worthy of careful study, and takes its place by the side of the best of its kind.

JOSEPH K. ARNOLD.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

DIE CHRISTLICH-SOCIALEN IDEEN DER REFORMATIONENZEIT UND IHRE HERKUNFT. Von D. MARTIN VON NATHUSIUS, Professor der Theologie in Greifswald (== Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie, herausg. von A. Schlatter und H. Cremer, Vol. I, Heft 2). Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1897. Pp. v + 167. M. 2.40.

THE Reformation of the sixteenth century stands in close connection with the social movements of the three preceding centuries. These movements find expression in the various pre-Reformation sects which originated in a natural reaction against the heathenish condition of the church, none of them dating back to apostolic times. Most of these sects laid great stress on the Bible, some of them following its precepts in the most slavishly literal fashion. The idea of brotherhood was common to them all, some even being communistic. All opposed the external authority of the church, questioned her interpretation of the sacraments, and rejected her forms of worship. But they did not grasp the doctrine of evangelical freedom as preached by the apostle Paul. They united things spiritual with things secular and preached a kingdom of heaven on earth. All the sects alike fell into this error. This was the case with Arnold of Brescia; Dulcino and Savonarola in Italy; with Wickliff and John Balle in England; and with Huss in Bohemia. This was also the trouble with all of the German movements. Luther was the first to define correctly the doctrine of evangelical freedom. He kept the sphere of the gospel and the sphere of earthly interests properly apart. He declared that the freedom of the gospel had nothing to do with freedom in social affairs. Yet he recognized that the progress of the gospel would promote freedom.

But Luther was misunderstood. What he uttered against the

oppressed conscience was soon used against all oppression. Among the first to do this were Carlstadt and the Zwickau prophets. They also sought to enforce their teachings by means of violent methods. Luther was uncompromisingly opposed to this. He deprecated violence. He was also opposed to calling what they preached the gospel. He accused Carlstadt of not understanding evangelic freedom at all, and of knowing nothing but the example of Jesus. Ickelsamer was, like Carlstadt, a mere advocate of outward conformity to Jesus. Eberlin was more evangelical. This man recognized the need of individual regeneration, and was also a warm friend of the people and an earnest champion of various social reforms. Jacob Strauss was of the same mind with Eberlin, but far less practical. Thomas Münzer, the leader of the peasants, came to occupy a standpoint totally opposite to that of Luther. He was a man of earnest spirit; certainly no criminal, as the peasants which he led were no criminals. What they demanded was reasonable. Luther granted that, but he objected to their basing these demands on the ground of religion, and not rather on that of human and natural right, and he also objected, even more vigorously, to making it a part of religion to violently enforce these demands. Luther had no sympathy with revolutionists, yet the various risings of the Reformation period were unquestionably occasioned by the preaching of Luther. The revolutionists of the Reformation were the lineal descendants of the heretical sects of the three preceding centuries which, suppressed for a time, were emboldened through the preaching of Luther to raise their heads again.

Thus two tendencies run through this whole period. The sects before the Reformation, the Zwickau prophets, the peasants led by Thomas Münzer, Ickelsamer, Strauss, and several others, mixed earthly things with spiritual things; while Luther and those who followed him, true to the teachings of Scripture, kept the sphere of the gospel and the sphere of earthly interest apart.

These are the main thoughts of this very interesting book. The subject deserves much fuller treatment, but the book is timely and valuable so far as it goes. The author's positions are in the main correctly taken. He shows a fine philosophic grasp on history. His estimate of the movements prior to the Reformation is especially good. His interpretation of Luther's position toward social matters is excellent. But we do not agree with him in holding that Luther occupied a strictly scriptural position. We believe that Jesus had very distinctly a social order in mind when he proclaimed the kingdom of



heaven. Nor do we believe, with our author, that "nothing is more harmful to the gospel than to mix it with earthly interests."

That it was *expedient* in Luther's day to keep "the sphere of the gospel and the sphere of earthly interest" apart is perhaps true. But every age is not like Luther's age. There was a time when it was expedient to allow the granting of bills of divorce, but our Savior said that in his day that time had gone by. The absolute best is not always the most expedient. "The hardness of the human heart" must be considered. Especially is this important when one tries to bring the teachings of a past leader to bear on modern problems. The author, in showing the inexpediency of "mixing the gospel with earthly interests," as he calls it, in the days of Luther, assumes that it would be very harmful for all time to come; a conclusion which we believe to be as harmful as it is unscriptural.

GERALD D. HEUVER.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

BILDER AUS DER LETZTEN RELIGIÖSEN ERWECKUNG IN DEUTSCHLAND. By RUDOLF BENDIXEN. Leipzig: Dörrfling & Franke, 1897. Pp. 444. M. 4.

THIS is one of those rare books in which one never tires of reading. It is a series of sketches of the lives and the work of fifteen persons providentially raised up to withstand the rising tide of rationalism in Germany, and to reintroduce into the country the simple principles of a pure evangelical faith. The period of their activity lies almost wholly within the first forty years of the present century, and is connected, more or less directly, with the new life among the people aroused by the successful wars for independence. We have brief but satisfactory biographies of Friedrich Perthes, E. M. Arndt, G. H. von Schubert, Heinrich Steffens, Klaus Harms, Ludwig Hofacker, J. E. Gossner, Aloys Henhöfer, August Tholuck, August Neander, Philipp Spitta, Gottfried Menken, F. A. Krummacher, Theodor Fliedner, and Amalie Sieveking. These biographies appeared originally in the *Kirchenzeitung*, a journal established in the early part of the century by Hengstenberg, of Berlin, but for many years now under the editorial charge of Professor Luthardt, of Leipzig. The author signs himself as *Diakonus in Grimma*. He writes modestly, clearly, and with evident mastery of his subject. One feels, in reading his articles, that one is following a safe guide.

For a person who cares to go behind the scenes and study the causes of that religious awakening in Germany which is in itself scarcely less remarkable than the successful struggle for liberty, or the establishment, under Bismarck, of the German empire, these sketches are of great value. They introduce us to their subjects in their homes. We meet them at their everyday work. We see them as they are. We are enabled to follow them through their mental struggles to simple faith in the gospel. We see why it is that, without any effort on their part, they became leaders in that evangelical movement which did so much to overthrow rationalism. In Perthes we are made acquainted, not only with an eminent publisher, but with a patriot and an earnest Christian, whose correspondence with almost every person of influence in Germany prior to 1843 contributed not a little to the union of German thought on religious subjects, and to the political union of the smaller principalities and kingdoms under the leadership of Prussia. Those who care to enter into sympathy with the men who felt that they must pass away without seeing their ideals realized will find a rich mine in which to delve in the life of Perthes, as told by his son in three volumes. English readers will turn naturally in the volume before us to the lives of Tholuck, Neander, Krummacher, Fliedner, and Gossner. They will not be disappointed. Familiar as they may have deemed themselves to be with the leading events in the history of these men, they will discover that the author has brought out many new facts in their lives, and shed much light upon the motives by which they were controlled. One will read with hardly less interest the story of the work of such men as Spitta, Menken, Hofacker, and Steffens, of whom little is known outside their native lands, but whose abilities and deeds enshrine them in the memory of their countrymen. Few will read unmoved what is written of Amalie Sieveking, of Hamburg, whose service in the hospitals during the cholera epidemic in her native city early in the century, and whose union of women for work among the poor, served as an incentive even to Fliedner, and as a model, in part at least, for the German deaconesses whose consecration and usefulness have made them honored throughout the world.

We give the book our hearty commendation, not less for the restraint with which it is written than for the information it contains.

EDWARD F. WILLIAMS.

CHICAGO, ILL.

*Theologische Studien.* Herrn Wirkl. Oberkonsistorialrath Professor D. Bernhard Weiss zu seinem 70. Geburtstage dargebracht von C. R. Gregory, Ad. Harnack, M. W. Jacobus, G. Koffmane, E. Kuhl, A. Resch, O. Ritschl, Fr. Sieffert, A. Titius, J. Weiss, Fr. Zimmer. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1897; pp. iii+357; M. 11.) In this volume of essays, published in honor of the seventieth birthday of Bernhard Weiss, we have a number of exceptionally strong papers, among which it is difficult to choose those of special worth. The paper by Harnack, however, is hardly more than a note, in which, by a comparison of eleven accounts of the first appearance of Jesus after his resurrection, he throws considerable light upon the apocryphal ending of Mark. A paper by Resch has some autobiographical interest, and also presents in succinct form his general position in regard to theagrapha of Jesus. The contribution by J. Weiss is perhaps as interesting as any, and is along a line that has been little worked. In it, along with other data, he has given in great detail the instances of Hebraistic parallelism in the writings of Paul. In several instances such parallelism is of considerable exegetical value, although occasionally the form is rhetorical rather than one of thought. The parallelisms are especially common in first Corinthians, but the arrangement given by Weiss to Phil. 2:5-10 is of especial value for interpretation. One cannot help wondering, however, whether the writer has correctly reduced the parallels in the first verse. Professor Gregory's paper is of value as a contribution to textual criticism, while that of the other American writer, Professor Jacobus, of Hartford Theological Seminary, is a good piece of exegetical investigation.—SHAILER MATHEWS.

*The Bremen Lectures on Great Religious Questions of Today.* By various eminent European divines; translated from the original German by David Heagle, D.D., Professor in the Theological Department of the Southwestern Baptist University. A new and improved edition. (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1898; pp. 406; \$2.) Notwithstanding these apologetical lectures have been before the public for more than a quarter of a century, they are still of great worth. Most of the considerations urged in the papers which comprise this volume are of permanent value. When speculative and false conceptions of God are rife, when the miracles of Christ are scouted or explained away, when the genuineness and authority of the gospels are called in question, when evolutionary theology virtually

denies the exceeding sinfulness of sin and the necessity of the atonement of Christ, such a book as this thoroughly read and digested would prove a powerful corrective of doubt and skepticism.

The volume is quite complete in its make-up. There is a valuable "Preface" by the translator, and a "Prefatory Note" by Dr. Alvah Hovey. Each lecture is introduced by a brief biographical sketch and a portrait of its author. There is also a careful summary of each paper, and a full index of the entire volume.—GALUSHA ANDERSON.

*Beiträge zur Geschichte der wissenschaftlichen Studien in sächsischen Klöstern.* I. *Altzelle.* Von Ludwig Schmidt. (Dresden: Wilhelm Baensch, Verlagshandlung, 1897; pp. 93; M. 1.50.) This is an interesting addition to the study of Saxon monasteries. This old Cistercian cloister flourished between 1162 and 1540, and was the center of great activity. The library consisted of about 960 volumes, with 21 desks of 774 volumes devoted to theology, 5 desks to medicine, with 108 volumes, and 75 volumes on law. A detailed account is given of the rare old MSS., the chief acquisitions of which were made in the time of the abbot Martin. In 1543 the library passed over to form the nucleus of the library of the University of Leipzig. So little is known of monastic libraries that this minute study furnishes valuable information.—ZELLA ALLEN DIXSON.

*Ideas from Nature. Talks with Students.* By William Elder, Professor of Chemistry, Colby University. (Philadelphia: The American Baptist Publication Society, 1898; pp. 202; \$0.75.) Professor Elder evidently has not before his eyes the fear of those who scout the argument from design as the "carpenter theory." Accepting the dictum of science that "the sensible universe is made up of matter and energy alone," he claims, with Dr. Carpenter, that "force must be taken as the direct expression of will," and hence that behind matter and energy there is something that directs them. Order, contrivance, and adaptation indicate design, and wise and benevolent design, such as the world manifests, implies a wise and benevolent designer. The author shows that there is no antagonism between the view that regards nature as ordered through mechanism, and that which affirms it to be governed by divine will, so that miracles are consistent with natural law, and so are credible when the occasion demands them, as it does in attestation of divine revelation, even while the operations of energy under natural law are manifestations of God.

These "talks" must have been very helpful to those with whom they were held, enabling them to get answers to questions which are sure to suggest themselves to every earnest student of science. The style is attractive, and the thoughts are clearly expressed, and the tone candid. There is a little confusion in the order of the thoughts.—N. S. BURTON.

*Buddhism and Its Christian Critics.* By Dr. Paul Carus. (Chicago: Open Court Publishing Co., 1897; pp. 316; cloth, \$1.25.) The present deepened interest in the study of the non-Christian religions will give this book a wide welcome. Dr. Carus has been a diligent and sympathetic student of Buddhism, and the present work, into which he has manifestly put the results of much reading and careful thought, discusses the "Origin and Philosophy" of Buddhism, the "Psychological Problem" which it presents, its "Basic Concepts," its "Relations with Christianity," and the "Criticisms which Christians have Made of the Buddhist System." Dr. Carus has written a book which will probably be of more service to the non-Christian than to the Christian readers of it. He does not accept historic Christianity, but he has a cordial sympathy for Christian ethics and many Christian ideas. He perceives clearly the superiority of Christianity, at least in its effects upon the general life of men. His efforts to make Buddhism appear theistic must be regarded as a failure. Some of his criticisms of the conduct of missions are timely and just. The author's style is marked by some infelicities, but our chief criticism of his work is the indorsement of the Buddhist psychology. Christian readers of this volume will need to be continually on their guard, for Dr. Carus is skilful in statement, and plausible in some of the arguments by which he would eliminate from our souls the conviction of our own personality, and the hope of a conscious immortality.—JOHN H. BARROWS.

*Die Urreligion der Indogermanen.* Vortrag von Dr. Ernst Siecke, Professor am Lessing-Gymnasium in Berlin. (Berlin: Mayer & Müller, 1897; pp. 38; M. 0.80.) The gist of this brief pamphlet may be summed up in the following proposition: All the great deities of the primitive Indo-Germanic world go back to the sun, moon, heaven, and like powers of nature. This is a position which, so far as it relates to the moon, and, in a somewhat less degree, to the sun, is a return to what is generally regarded nowadays as an untenable view. It is, however, defended with vigor and supported with many weighty

proofs. The pendulum has lately swung far away from the side of the comparative mythologists on account of their fantasies and extravagances, and now inclines heavily toward the anthropologists. It is fitting that there should be some reaction. Professor Siecke tries to prove too much, a thing which seems to be the fault of all the Germans—they follow most of their good ideas out of the window. His field of view is not broad enough. He will accept only that mythology which he can see with his own eyes, but his eyes are always aloft, and he does not imagine that the primitive Indo-German ever saw anything below the tops of the trees. His brochure will serve to call us back to the recognition of neglected facts in Indo-Germanic religion. It will not convince anyone of the truth of its thesis expressed in so extreme a form.—GEORGE S. GOODSPEED.

*Guesses at the Riddle of Existence*, and Other Essays on Kindred Subjects. By Goldwin Smith. (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1898; pp. x + 244; \$1.25.) The "guesses" are not the author's, but those of Drummond, Kidd, and Balfour, which he criticises in the opening essay. In other papers he treats of the Old Testament, immortality, miracles, and "Morality and Theism." The book is the sincere expression of an honest, dry-minded man, who is deeply convinced that not only the popular Christianity, but theism itself, has been seriously discredited by modern knowledge. The Old Testament, though not without value, is a burden to religion. In Christianity the Founder is great, but the miraculous element is wholly disproved. Immortality, though our hearts cry out for it, hangs in doubt. Theism is far less certain than we thought, and what morality and the social order will do without it we cannot tell; while the "guesses" by which certain men of our time have sought to rehabilitate faith are futile. In this view of things the author does not take pleasure, but writes rather in sadness, so far as the present is concerned, and in hope, though not in very definite hope, that after the period of destruction is past a truer and stronger theism may be constructively established. To this result, however, the present volume does not directly contribute.—WILLIAM N. CLARKE.

*Einführung in das griechische Neue Testament.* Von Eberhard Nestle. Mit 8 Handschriften-Tafeln. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1897; pp. 129; M. 2; bd., M. 3.40.) The three chapters of this introduction, or companion, to the Greek New Testament,

entitled, respectively, "The History of the Printed Text since 1514," "The Materials of New Testament Text Criticism," and "The Theory and Praxis of New Testament Text Criticism," cover substantially the same ground as Schaff's *Companion* or Scrivener's *Plain Introduction* in English, but embody the results of later and more searching investigation. Written in an unusually simple and terse style, the book is a veritable treasure-house of information, but it is more than a compendium of universally acknowledged facts and current theories. The author is an original investigator, as well as a compiler, and his work is a genuine contribution to New Testament criticism. One hesitates about giving the book most unqualified commendation only because of doubt whether, in a manual intended, as this is, for popular use, the author's individual opinions are not too prominent. It may be true, as Blass argues, and Nestle is inclined to believe, that in the Acts D represents the first draft of the book, a fair copy of which, with corrections and alterations by Luke himself, is found in the ordinary text; and it may also be that many problems in the synoptics and the early part of the Acts are most easily solved by the supposition of a misreading or a mistranslation of an original Semitic source. Yet, it is questionable whether such hypotheses are sufficiently well established to deserve place in a popular handbook. On the other hand, the presentation of the problems arising out of the numerous Syriac versions is a model of clear, impartial exposition. Besides an appendix giving references for further study, there are also eight facsimile pages of New Testament manuscripts.—W. W. FENN.

Since the early eighties there have been held at Giessen annual meetings of the ministers living in the district around Giessen and the professors of the university. Some of the lectures delivered at these meetings were published by the J. Ricker'sche Verlags-Buchhandlung, Giessen, in a series called *Vorträge der theologischen Konferenz zu Giessen*. The latest additions to this interesting series are No. 12: *Die sprachliche Erforschung der griechischen Bibel, ihr gegenwärtiger Stand und ihre Aufgaben*, von G. Adolf Deissmann (1898; pp. 33; M. 0.80); and No. 14: *Die neuen Funde auf dem Gebiete der ältesten Kirchengeschichte* (1889-98), von Gustav Krüger (1898; pp. 30; M. 0.60).—Deissmann, the author of the *Neue Bibelstudien*, shows the erroneous-ness of the almost universal belief, taught in most grammars of the New Testament idiom, concerning the peculiar character and the unity or uniformity of the so-called "biblical," or at least New Testament,

Greek. He maintains that from the linguistic point of view the biblical texts fall into two great groups, viz.: original Greek writings and Greek translations of Semitic originals. Within these two groups we find different linguistic elements that have to be treated individually. The true contrast to "biblical" Greek is the Greek of the "classical" period, not the so-called "profane Greek" (*Profangrätität*). Recent discoveries have shown that the peculiarities of "biblical" semasiology and lexicography (and, in the case of originally Greek writings, also of syntax) are, on the whole, the peculiarities observed in later, and especially unliterary, popular Greek. The author then gives a brief summary and estimate of the most important philological contributions of recent years, in which the English writers, Hatch, Redpath, H. H. A. Kennedy, and others, receive special credit. It is refreshing to notice the just tribute paid to Thiersch's *De Pentateuchi versione Alexandrina libri tres*, 1841. In the field of New Testament research Schmiedel, Blass, Grimm-Thayer, Cremer, and others receive due attention. We strongly recommend this pamphlet, which, though small in size, gives a most excellent survey of most important philological work done during the last twenty years.—Every contribution from Krüger's pen is worthy of the careful consideration of all students of the New Testament and of early church history. In the pamphlet mentioned above Krüger presents, in semi-popular language, a clear survey of the recent discoveries in the field of New Testament apocryphal and early Christian literature. The finds of the Logia of Jesus, by Grenfell and Hunt (1897); of the apocryphal gospel and apocalypse of Peter, by Bouriart (1892); of the Coptic Acts of Paul, by Carl Schmidt (1897); and of the early Syriac translation of the four gospels by Mrs. Lewis (1892), as well as a number of smaller, though by no means less important, discoveries, are briefly but precisely described. Of the later early Christian literature, the Martyrdom of Apollonius, edited by Conybeare from an Armenian text (1893); the Apology of Aristides, discovered by Harris (1889), and many other tracts, throwing light especially on some phases of early gnosticism, are discussed, the critical apparatus and references being added in notes on pp. 26–30. This pamphlet is a worthy companion of Deissmann's treatise.—W. MUSS-ARNOLT.

*Some New Testament Problems.* By Rev. Arthur Wright, M.A. (London: Methuen & Co., 1898; pp. xii + 349; 6s. "The Churchman's Library.") Under this somewhat elastic title Mr. Wright has



gathered more than a score of essays, most of them brief, on a variety of topics suggested by the study of the synoptic gospels and Acts, themes from the synoptics predominating. As some of the material of the essays has already appeared in English journals, they do not require detailed notice here. Mr. Wright is known to stand especially for the oral tradition theory of our synoptic gospels, and the application and bearings of this theory naturally play a prominent part in his discussions. These are marked by agreeable frankness, and contain not a little that is striking and suggestive in interpretation. Reviews of recent publications by Gardner, Halcombe, Badham, Jolley, and others, make up a considerable part of the volume. Mr. Wright says that a critic should take care to use a good text, but in some cases, e. g., p. 133, 1 Tim. 6:17, he has failed to conform to his own precept. In the same paragraph one wonders at the word "rich" as a rendering for σοφοὶ κατὰ σάρκα, 1 Cor. 1:26. On p. 140, Acts 2:42 should read Acts 2:46. The accents ὅψε, pp. 153, 154, 349, δύνατος, p. 264, and Βηθσαΐδαν, p. 349, are wrong; the last mistake, which occurs four times on p. 262, having been taken over from one of the books reviewed by Mr. Wright. On p. 126 Mr. Wright quotes not quite exactly from *Richard II*. The quotation should begin with "As" rather than "My," which is the more interesting in this connection as showing that even today quotation from memory often supersedes the use of documents.—*S. Mark's Indebtedness to S. Matthew*. By F. P. Badham, M.A. (New York: E. R. Herrick & Co., 1897; pp. xxviii + 131; \$1.) In the dedication of his book Mr. Badham proclaims himself a disciple of Professor Hilgenfeld, and one need not read far to find oneself in the atmosphere of the Tübingen school. The book is designed to prove that Matthew is generally posterior to Mark. The writer of the second gospel, Mr. Badham holds, had the first gospel practically entire, and used it, obliterating its Judaic features, omitting many discourses, and imparting to the residuum his own peculiar literary quality. The second gospel thus has a unity and completeness by no means possessed by the first. What has ordinarily been thought Mark's picturesque and vivid style, is due to his artificial straining after intensity, emphasis, and verisimilitude, and constitutes no argument for priority. In all this Mr. Badham is likely to find few adherents. He has come at his phase of the synoptic problem too much as an advocate to have made a substantial contribution toward its solution. In passing upon the evidence, even as gathered and presented by himself, he is sometimes singularly perverse. Every page of

his third and longest chapter contains what seems striking evidence of Matthew's rewriting of Mark, but Mr. Badham's conclusion is the very opposite. A few inaccuracies in the printing have been noted: *παρρησία*, p. 37, and *πληρωθῇ*, p. 102, need iota subscript; and the accents *ἐξίσταται*, p. 57, and *οὐτός* (for *οὐτός*), p. 104, are wrong.—EDGAR J. GOODSPEED.

*Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten: Nachträge.* Von Gustav Krüger. (Freiburg i. B., Leipzig und Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1897; pp. 32; M. 0.60. = *Grundriss der theologischen Wissenschaften*: Neunte Abtheilung.) Krüger's "History of Early Christian Literature" has proved to be one of the most useful contributions to the series of manuals of theological science. It has been welcomed by every student of early Christian literature, because of the fact that what it offers is in most instances reliable, precise, and expressed in briefest language, and yet never obscure. After three years, the author now publishes a small pamphlet containing additions and corrections, thus relieving the student from buying a new edition of the whole work. The additions are exceedingly well chosen, and one regrets only that American literature is not sufficiently represented.<sup>1</sup>—W. MUSS-ARNOLT.

*Antichrist.* Including the Period from the Arrival of Paul in Rome to the End of the Jewish Revolution. By Ernest Renan. Translated and Edited by Joseph Henry Allen, Late Lecturer on Ecclesiastical History in Harvard University. (Boston: Roberts Brothers; now:

<sup>1</sup> Speaking of some few points, I would say, e.g.: To § 12, 1 (Literature) add perhaps *Zeitschr. f. österr. Gymnas.*, Vol. 36, 245-9; to § 13 add "The oracles ascribed to Matthew by Papias of Hierapolis, a critical contribution to the criticism of the New Testament," by PURVES, in *Presb. and Ref. Rev.*, Vol. VII, 716-19; to § 36, A. BALDUS, *Das Verhältniss Justins des Martyrers zu unseren synoptischen Evangelien*, Münster, 1895, 35 pp.; § 43, the recent monograph of W. HEINZELMANN, *Der Brief an Diogenet* "Die Perle des christl. Altertums" übers. u. gewürdigt (Erfurt, Neumann, 32 pp.). To § 85, 9 b, add K. WERBER, *Tertullian's Schrift "De Spectaculis" in ihrem Verhältniss zu Varro's "Rerum divinarum libri"* (Gymnas.-Progr., Teschen, 1896); to § 86, 5c, see *Wiener Studien*, XVII, 317; also to the same section G. LANDGRAF's "Über den pseudo-cypr. Tractat *Adversus Iudæos*," *Archiv f. lat. Lexikogr.*, XI, Heft 1; § 98 FR. LAUCHERT, *Die Kanones der wichtigsten altkirchlichen Concilien nebst den apostolischen Kanones*, Heft 12 von "Sammlung ausgewählter kirchen- und dogmengesch. Quellen," hrsg. v. Gust. Krüger, 1896.—For a new edition of the whole work these corrections might be added: p. 3, l. 5, Trithemius; p. 5, l. 17, from below, I. (not L.) v. Müller; p. 40, l. 7, Abfassung.

Little, Brown & Co., 1897; pp. vi+437; \$2.50.) This work of Renan has been so long before the public that there is no need of a criticism of it at the present time. The translating and editing of the volume, which will be found to represent Renan's work as a historian as well as any of the series, have been finely done. This point should be emphasized, since Renan has suffered much from his translators heretofore in this country. As the editor says in his prefatory notes, he has taken some liberties with Renan's style, but only such as will render him the more intelligible to the reader. Such additions as have been made by the editor only enhance the value of the work.—HAMILTON FORD ALLEN.

*Two Lectures on the "Sayings of Jesus" Recently Discovered at Oxyrhynchus.* Delivered at Oxford, October 23, 1897, by Rev. Walter Lock, D.D., Dean Ireland's Professor of the Exegesis of Holy Scripture, and Rev. William Sanday, D.D., LL.D., Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1897; pp. 49; 1s. 6d., *net*.) In these two lectures an attempt is made to sum up the permanent results of the discussion that followed the publication of Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt's find. Professor Lock rightly criticises the title given the fragment by its discoverers, "Logia," and regards each saying as distinct from the others. Professor Sanday, on the other hand, approves of the term, though holding that the Sayings have nothing in common with the Hebrew Logia of St. Matthew, but belong to a pre-canonical epoch. "I cannot think," he says further, "that any of the new matter represents, as it stands, a genuine saying of our Lord." Their author did not use the canonical gospels, but the Sayings were probably worked up under conditions created by those gospels, and this fact leads Dr. Sanday to the further conclusion that they were probably written about 120 A. D., at Alexandria, by a Jew. The two lectures not only are admirable specimens of open-minded treatment of questions in which certainty is impossible because of paucity of data, but also present the most matured views on the subject of the "Logia" which have yet appeared.—SHAILER MATHEWS.

*Hippolytstudien.* Von Hans Achelis. Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur. Herausgegeben von Oscar v. Gebhardt und Adolf Harnack. Neue Folge, I. Band, Heft 4. (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1897; pp. vi+233; M. 7.50.) These studies are of the greatest importance for the owners

of the first volume of Hippolytus' works, edited by Bonwetsch and Achelis,<sup>1</sup> inasmuch as they take the place of an introduction usually prefaced to the edition of an ancient author. Achelis divides his studies into two parts, a general survey of the life and work of Hippolytus, and a second, dealing with special problems. Part I begins with a chapter on Hippolytus as a writer, examining the list of works ascribed to him on the well-known statue, and the statements concerning him made by Eusebius (*Ch. Hist.*, IV, 22), Jerome, and others. He then takes up the account of his life and death, and the legends connected with "Saint Hippolyte." Here we have at last the foundation for a true estimate of the great church father. In Part II, pp. 63-215, special questions are discussed, such as the tract *De Antichristo*, the Greek fragments on Genesis, and the various writings attributed to Hippolytus. The titles of the works discussed and a list of the ancient writers and their works cited or referred to are given in an appendix. Achelis considers Hippolytus' double, the Hippolytus Thebanus, as a mythical personage. Fr. Diekamp, of Münster, the well-known Catholic student of the works of Hippolytus, on the other hand, promises to bring proof shortly that this Hippolytus Thebanus is not a mythical person, but lived and wrote approximately during the first half of the eighth century. See Diekamp, "Die dem hl. Hippolytus von Rom zugeschriebene Erklärung von Apok. 20: 1-3 im griechischen Text," *Theol. Quartalschrift*, 1897, 604-16, especially p. 614.—W. MUSS-ARNOLT.

*Die Grabschrift des Aberkios*, erklärt von Albrecht Dieterich (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1896; pp. viii + 55; M. 2) is the most important attempt at the solution of the puzzles of the famous sepulchral inscription.\* The author presents to his readers the text of the inscription with a full critical apparatus, followed by the restored text with German translation. He next discusses the time of execution: "the monument was made soon after the year 216 A. D.; Abercius' jour-

\*A review of this volume is printed on pp. 901-4 of this volume.

\*The researches up to 1896 were summarized in a contribution to the *Biblical World*, May, 1896, 373-5. G. Ficker, in 1894, attempted to show that Abercius was a priest of Cybele, and that the whole inscription should be explained from the point of view of the mysteries connected with the Cybele worship. Harnack, in 1895, defended Ficker's position against the attacks of Duchesne, De Rossi, V. Schultze, and others, maintaining that "Abercius was either a genuine pagan, or, what seems more probable, a member of that pagan, gnostic sect in which a Christian *μυστήριον* was combined with pagan mysteries" (*Texte und Untersuchungen*, XII, Heft 4). Hilgen-

ney to Rome which took place during the reign of Heliogabalus (218-22 A. D.), and his religious position, which clearly points to a pagan. He closes with some general remarks on the problems of the history of religion, occasioned by this inscription and its interpretation. The pamphlet is sincerely recommended to all students interested in early Christian archæology.<sup>1</sup>—W. MUSS-ARNOLT.

*Die Tage Trajans und Hadrians.* Von Dr. A. Schlatter.—*Leben und Schriften Agobards, Erzbischofs von Lyon.* Von Dr. R. Foss. Vol. I, Heft 3, of "Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie." Herausgegeben von A. Schlatter und H. Cremer. (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1897; pp. 144; M. 2.) These are two articles, the first of one hundred pages, the second of forty-four. Both articles under review deal with important questions in church history, and are scholarly productions, especially the first one. Dr. Schlatter takes issue with Gregorovius and Harnack on the question as to the time when the emperor Hadrian began the erection of the *Ælia Capitolina*. He contends strongly, also, that both Gregorovius and Harnack erred in their presentation of Hadrian's treatment of the Jews, because both of these historians paid so little attention to the contemporaneous Jewish litera-

feld, *Zeitschr. f. wiss. Theologie*, Vol. 38, 639, accepted the former alternative of Harnack, while Zahn (*Neue kirchl. Zeitschrift*, VI, 863-86, and *Realencyclopædie f. protest. Theol. u. Kirche*, 3te Aufl., Vol. II, 1897, 315-17) stoutly maintained the Christian character of the whole inscription, as well as the unity of place and execution, this latter against Robert in *Hermes*, 1894, 421-8, who on the whole opposes Ficker's conclusions.

<sup>1</sup> Since the appearance of Dieterich's book some very interesting articles have been published, the most important of which, here given, may help some students of the inscription: J. WILPERT, *Fractio Panis* (defends Christian character of the inscription), 3d appendix; also see G. DE L., "Un mouvement de la foi du second siècle: L'építaphe d'Abercius," *Études*, 1897, May 20, 433-62; WEHOFER, "Eine neue Aberkioshypothese," *Rom. Quartalschr.*, 1896, 351-78, and "Zur vita des Aberkios," *ibid.*, 405 ff.; K. M. KAUFMANN, "Die Legende der Aberkiosstele im Lichte urchristlicher Eschatologie," *Der Katholik*, XV, 1897, March; X. FUNK, "Zur Aberkios-Inschrift," *Theol. Quartalschr.*, 1898, 171-4; G. DE SANCTIS, "Die Grabschrift des Aberkios," *Zeitschr. für kathol. Theologie*, 1897, 673-95; "L'inscription d'Abercius," *Anal. Boll.*, XVI, 1.—Again, see HILGENFELD, *Zeitschr. f. wiss. Theologie*, Vol. 40, ii, 297-8; JÜLICHER, in the new edition of Pauly's *Encyclopædie*.—*Bulletin critique*, February 25, 1897; *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, XXXV, No. 3 (May-June, 1897), 418-19; XXXVI, No. 1 (July-August, 1897), 111-13; M., "Die Grabschrift des Aberkios, *Beilage zur allgemeinen Zeitung*, München, August 11, 1897; F. C. CONYBEARE, "Harnack on the Inscription of Abercius," *The Classical Review*, IX, 295-7, and "Talmudic Elements in the 'Acts of Abercius,'" *Academy*, 1896, No. 1257, 468-70; HARNACK, *Theol. Litutg.*, 1897, col. 61.

ture.\* In fact, the striking and valuable feature of Dr. Schlatter's essay is the vast amount of historical evidence he manages to find in the Palestinian literature of the second century that directly bears on his subject.—Dr. Foss writes the biography of a Gallican archbishop of the ninth century, throwing some interesting sidelights on the political and religious condition of France in those days. Agobard is to him one of the early staunch defenders of the Gallican liberties as opposed to the first encroachments of the Roman popes.—A. J. RAMAKER.

*Die Gegenreformation in Karlsbad.* Nach den Quellen dargestellt. Von Dr. Karl Ludwig. (Prag: H. Dominicus, 1897; pp. 48; M. 1.) The interest of this brief study is chiefly local. One learns from it, indeed, how the Lutheran preachers were expelled from Karlsbad, how the Roman Catholic priests were brought into the places thus made vacant, and how the people became reconciled to the change; and he may accept the small picture as typical of similar processes which went on in a thousand other places, and may thus gain some conception of the entire movement in the German empire to destroy Protestantism. But this general view may be obtained by other and better means. The work of Dr. Ludwig has been chiefly to copy his materials from the city records and to print them without change, only introducing here and there a few connecting and explanatory sentences of his own. The German is thus left in all its antique quaintness.—FRANKLIN JOHNSON.

*The Rise of the Dutch Republic.* Condensed and continued by William Elliot Griffis. (New York and London: Harper & Bros., 1898; pp. xvi+943; \$1.75.)—In condensing into one volume of convenient size Mr. Motley's *Rise of the Dutch Republic*, Dr. Griffis has performed a service for which many a reader will thank him heartily. By adding an independent sketch of Dutch history from 1584 to 1897, he has increased the obligation; for there is no country which has had a more interesting history than that of the Netherlands, and there have been few more charming writers than John Lothrop Motley. The *Student's Motley* is a volume of nearly a thousand pages. It is prefaced by a historical introduction and a short biographical sketch of the author.

\*[The eminent Semitist, W. Bacher, in an article, "Erreurs récentes concernant d'anciennes sources historiques," in the *Revue des études juives*, XXXVI, April-June, 1898, pp. 197-205, again charges Schlatter with numerous errors and incorrect interpretations of early Jewish historical documents.—THE EDITORS.]

In the succeeding seven hundred pages are condensed the three volumes written by Mr. Motley. The original divisions have been retained, but some of the headings have been changed. Very little alteration has been made in rhetoric, style, or spelling; an occasional clerical error or an obvious misstatement has been corrected, but, in general, the language is that of the original writer. Some representative illustrations have been added, and the result is a convenient volume, which is attractive, and will lead many a reader to go to Mr. Motley's other works to find more of such charming narration. The special chapters from Mr. Griffis' own hand are not unworthy companions of the offspring of Mr. Motley's brain. He approached the work with strong convictions of the importance of the Netherlands in the world movements, and with sympathetic interest he unrolled the scroll which contained the record of a people's history. Many of the ideas appear which mark his "Brave Little Holland, and What She Taught Us," and it is clear that closer study of the social and political life of the Low Countries has only served to strengthen his belief that the United States owes a great deal to the people whose story proved so attractive to Mr. Motley a generation ago. In these days of increased interest in Holland because of the accession of Queen Wilhelmina, Mr. Griffis' condensation should find many readers.—FRANCIS W. SHEPARDSON.

*Das Christentum Cyprians.* Eine historisch-kritische Untersuchung. Von Lic. K. G. Goetz. (Giessen: J. Ricker'sche Buchhandlung, 1896; pp. x + 141; M. 3.60.) Cyprian has often been represented by modern writers as predominantly a great ruler, or even as a shrewd and calculating politician. On the contrary, the portrait of him drawn by the church writers of the century immediately following his death is that of an edifying teacher, whose books are useful chiefly as aids in the development of the spiritual life. The two representations are so different that Goetz has studied them anew in the light of some of Cyprian's own works. What conception of Christianity does Cyprian embody in these works? That of an external organization, half political and half ecclesiastical? Or that of an inner spiritual and ethical force? Goetz denies the first of these alternatives and affirms the second. The inference is that Cyprian himself was not so much a ruler and politician as it is now the fashion to suppose, and that his chief activities were those of a pastor and spiritual guide. Archbishop Benson, in his recent remarkable book on Cyprian, finds no discrep-

ancy in the two views, but combines them in a single portraiture.—*Studien zu Vigilius von Thapsus*. Von Lic. Dr. Gerhard Ficker, Privatdocenten der Theologie an der Universität Halle-Wittenberg. (Leipzig: Johann Ambrosius Barth, 1897; pp. iii+79; M. 2.40.) A number of treatises have come down to us under the name of Vigilius, bishop of Thapsus near the close of the fifth century. In 1664 Chifflet, a Jesuit scholar, discussed these treatises, and sought to distinguish the genuine works of Vigilius from others of the collection. His results were accepted as final by Migne, and now appear in the *Patrology*. Ficker opens the question anew, and dissents from some of the conclusions reached by Chifflet, and accepts others. The discussion is of special interest to specialists in early ecclesiastical literature.—FRANKLIN JOHNSON.

*Marcus Eremita. Ein neuer Zeuge für das altkirchliche Taufbekenntniss*. Eine Monographie zur Geschichte des Apostolicums, mit kürzlich entdeckter Schrift des Marcus. Von Johannes Kunze, Privatdocenten der Theologie an der Universität Leipzig. (Leipzig: Dörffling & Franke, 1895; pp. vii+211; M. 6.) This book is a learned, new, and important contribution to the history of the baptismal confession of the ancient church. It is based upon a recently discovered writing of Marcus Eremita directed against the Nestorians. This is not the Egyptian Marcus, but an Asiatic Marcus, a pupil and younger contemporary of Chrysostom. He probably died near the middle of the fifth century.

The Greek text of the writing is given. Then follow ten chapters on such subjects as the writings of Marcus; the newly discovered writing and its purity; the theology of Marcus; the reconstruction of the baptismal confession by Marcus.—J. W. MONCRIEF.

*Beiträge zur Dogmengeschichte des Semipelagianismus*. Von Dr. Friedrich Wörter. Mit kirchlicher Druckerlaubnis. (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1898; pp. 134; M. 2.60.) The question whether or not Cassian was a Semipelagian has been discussed recently, and, in order to answer it, Wörter in this book makes a careful analysis of his writings concerning the subjects at issue in the Augustinian controversy. This part of the work is preceded by a historical sketch of the rise of Semipelagianism, and is followed by an analysis of the views of Prosper, the chief opponent of Cassian. The study results in a strong conviction that Cassian must be classed as a Semipelagian.



The book is an excellent aid to the study of Augustinianism and Semi-pelagianism, and casts special light on their early forms.—FRANKLIN JOHNSON.

*Die Entstehungsgeschichte des Monotheletismus nach ihren Quellen geprüft und dargestellt.* Von Dr. G. Owsepian, Archidiakonus in Etschmiadzin. (Leipzig: Druck und Verlag von Breitkopf & Härtel; pp. 56, 8vo; M. 1.) This monograph is written under advantageous circumstances. Our author, as an Armenian churchman, is a Monophysite, and to a Monophysite, *auctore teste*, Monotheletism comes easily. He is also a dignitary of Etschmiadzin, the apostolic metropolitan city of his communion, and rich in antiquities, a situation which has enabled him to add to the documents found in Migne and Mansi others less known to western scholarship, and some not previously edited. By a collation of these he has fixed four chief dates in the development of Monotheletism: A. D. 616—"früheste und sicherste Datum"—that of a letter of Sergius containing his earliest extant reference to the Monothelite terminology; A. D. 622 and 626, those of meetings between the emperor Heraclius and noted Monophysite leaders; and A. D. 633, that of the council of Karin (Theodosiopolis), in which the Armenians formally attached themselves to the Chalcedonians. On several points he takes successful issue with Walch and Hefele. A chapter descriptive of the condition of the Byzantine empire prior to the Monothelite agitation contrasts pleasingly with Gibbon's narrative. The "Charakteristik" of Sergius found in the last chapter is a masterpiece of character-painting in miniature. A few printer's errors occur, some in the Greek extracts, and some, like Severius (p. 41) for Severus, in the author's text. History is articulated upon chronology. Hence the worth of a production such as this.—ROBERT KERR ECCLES.

*Die ewige Wahrheit der Religion Jesu.* Von Wilhelm Brückner. (Karlsruhe: G. Braun'sche Hofbuchhandlung, 1898; pp. iii+104; M. 1.80.) That genuine Christianity consists in the thoughts of Jesus himself, concerning the great problems of human life in its relation to God and destiny, rather than in the thought of the church regarding his own nature and origin, ought by this time to have become an axiom in Christian theology; yet even to this day it fails of complete acceptance. The essence of Christian discipleship lies in the fulfilment of the apostle's prayer that the same mind be in us which was also in Christ Jesus; the message is more important than the lineage or the

credentials of the messenger. To call Christendom back to the mind of Christ is the object of Brückner's noteworthy little book.

After a critical discussion of the sources, in which priority and decisive authority are ascribed to the gospel of Mark, the author enters upon a careful study of the cleansing of the temple, which he concludes to have been an act of the highest significance, symbolizing the unalterable and fatal opposition of the spiritual thought of Jesus to all priestly and sacrificial forms. The seed and harvest parables teach the secret understanding naturally existing between the soul of man and the truth of God, by virtue of which the kingdom of God develops in humanity, as enlarging knowledge and experience make it more susceptible to the eternal spirit. "The religion of Jesus is the gospel of the love of God and the kingdom of God."

Although one is inclined to demur occasionally at the author's exegesis, and wonder whether he has not found in unlikely texts treasures of his own hiding, the tone of the book is exceptionally pure, and the tendency it exemplifies is full of promise.—W. W. FENN.

*Das Heil der Welt nach den Hauptstellen der heiligen Schrift in ihrer geschichtlichen Bewährung dargestellt* von J. Piening. (Calw und Stuttgart: Vereinsbuchhandlung, D. Gundert, 1898; pp. 568; M. 2.40.) The book is intended for devotional reading. Its short chapters are expositions of the great texts that have been pillars of Christian faith and life in all times. The chapters are not, however, isolated meditations, but are built up into a doctrinal whole in three parts: *Unser Unheil*; *Der Heiland*; and *Das Heil im heiligen Geiste*. We quote these titles in German, because the characteristic play upon the words is lost in English. The main peculiarity of the book is that it consists almost entirely of historical and biographical anecdotes and quotations, pleasantly woven together, and furnishing historical evidence for the power of the texts. This method does not strike as deep a note as the heart-utterance of a single mind, but it brings up the great cloud of witnesses and strengthens the consciousness of the church universal.—W. RAUSCHENBUSCH.

*The Significance of the Westminster Standards as a Creed.* An Address Delivered before the Presbytery of New York, November 8, 1897, on the occasion of the celebration of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the completion of the Westminster Standards, by Benjamin B. Warfield, Professor in the Theological Seminary at

Princeton. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1898; pp. 36; \$0.75.) This is an intense little book glorifying the Westminster standards. It falls into three parts: (1) the historical conditions from the apostolic age leading up to the formation of the Westminster standards; (2) their scientific quality in guarding against sacerdotalism and humanitarianism; (3) their vital quality as an expression of spiritual religion. Professor Warfield is a survival of that old school of Presbyterian theologians represented in Drs. Thornwell, Breckenridge, Rice, Charles Hodge, A. A. Hodge, Skinner, and Dabney, who were all mighty men whose like will not be seen again. They revered the Westminster standards as the ultimate expression of divine truth. Professor Warfield finds them "the most complete, the most fully elaborated and carefully guarded, the most perfect, the most vital expression that has ever been framed by the hand of man of all that enters into what we call evangelical religion, and of all that must be safeguarded if evangelical religion is to persist in the world" (p. 2). They are "the final fixing in confessional language" (p. 13), "the ultimate crystallization" (p. 15), "the ultimate scientific enunciation," "the final expression" (p. 24), etc., of the principles of evangelical religion. Thus our author writes, utterly oblivious apparently of the fact that a large part of Protestant Christendom distinctly repudiates these symbols as the standard of their religious faith, and that the Reformed churches which nominally hold them do so less and less *con amore* each year, and with a considerable impulse toward either revising them or substituting other statements in their place. There is also a touch of the pharisaic assumption throughout the address, that a failure to follow the author in his reverence and esteem for the Westminster standards is due to a lack of spirituality.—EDWARD L. CURTIS.

*Christentum und moderne Weltanschauung.* Von Professor Dr. W. Heintelmann. (Erfurt: Verlag von Carl Villaret, 1897; pp. 119; M. 1.20.) This brochure contains two papers; one on *Der Kampf um die Weltanschauung*; the other on *Bildung und Christentum*. The author's purpose in the first is to state clearly the nature of the opposition between a Christian theory of the universe and an anti-Christian one; for all *Weltanschauungen*, he says, ultimately reduce themselves to these two. In order that the nature and consequences of this antagonism may be the better realized, the greater part of the paper is devoted to its historical development. The statement of the essential nature of the Christian religion is an excellent one, and the

historical sketch of the successive phases of philosophical opposition to Christianity since its birth is clear and accurate. History is the best teacher and shows that this conflict is for the preservation of religion and morality, the church and the fatherland, culture and the home. The essay is well thought out and well written, but there is nothing in it strikingly original. The second paper is a republication of an essay issued in 1874, and is designed to supplement the first by showing how Christianity and modern culture are to be reconciled. A distinction is made between *Bildung* and *Kultur*. The former term is applied either to the process or to the result of the development of all the sides and capabilities of a human being; the latter is applied in almost the same way to a community or people. The writer shows that Christianity not only gives a *Bildung* in harmony with worldly *Bildung*, but that it is the only power that enables a man to attain his highest development. There is likewise no contradiction between Christianity and *Kultur*. This can be shown, for example, in science and in art. The author performs his task at this point much better in the department of art than in that of science. In the latter he throws out some good observations of a general character, but does not touch upon any of the great questions that constitute the subjects of discussion in the reconciliation-literature of the day. One would think that an essay of this kind would not be hurt by a revision after twenty-five years.—*Antworten der Vernunft auf die Fragen: Wozu Religion, Gebet und Kirche?* Von Constantin Hasert. (Graz: Verlag von Ulrich Moser's Buchhandlung, 1897; pp. 94; M. 1.) We have here a series of dialogues between fictitious characters, in which an attempt is made to answer a great many popular and even vulgar objections against Christianity in general and Roman Catholicism in particular. Jesuitism also comes in for its share of vindication. The result is a queer mixture of things good, bad, and indifferent. Among the bad we find the following: "Luther verführte eine Nonne, Calvin wurde wegen Unzuchtsverbrechen landesverwiesen" (p. 60). The repetition of such calumnies as these will certainly do no good to the Romish church, nor tend to increase our confidence in the author or our respect for him.—BENJAMIN LEWIS HOBSON.

*Die Anfänge des Evangelischen Bundes und seiner Pressthätigkeit.* Von D. Friedrich Nippold, Professor der Theologie in Jena. (Berlin: C. A. Schwetschke und Sohn, 1897; pp. viii + 103; M. 1.60.) One of the organizers of the Evangelical Federation tells the story of its rise,

its inner conflicts, its purposes, and its agencies. The federation itself is an expression of the union of interests in the Protestant churches of Germany on behalf of the various Lutheran confessions, and in opposition to the dreaded encroachments of ultramontane influences in the state. The pamphlet requires in the reader a previous knowledge of the ecclesiastical, dogmatic, and political parties of the German empire. The author explains the motives, the positions, and the arguments of the men who have composed the federation. Attempts at union have provoked criticism of partisans, and called out charges of disloyal compromise, and the historical review is really an apology for the participants. The booklet is a fragment of historical materials prepared by a well-informed participant in the movement.—C. R. HENDERSON.

*Addresses to Women, Engaged in Church Work.* By Right Reverend, the Bishop of New York. (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1898; pp. vi + 149; \$1.) The five addresses, sent forth to the public in this volume, were delivered by Bishop Potter, of New York, on different occasions, "at the service for women engaged in church work." They were informal discourses, unwritten, save a few heads, and have just that degree of finish with which the spontaneous thoughts of a scholar naturally clothe themselves. The subjects discussed are very important and practical. "The Great Exemplar," "The Realm of Order," "Ends and Instruments," "Illusions and Ideals," and "Wholeness," are weighty topics, unfolded with directness, simplicity, clearness, and rare good sense. These addresses were an inspiration to those who heard them, and in their printed form will stimulate and help a multitude of readers.—GALUSHA ANDERSON.

*The Attractive Christ and Other Sermons.* By Robert Stuart MacArthur. (Philadelphia: The American Baptist Publication Society, 1898; pp. 327; \$1.) Dr. MacArthur has been the pastor of the Calvary Baptist Church, New York city, for more than twenty-five years. He is one of the most popular preachers in his denomination, and has built up one of the largest congregations in New York. The present volume contains twenty sermons, which may be taken as fairly representative of his average pulpit work. While Dr. MacArthur's success is due, in no small measure, to his strong and winning personality, his sermons, even when disassociated from the man, explain the preacher's popularity. They are plain, direct, earnest, evangelical. Some of

them contain passages of great power. All of them exalt Jesus Christ and call men to better living.

Dr. MacArthur is a topical preacher. Rarely does he devote any large portion of the sermon to what may be called exposition. The initial sermon of the volume affords a fair example of his method. Treating the words of Jesus, "And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me," he points out six characteristics of this drawing, viz.: personal, conditional, certain, gentle, comprehensive, evangelical. The most thoughtful sermon of the volume is that entitled "Greater Works." This is not a sermon-reading age, but if those who read them wish that which is virile and free from all cant, they will find it in the sermons of the Calvary pastor.—LATHAN A. CRANDALL.

*Ephemeriden des Isch-Schachefeth.* Aus dem Tagebuch eines Einsamen. Ausgewählt u. herausgegeben von L. Rymarski. (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1898; 2 vols.; pp. xii + 352, xvi + 341; M. 8.) We gather from the preface of the editor that the author concealed under the somewhat unfortunate pseudonym "Isch-Schachefeth" (man of consumption) was a German theologian living in America, who recorded his thoughts in his diary in disconnected essay form, with an eye, however, to publication. The two volumes, of 350 pages each, are merely a selection from the material in the editor's hands. We venture to think it might have been cut down to one volume; the poetry interspersed is hardly of sufficient poetical value to demand publication, though some satirical passages are quite bright. The essays touch a long range of subjects, *e. g.*, Faust and Cain's wife, pessimism and biblical criticism, always from the point of view of a devout conservative, looking out with good-humored contempt on the critical busybodies of his time. The tone is somewhat somber, but not at all depressing. The author was evidently a man of wide learning, with a wealth of historical and poetical allusion at his command. His thoughts are often really *geistreich* and illuminating; sometimes they drop to mere prettiness. Altogether it is a very German book and grows on one with the reading.—W. RAUSCHENBUSCH.

*John Williams, der Missionar der Südsee, und die Londoner Südsee-mission.* Von Dr. W. F. Besser. (Berlin: Buchhandlung der Berliner Evangelischen Missionsgesellschaft, 1897; pp. 239; M. 2.) The first part of this book, 164 pages, is virtually a reprint of the third edition

of Dr. Besser's popular biography of the martyr of Eromanga, with but a few corrections and additions. The second part, seventy-five pages, is new and from the pen of Pastor G. Kurze, of Bornshain, who gives succinctly the history of the London Missionary Society's missions in the South Sea islands from the time of Williams to the present day. A very readable book.—*Geschichte der Bawenda-Mission in Nord-Transvaal*. Von W. Gründler. (Berlin: *ibid.*, 1897; pp. 102; M. 1.50.) This book is not a recital of great things done among the Bawenda negroes of south Africa, but a narrative of everyday experiences of the godly men and women the Berlin Missionary Society sent out during the past twenty-five years into this part of Africa. The book contains also a short history of the Bawendas and a description of their country. It has copious illustrations and a good map. The book is well written and cannot but be stimulating to every believer in foreign missions.—*Tagebuchblätter beschrieben während der Jahre 1891 bis 1895 in Südafrika*. Von Käthe Kühne. (Berlin: *ibid.*, 1897; pp. 110; bd., M. 1.50.)—*Berliner Mission im Njassa-Lande*. Von M. Eitner. (Berlin: *ibid.*, 1897; pp. 102; M. 1.) Up to a few years ago the missionary literature in the German language was almost wholly the product of men, German women having as yet contributed little or nothing of importance to it. We, therefore, hail with undisguised joy two books which, we trust, will mark an epoch in a field where woman's sphere of activity is so serviceable and so large, and where she surely has a right to be heard. Miss Kühne, the authoress of the first book under review, was for many years a teacher in a mission school in the Orange Freestate, and has traveled a great deal. Her judgment of the things seen is exceptionally impartial, and her narrative interesting and instructive. Martha Eitner has undertaken to sketch the history of the Berlin Nyassa Mission, on the northern and eastern shore of Lake Nyassa in central Africa. Forty-two pages are devoted to a description of the country and its people, and the rest of the book contains the history of the mission station of the Berlin society. The authoress has had access to the reports of the missionaries, and has thrown this material into a connected narrative of great interest and instruction.—  
A. J. RAMAKER.

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# THEOLOGICAL AND SEMITIC LITERATURE

## A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SUPPLEMENT

TO THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY, THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SEMITIC LANGUAGES  
AND LITERATURES, AND THE BIBLICAL WORLD

BY W. MUSS-ARNOLT

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# ABBREVIATIONS.

*Place of Publication:* B. = Berlin; Bo. = Boston; Br. = Breslau; Chi. = Chicago; Cin. = Cincinnati; Ed. = Edinburgh; F. = Freiburg i. Br.; G. = Göttingen; Gi. = Giessen; Go. = Gotha; Gü. = Gütersloh; Hl. = Halle; L. = Leipzig; Lo. = London; M. = München; N. Y. = New York; P. = Paris; Ph. = Philadelphia; St. = Stuttgart; Tü. = Tübingen; W. = Wien.

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## PERIODICALS.

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|------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>A.</i>        | = Arena.                                                                 | <i>M&amp;N</i> | = Mittheilungen und Nachrichten des                                            |
| <i>AC.</i>       | = L'association catholique.                                              | <i>DP-V</i>    | Deutschen Palästina-Vereins.                                                   |
| <i>ACO.</i>      | = American Catholic Quarterly Review.                                    | <i>Mo.</i>     | = Monist.                                                                      |
| <i>AKKR.</i>     | = Archiv für katholisches Kirchenrecht.                                  | <i>NA.</i>     | = Nuova Anthologia.                                                            |
| <i>AJSL.</i>     | = American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures.                 | <i>Nath.</i>   | = Nathanael.                                                                   |
| <i>AJTh.</i>     | = American Journal of Theology.                                          | <i>NC.</i>     | = Nineteenth Century.                                                          |
| <i>AMZ.</i>      | = Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift.                                       | <i>NCR.</i>    | = New Century Review.                                                          |
| <i>BAZ.</i>      | = Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung, München.                              | <i>NkZ.</i>    | = Neue kirchl. Zeitschrift.                                                    |
| <i>BBK.</i>      | = Beiträge zur bayr. Kirchen-Gesch.                                      | <i>NW.</i>     | = New World.                                                                   |
| <i>BG.</i>       | = Beweis des Glaubens.                                                   | <i>Os.</i>     | = Outlook.                                                                     |
| <i>BS.</i>       | = Bibliotheca Sacra.                                                     | <i>PEFQS.</i>  | = Palestine Exploration Fund; Quarterly Statement.                             |
| <i>BU.</i>       | = Bibliothèque universelle.                                              | <i>PhM.</i>    | = Philosophische Monatshefte.                                                  |
| <i>BW.</i>       | = Biblical World.                                                        | <i>PhR.</i>    | = Philosophical Review.                                                        |
| <i>BZ.</i>       | = Byzantinische Zeitschrift.                                             | <i>PO.</i>     | = Presbyterian Quarterly.                                                      |
| <i>CR.</i>       | = Contemporary Review.                                                   | <i>PRR.</i>    | = Presbyterian and Reformed Review.                                            |
| <i>CHAR.</i>     | = Charity Organization Review.                                           | <i>Pr.</i>     | = Progress.                                                                    |
| <i>ChrK.</i>     | = Charities Review.                                                      | <i>PrM.</i>    | = Protestantische Monatshefte.                                                 |
| <i>ChrK.</i>     | = Christliches Kunstblatt.                                               | <i>PSBA.</i>   | = Proceedings of the Society of Bibl. Archaeology.                             |
| <i>ChrL.</i>     | = Christian Literature.                                                  | <i>QR.</i>     | = Quarterly Review.                                                            |
| <i>ChrO.</i>     | = Christian Quarterly.                                                   | <i>RAAO.</i>   | = Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale.                             |
| <i>ChrW.</i>     | = Christliche Welt.                                                      | <i>RB.</i>     | = Revue biblique.                                                              |
| <i>ChQR.</i>     | = Church Quart. Review.                                                  | <i>RBd.</i>    | = Revue bénédictine.                                                           |
| <i>D-A.</i>      | = Deutsch-amerik. Zeitschrift f. Theologie u. Kirche.                    | <i>RCAR.</i>   | = Reformed Church Review.                                                      |
| <i>ZTK.</i>      | = Deutsch-englische Blätter.                                             | <i>RCR.</i>    | = Revue chrétienne.                                                            |
| <i>DEB.</i>      | = Deutsche Revue.                                                        | <i>RCrS.</i>   | = Revue de christianisme sociale.                                              |
| <i>DR.</i>       | = Deutsche Zeitschrift für Kirchenrecht.                                 | <i>RdM.</i>    | = Revue des deux Mondes.                                                       |
| <i>DZKR.</i>     | = English Historical Review.                                             | <i>REJ.</i>    | = Revue des études juives.                                                     |
| <i>EHR.</i>      | = Edinburgh Review.                                                      | <i>RHLR.</i>   | = Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses.                              |
| <i>ER.</i>       | = Etudes.                                                                | <i>RHR.</i>    | = Revue de l'histoire des religions.                                           |
| <i>Et.</i>       | = Expository Times.                                                      | <i>RQ.</i>     | = Römische Quartalschrift f. christl. Alterthumskunde u. f. Kirchengeschichte. |
| <i>ET.</i>       | = Expositor.                                                             | <i>RS.</i>     | = Revue sémitique d'épigraphie et d'histoire ancienne.                         |
| <i>Exp.</i>      | = Forum.                                                                 | <i>RTh.</i>    | = Revue théologique.                                                           |
| <i>F.</i>        | = Fortnightly Review.                                                    | <i>RThPh.</i>  | = Revue de théologie et de philosophie.                                        |
| <i>FR.</i>       | = Gymnasialprogramm.                                                     | <i>RThQR.</i>  | = Revue de théol. et des quest. relig.                                         |
| <i>GPr.</i>      | = Halte was du hast.                                                     | <i>SA.</i>     | = Sitzungsberichte der Akad. d. Wiss. e. g., Berlin, München, etc.             |
| <i>Hh.</i>       | = L'humanité nouvelle.                                                   | <i>StKr.</i>   | = Theol. Studien und Kritiken.                                                 |
| <i>HN.</i>       | = Homiletic Review.                                                      | <i>StWV.</i>   | = Stemmen voor Waarheid en Vrede.                                              |
| <i>HR.</i>       | = Hartford Sem. Record.                                                  | <i>ThO.</i>    | = Theologische Quartalschrift.                                                 |
| <i>HSR.</i>      | = Historische Zeitschrift.                                               | <i>ThR.</i>    | = Theologische Rundschau.                                                      |
| <i>HZ.</i>       | = Inaugural Dissertation.                                                | <i>ThSt.</i>   | = Theologische Studien.                                                        |
| <i>ID.</i>       | = Indian Evang. Review.                                                  | <i>ThT.</i>    | = Theologisch Tijdschrift.                                                     |
| <i>IER.</i>      | = International Journal of Ethics.                                       | <i>UC.</i>     | = L'Université catholique.                                                     |
| <i>IJE.</i>      | = Independent.                                                           | <i>UPr.</i>    | = Universitätsprogramm.                                                        |
| <i>Ind.</i>      | = Internat. Theol. Review.                                               | <i>VwPh.</i>   | = Vierteljahrsschrift für wissenschaftliche Philosophie.                       |
| <i>IThR.</i>     | = Journal asiatique.                                                     | <i>WZKM.</i>   | = Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunde des Morgenlandes.                               |
| <i>JA.</i>       | = Imperial Asiatic Quarterly Review.                                     | <i>ZA.</i>     | = Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.                                                |
| <i>JAQR.</i>     | = Journal of the Society of Biblical Literature.                         | <i>Zaeg.</i>   | = Z. für ägyptische Sprache u. Alterthumskunde.                                |
| <i>JBL.</i>      | = Monatschrift für Geschichte u. Wissenschaft des Judenthums.            | <i>ZATW.</i>   | = Z. für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.                                       |
| <i>JM.</i>       | = Jewish Quarterly Review.                                               | <i>ZDMG.</i>   | = Z. d. Deutsch-Morgenl. Gesellsch.                                            |
| <i>JOR.</i>      | = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.                                  | <i>ZDPV.</i>   | = Z. d. Deutschen Palästina-Vereins.                                           |
| <i>JRAS.</i>     | = Journal of Trans. of Victoria Institute.                               | <i>ZeRU.</i>   | = Z. für den evangelischen Religionsunterricht.                                |
| <i>JTVI.</i>     | = Der Katholik, Zeitschr. f. kath. Wissenschaft u. kirchl. Leben.        | <i>ZKG.</i>    | = Z. f. Kirchengeschichte.                                                     |
| <i>Kath.</i>     | = Kirchl. Monatschrift.                                                  | <i>ZKTh.</i>   | = Z. f. kath. Theologie.                                                       |
| <i>KM.</i>       | = Kyrklig Tidskrift.                                                     | <i>ZMR.</i>    | = Z. f. Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft.                               |
| <i>KT.</i>       | = Lutheran Quarterly.                                                    | <i>ZPhKr.</i>  | = Z. f. Philosophie und philos. Kritik.                                        |
| <i>LO.</i>       | = Lutheran Church Review.                                                | <i>ZprTh.</i>  | = Z. f. prakt. Theologie.                                                      |
| <i>LQR.</i>      | = London Quarterly Review.                                               | <i>ZSchw.</i>  | = Z. f. Theol. aus d. Schweiz.                                                 |
| <i>M.</i>        | = Musée.                                                                 | <i>ZTK.</i>    | = Z. f. Theologie u. Kirche.                                                   |
| <i>MA.</i>       | = Mittheilungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften, e. g., Berlin, München. | <i>ZwTh.</i>   | = Z. f. wissenschaftl. Theologie.                                              |
| <i>MCG.</i>      | = Monatshefte der Comenius-Gesellschaft.                                 |                |                                                                                |
| <i>MG&amp;K.</i> | = Monatschrift f. Gottesdienst u. kirchl. Kunst.                         |                |                                                                                |
| <i>Mi.</i>       | = Mind.                                                                  |                |                                                                                |
| <i>MIM.</i>      | = Monatschrift für innere Mission.                                       |                |                                                                                |

# THEOLOGICAL AND SEMITIC LITERATURE

## A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SUPPLEMENT

TO THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY, THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SEMITIC LANGUAGES  
AND LITERATURES, AND THE BIBLICAL WORLD

BY W. MUSS-ARNOLT

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# ABBREVIATIONS.

*Place of Publication:* B. = Berlin; Bo. = Boston; Br. = Breslau; Chi. = Chicago; Cin. = Cincinnati; Ed. = Edinburgh; F. = Freiburg i. Br.; Fr. = Frankfurt a. M.; G. = Göttingen; Gi. = Giessen; Go. = Gotha; Gü. = Gütersloh; Hl. = Halle; Kß. = Königsberg; L. = Leipzig; Lo. = London; M. = München; N. Y. = New York; P. = Paris; Ph. = Philadelphia; St. = Stuttgart; Tü. = Tübingen; W. = Wien.

*Prices:* \$ = dollar; M. = Mark; f. = franc; L. = lira; s. = shilling; d. = pence; fl. = florin; Kr. = Krone.

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*Months:* Ja., F., Mr., Ap., My., Je., Jli., Ag., S., O., N., D.

## PERIODICALS.

- |               |                                                                          |                |                                                                                |
|---------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>AA.</b>    | = Arena.                                                                 | <b>MIM.</b>    | = Monatsschrift für innere Mission.                                            |
| <b>AC.</b>    | = L'association catholique.                                              | <b>M&amp;N</b> | = Mittheilungen und Nachrichten des                                            |
| <b>ACO.</b>   | = American Catholic Quarterly Review.                                    | <b>DP-V</b>    | Deutschen Palästina-Vereins.                                                   |
| <b>ACPh.</b>  | = Archiv f. d. Geschichte der Philosophie.                               | <b>Mo.</b>     | = Monat.                                                                       |
| <b>AJSJL.</b> | = American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures.                 | <b>NA</b>      | = Nuova Anthologia.                                                            |
| <b>AJTh.</b>  | = American Journal of Theology.                                          | <b>Nath.</b>   | = Nathanael.                                                                   |
| <b>AkkR.</b>  | = Archiv für katholisches Kirchenrecht.                                  | <b>NC.</b>     | = Nineteenth Century.                                                          |
| <b>AMZ.</b>   | = Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift.                                       | <b>NCR.</b>    | = New Church Review.                                                           |
| <b>BAZ.</b>   | = Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung, München.                              | <b>NkZ.</b>    | = Neue kirchl. Zeitschrift.                                                    |
| <b>BBK.</b>   | = Beiträge zur bayr. Kirchen-Gesch.                                      | <b>NW.</b>     | = New World.                                                                   |
| <b>BG.</b>    | = Beweis des Glaubens.                                                   | <b>OLZ.</b>    | = Orientalistische Literatur-Zeitung.                                          |
| <b>BS.</b>    | = Bibliotheca Sacra.                                                     | <b>Ow.</b>     | = Outlook.                                                                     |
| <b>BU.</b>    | = Bibliothèque universelle.                                              | <b>PEFQS.</b>  | = Palestine Exploration Fund; Quarter                                          |
| <b>BW.</b>    | = Biblical World.                                                        |                | ly Statement.                                                                  |
| <b>BZ.</b>    | = Byzantinische Zeitschrift.                                             | <b>PhM.</b>    | = Philosophische Monatshefte.                                                  |
| <b>CR.</b>    | = Contemporary Review.                                                   | <b>PhR.</b>    | = Philosophical Review.                                                        |
| <b>CAOR.</b>  | = Charity Organization Review.                                           | <b>PQ.</b>     | = Presbyterian Quarterly.                                                      |
| <b>CAQR.</b>  | = Church Quart. Review.                                                  | <b>Pr.</b>     | = Protestant.                                                                  |
| <b>ChR.</b>   | = Charities Review.                                                      | <b>PrM.</b>    | = Protestantische Monatshefte.                                                 |
| <b>ChrK.</b>  | = Christliches Kunstblatt.                                               | <b>PRR.</b>    | = Presbyterian and Reformed Review.                                            |
| <b>ChrL.</b>  | = Christian Literature.                                                  | <b>PSBA.</b>   | = Proceedings of the Society of Bibl. Archaeology.                             |
| <b>ChrQ.</b>  | = Christian Quarterly.                                                   | <b>QR.</b>     | = Quarterly Review.                                                            |
| <b>ChrW.</b>  | = Christliche Welt.                                                      | <b>RAAO.</b>   | = Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale.                             |
| <b>D-A</b>    | = Deutsch-amerik. Zeitschrift f. Theologie u. Kirche.                    | <b>RB.</b>     | = Revue biblique.                                                              |
| <b>ZTKR.</b>  | = Deutsche evangelische Blätter.                                         | <b>Rbd.</b>    | = Revue bénédictine.                                                           |
| <b>DEB.</b>   | = Deutsche Revue.                                                        | <b>RChR.</b>   | = Reformed Church Review.                                                      |
| <b>DR.</b>    | = Deutsche Zeitschrift für Kirchenrecht.                                 | <b>RChr.</b>   | = Revue chrétienne.                                                            |
| <b>DZKR.</b>  | = English Historical Review.                                             | <b>RChrS.</b>  | = Revue de christianisme sociale.                                              |
| <b>EHR.</b>   | = Evangelische Kirchenzeitung.                                           | <b>RAM.</b>    | = Revue des deux Mondes.                                                       |
| <b>EKZ.</b>   | = Evangelisches Missions-Magazin.                                        | <b>REJ.</b>    | = Revue des études juives.                                                     |
| <b>EMM.</b>   | = Edinburgh Review.                                                      | <b>RHLR.</b>   | = Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses.                              |
| <b>ER.</b>    | = Erudes.                                                                | <b>RHR.</b>    | = Revue de l'histoire des religions.                                           |
| <b>ET.</b>    | = Expository Times.                                                      | <b>RQ.</b>     | = Römische Quartalschrift f. christl. Alterthumskunde u. f. Kirchengeschichte. |
| <b>Exp.</b>   | = Expositor.                                                             | <b>RS.</b>     | = Revue sémitique d'épigraphie et d'histoire ancienne.                         |
| <b>F.</b>     | = Forum.                                                                 | <b>RTh.</b>    | = Revue théologique.                                                           |
| <b>FR.</b>    | = Fortnightly Review.                                                    | <b>RThPh.</b>  | = Revue de théologie et de philosophie.                                        |
| <b>GPR.</b>   | = Gymnasialprogramm.                                                     | <b>RThQR.</b>  | = Revue de théol. et des quest. relig.                                         |
| <b>Hk.</b>    | = Halte was du hast.                                                     | <b>SA.</b>     | = Sitzungsberichte der Akad. d. Wiss., e. g., Berlin, München, etc.            |
| <b>HN.</b>    | = L'humanité nouvelle.                                                   | <b>StKr.</b>   | = Theol. Studien und Kritiken.                                                 |
| <b>HR.</b>    | = Homiletic Review.                                                      | <b>StWV.</b>   | = Stemmen voor Waarheid en Vrede.                                              |
| <b>HSR.</b>   | = Hartford Sem. Record.                                                  | <b>TkQ.</b>    | = Theologische Rundschau.                                                      |
| <b>HZ.</b>    | = Historische Zeitschrift.                                               | <b>TkR.</b>    | = Theologische Rundschau.                                                      |
| <b>IAQR.</b>  | = Imperial Asiatic Quarterly Review.                                     | <b>ThSt.</b>   | = Theologische Studien.                                                        |
| <b>ID.</b>    | = Inaugural-Dissertation.                                                | <b>ThT.</b>    | = Theologisch Tijdschrift.                                                     |
| <b>IER.</b>   | = Indian Evang. Review.                                                  | <b>UC.</b>     | = L'Université catholique.                                                     |
| <b>IJE.</b>   | = International Journal of Ethics.                                       | <b>UPr.</b>    | = Universitätsprogramm.                                                        |
| <b>Ind.</b>   | = Independent.                                                           | <b>VwPh.</b>   | = Vierteljahrsschrift für wissenschaftliche Philosophie.                       |
| <b>IThR.</b>  | = Internat. Theol. Review.                                               | <b>WZKM.</b>   | = Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunde des Morgenlandes.                               |
| <b>JA.</b>    | = Journal asiatique.                                                     | <b>ZA.</b>     | = Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.                                                |
| <b>JBL.</b>   | = Journal of Biblical Literature.                                        | <b>ZAeg.</b>   | = Z. für ägyptische Sprache u. Alterthumskunde.                                |
| <b>JM.</b>    | = Monatsschrift für Geschichte u. Wissenschaft des Judenthums.           | <b>ZATW.</b>   | = Z. für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft                                        |
| <b>JQR.</b>   | = Jewish Quarterly Review.                                               | <b>ZDMG.</b>   | = Z. d. Deutsch-Morgenl. Gesellsch.                                            |
| <b>JRAS.</b>  | = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.                                  | <b>ZDPV.</b>   | = Z. d. Deutschen Palästina-Vereins.                                           |
| <b>JTVI.</b>  | = Journal of Trans. of Victoria Institute.                               | <b>ZeRU.</b>   | = Z. für den evangelischen Religionsunterricht.                                |
| <b>Kath.</b>  | = Der Katholik. Zeitschrift f. kath. Wissenschaft u. kirchl. Leben.      | <b>ZKG.</b>    | = Z. f. Kirchengeschichte.                                                     |
| <b>KM.</b>    | = Kirchl. Monatschrift.                                                  | <b>ZKTh.</b>   | = Z. f. kathol. Theologie.                                                     |
| <b>KT.</b>    | = Kyrklig Tidkrift.                                                      | <b>ZMR.</b>    | = Z. f. Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft.                               |
| <b>KZ.</b>    | = Katechetische Zeitschrift.                                             | <b>ZPhKr.</b>  | = Z. f. Philosophie und philos. Kritik.                                        |
| <b>LChR.</b>  | = Lutheran Church Review.                                                | <b>ZprTh.</b>  | = Z. f. prakt. Theologie.                                                      |
| <b>LQ.</b>    | = Lutheran Quarterly.                                                    | <b>ZSchw.</b>  | = Z. f. Theol. aus d. Schweiz.                                                 |
| <b>LQR.</b>   | = London Quarterly Review.                                               | <b>ZThK.</b>   | = Z. f. Theologie u. Kirche.                                                   |
| <b>M.</b>     | = Muséon.                                                                | <b>ZwTh.</b>   | = Z. f. wissenschaftl. Theologie.                                              |
| <b>MA.</b>    | = Mittheilungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften, e. g., Berlin, München. |                |                                                                                |
| <b>MCG.</b>   | = Monatshefte der Comenius-Gesellschaft.                                 |                |                                                                                |
| <b>MGhK.</b>  | = Monatsschrift f. Gottesdienst u. kirchl. Kunst.                        |                |                                                                                |
| <b>Mi.</b>    | = Mind.                                                                  |                |                                                                                |

# THEOLOGICAL AND SEMITIC LITERATURE

## A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SUPPLEMENT

TO THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY, THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES, AND THE BIBLICAL WORLD

BY W. MUSS-ARNOLT

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[REMARKS AND LISTS OF ABBREVIATIONS, SEE P. XXXII.]

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# ABBREVIATIONS.

*Place of Publication:* B. = Berlin; Bo. = Boston; Br. = Breslau; Chi. = Chicago; Cin. = Cincinnati; Ed. = Edinburgh; F. = Freiburg i. Br.; Fr. = Frankfurt a. M.; G. = Göttingen; Gi. = Giessen; Go. = Gotha; Gü. = Gütersloh; Hl. = Halle; K6. = Königsberg; L. = Leipzig; Lo. = London; M. = München; N. Y. = New York; P. = Paris; Ph. = Philadelphia; St. = Stuttgart; Tü. = Tübingen; W. = Wien.

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*Months:* Ja., F., Mr., Ap., My., Je., Jl., Ag., S., O., N., D.

## PERIODICALS.

- |                  |                                                                          |                |                                                                                |
|------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>AA.</b>       | = Arena.                                                                 | <b>Mi.</b>     | = Mind.                                                                        |
| <b>AC.</b>       | = L'association catholique.                                              | <b>MIM.</b>    | = Monatschrift für innere Mission.                                             |
| <b>ACQ.</b>      | = American Catholic Quarterly Review.                                    | <b>M&amp;N</b> | = Mittheilungen und Nachrichten des                                            |
| <b>AER.</b>      | = American Ecclesiastical Review.                                        | <b>DP-V.</b>   | Deutschen Palästina-Vereins,                                                   |
| <b>AGPh.</b>     | = Archiv f. d. Geschichte der Philosophie.                               | <b>Mo.</b>     | = Monist.                                                                      |
| <b>AJSL.</b>     | = American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature.                  | <b>NA.</b>     | = Nuova Anthologia.                                                            |
| <b>AJTh.</b>     | = American Journal of Theology.                                          | <b>Nath.</b>   | = Nathanael.                                                                   |
| <b>AhKR.</b>     | = Archiv für katholisches Kirchenrecht.                                  | <b>NC.</b>     | = Nineteenth Century.                                                          |
| <b>AMZ.</b>      | = Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift.                                       | <b>NCR.</b>    | = New Century Review.                                                          |
| <b>ARW.</b>      | = Archiv für Religionswissenschaft.                                      | <b>NkZ.</b>    | = Neue kirchl. Zeitschrift.                                                    |
| <b>BAZ.</b>      | = Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung, München.                              | <b>NW.</b>     | = New World.                                                                   |
| <b>BBK.</b>      | = Beiträge zur bayr. Kirchen-Gesch.                                      | <b>OLZ.</b>    | = Orientalistische Literatur-Zeitung.                                          |
| <b>BG.</b>       | = Beweis des Glaubens.                                                   | <b>OW.</b>     | = Outlook.                                                                     |
| <b>BS.</b>       | = Bibliotheca Sacra.                                                     | <b>PEFQS.</b>  | = Palestine Exploration Fund; Quarterly Statement.                             |
| <b>BU.</b>       | = Bibliothèque universelle.                                              | <b>PhM.</b>    | = Philosophische Monatshefte.                                                  |
| <b>BW.</b>       | = Biblical World.                                                        | <b>PhR.</b>    | = Philosophical Review.                                                        |
| <b>BZ.</b>       | = Byzantinische Zeitschrift.                                             | <b>PQ.</b>     | = Presbyterian Quarterly.                                                      |
| <b>CR.</b>       | = Contemporary Review.                                                   | <b>Pr.</b>     | = Protestant.                                                                  |
| <b>ChOR.</b>     | = Charity Organization Review.                                           | <b>PrM.</b>    | = Protestantische Monatshefte.                                                 |
| <b>ChQR.</b>     | = Church Quart. Review.                                                  | <b>PRR.</b>    | = Presbyterian and Reformed Review.                                            |
| <b>ChR.</b>      | = Charities Review.                                                      | <b>PSBA.</b>   | = Proceedings of the Society of Bibl. Archaeology.                             |
| <b>ChrK.</b>     | = Christliches Kunstblatt.                                               | <b>QR.</b>     | = Quarterly Review.                                                            |
| <b>ChrL.</b>     | = Christian Literature.                                                  | <b>RAAO.</b>   | = Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale.                             |
| <b>ChrO.</b>     | = Christian Quarterly.                                                   | <b>RB.</b>     | = Revue biblique.                                                              |
| <b>ChrW.</b>     | = Christliche Welt.                                                      | <b>RbA.</b>    | = Revue bénédictine.                                                           |
| <b>D-A</b>       | = Deutsch-amerik. Zeitschrift f. Theologie u. Kirche.                    | <b>RChR.</b>   | = Reformed Church Review.                                                      |
| <b>ZThK.</b>     | = Deutsch-englische Blätter.                                             | <b>RChR.</b>   | = Revue chrétienne.                                                            |
| <b>DEB.</b>      | = Deutsche Zeitschrift für Kirchenrecht.                                 | <b>RChRS.</b>  | = Revue de christianisme sociale.                                              |
| <b>DR.</b>       | = Deutsche Zeitschrift für Kirchenrecht.                                 | <b>RdM.</b>    | = Revue des deux Mondes.                                                       |
| <b>DZKR.</b>     | = English Historical Review.                                             | <b>REI.</b>    | = Revue des études juives.                                                     |
| <b>EHR.</b>      | = Evangelische Kirchenzeitung.                                           | <b>RHLR.</b>   | = Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses.                              |
| <b>EKZ.</b>      | = Evangelisches Missions-Magazin.                                        | <b>RHR.</b>    | = Revue de l'histoire des religions.                                           |
| <b>EMM.</b>      | = Edinburgh Review.                                                      | <b>RQ.</b>     | = Römische Quartalschrift f. christl. Alterthumskunde u. f. Kirchengeschichte. |
| <b>ER.</b>       | = Études.                                                                | <b>RS.</b>     | = Revue sémitique d'épigraphie et d'histoire ancienne.                         |
| <b>Et.</b>       | = Expository Times.                                                      | <b>RTh.</b>    | = Revue théologique.                                                           |
| <b>ET.</b>       | = Expositor.                                                             | <b>RThPh.</b>  | = Revue de théologie et de philosophie.                                        |
| <b>Exp.</b>      | = Forum.                                                                 | <b>RThQR.</b>  | = Revue de théol. et des quest. relig.                                         |
| <b>F.</b>        | = Fortnightly Review.                                                    | <b>SA.</b>     | = Sitzungsberichte der Akad. d. Wiss. e. g., Berlin, München, etc.             |
| <b>FR.</b>       | = Gymnasialprogramm.                                                     | <b>StKr.</b>   | = Theol. Studien und Kritiken.                                                 |
| <b>GPR.</b>      | = Halte was du hast.                                                     | <b>StWV.</b>   | = Stemmen voor Waarheid en Vrede.                                              |
| <b>Hh.</b>       | = L'humanité nouvelle.                                                   | <b>ThQ.</b>    | = Theologische Quartalschrift.                                                 |
| <b>HN.</b>       | = Homiletic Review.                                                      | <b>ThR.</b>    | = Theologische Rundschau.                                                      |
| <b>HR.</b>       | = Hartford Sem. Record.                                                  | <b>ThSt.</b>   | = Theologische Studien.                                                        |
| <b>HSR.</b>      | = Historische Zeitschrift.                                               | <b>ThT.</b>    | = Theologisch Tijdschrift.                                                     |
| <b>HZ.</b>       | = Imperial Asiatic Quarterly Review.                                     | <b>UC.</b>     | = L'Université catholique.                                                     |
| <b>IAQR.</b>     | = Inaugural-Dissertation.                                                | <b>Upr.</b>    | = Universitätsprogramm.                                                        |
| <b>ID.</b>       | = Indian Evang. Review.                                                  | <b>VwPh.</b>   | = Vierteljahrsschrift für wissenschaftliche Philosophie.                       |
| <b>IER.</b>      | = International Journal of Ethics.                                       | <b>WZKM.</b>   | = Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunde des Morgenlandes.                               |
| <b>IJE.</b>      | = Independent.                                                           | <b>ZA.</b>     | = Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.                                                |
| <b>ItKr.</b>     | = Internat. Theol. Review.                                               | <b>ZAeg.</b>   | = Z. für ägyptische Sprache u. Alterthumskunde.                                |
| <b>JA.</b>       | = Journal asiatique.                                                     | <b>ZATW.</b>   | = Z. für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft                                        |
| <b>JBL.</b>      | = Journal of Biblical Literature.                                        | <b>ZDMG.</b>   | = Z. d. Deutsch-Morgenl. Gesellsch.                                            |
| <b>JM.</b>       | = Monatschrift für Geschichte u. Wissenschaft des Judenthums.            | <b>ZDPV.</b>   | = Z. d. Deutschen Palästina-Vereins.                                           |
| <b>JQR.</b>      | = Jewish Quarterly Review.                                               | <b>ZERU.</b>   | = Z. für den evangelischen Religions-Unterricht.                               |
| <b>JRAS.</b>     | = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.                                  | <b>ZKG.</b>    | = Z. f. Kirchengeschichte.                                                     |
| <b>JTVI.</b>     | = Journal of Trans. of Victoria Institute.                               | <b>ZkTh.</b>   | = Z. f. kathol. Theologie.                                                     |
| <b>Kath.</b>     | = Der Katholik, Zeitschr. f. kathol. Wissenschaft u. kirchl. Leben.      | <b>ZMR.</b>    | = Z. f. Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft.                               |
| <b>KM.</b>       | = Kirchl. Monatschrift.                                                  | <b>ZPhKr.</b>  | = Z. f. Philosophie und philos. Kritik.                                        |
| <b>KT.</b>       | = Kyrklig Tidskrift.                                                     | <b>ZPrTh.</b>  | = Z. f. prakt. Theologie.                                                      |
| <b>KZ.</b>       | = Katechetische Zeitschrift.                                             | <b>ZSchw.</b>  | = Z. f. Theol. aus d. Schweiz.                                                 |
| <b>LCAR.</b>     | = Lutheran Church Review.                                                | <b>ZThK.</b>   | = Z. f. Theologie u. Kirche.                                                   |
| <b>LO.</b>       | = Lutheran Quarterly.                                                    | <b>ZwTh.</b>   | = Z. f. wissenschaftl. Theologie.                                              |
| <b>LQR.</b>      | = London Quarterly Review.                                               |                |                                                                                |
| <b>M.</b>        | = Muséon.                                                                |                |                                                                                |
| <b>MA.</b>       | = Mittheilungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften, e. g., Berlin, München. |                |                                                                                |
| <b>MCG.</b>      | = Monatshefte der Comenius-Gesellschaft.                                 |                |                                                                                |
| <b>Mg&amp;K.</b> | = Monatschrift f. Gottesdienst u. kirchl. Kunst.                         |                |                                                                                |

# THEOLOGICAL AND SEMITIC LITERATURE

## A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SUPPLEMENT

TO THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY, THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SEMITIC LANGUAGES  
AND LITERATURES, AND THE BIBLICAL WORLD

BY W. MUSS-ARNOLT

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# ABBREVIATIONS.

*Place of Publication:* B. = Berlin; Bo. = Boston; Br. = Breslau; Chi. = Chicago; Cin. = Cincinnati; Ed. = Edinburgh; F. = Freiburg i. Br.; Fr. = Frankfurt a. M.; G. = Göttingen; Gi. = Giessen; Go. = Gotha; Gü. = Gütersloh; Hl. = Halle; K6. = Königsberg; L. = Leipzig; Lo. = London; M. = München; N. Y. = New York; P. = Paris; Ph. = Philadelphia; St. = Stuttgart; Tü. = Tübingen; W. = Wien.

*Prices:* \$ = dollar; M. = Mark; f. = franc; L. = lira; s. = shilling; d. = pence; fl. = florin.

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*Months:* Ja., F., Mr., Ap., My., Je., Jl., Ag., S., O., N., D.

## PERIODICALS.

- |                  |                                                                          |                   |                                                                                |
|------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>AA.</b>       | = Arena.                                                                 | <b>MI.</b>        | = Mind.                                                                        |
| <b>AC.</b>       | = L'association catholique.                                              | <b>MIM.</b>       | = Monatsschrift für innere Mission.                                            |
| <b>ACQ.</b>      | = American Catholic Quarterly Review.                                    | <b>M&amp;N</b>    | = Mittheilungen und Nachrichten des                                            |
| <b>AER.</b>      | = American Ecclesiastical Review.                                        | <b>DP-V.</b>      | Deutschen Palästina-Vereins.                                                   |
| <b>AGPh.</b>     | = Archiv f. d. Geschichte der Philosophie.                               | <b>Mo.</b>        | = Monist.                                                                      |
| <b>AJSL.</b>     | = American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures.                 | <b>NA.</b>        | = Nuova Anthologia.                                                            |
| <b>AJTA.</b>     | = American Journal of Theology.                                          | <b>Nath.</b>      | = Nathanael.                                                                   |
| <b>AKR.</b>      | = Archiv für katholisches Kirchenrecht.                                  | <b>NC.</b>        | = Nineteenth Century.                                                          |
| <b>AMZ.</b>      | = Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift.                                       | <b>NCR.</b>       | = New Century Review.                                                          |
| <b>ARW.</b>      | = Archiv für Religionswissenschaft.                                      | <b>NKZ.</b>       | = Neue kirchl. Zeitschrift.                                                    |
| <b>BAZ.</b>      | = Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung, München.                              | <b>NW.</b>        | = New World.                                                                   |
| <b>BBK.</b>      | = Beiträge zur bayr. Kirchen-Gesch.                                      | <b>OLZ.</b>       | = Orientalistische Literatur-Zeitung.                                          |
| <b>BG.</b>       | = Beweis des Glaubens.                                                   | <b>OW.</b>        | = Outlook.                                                                     |
| <b>BS.</b>       | = Bibliotheca Sacra.                                                     | <b>PEFQS.</b>     | = Palestine Exploration Fund; Quarterly Statement.                             |
| <b>BU.</b>       | = Bibliothèque universelle.                                              | <b>PAM.</b>       | = Philosophische Monatshefte.                                                  |
| <b>BW.</b>       | = Biblical World.                                                        | <b>P&amp;R.</b>   | = Philosophical Review.                                                        |
| <b>BZ.</b>       | = Byzantinische Zeitschrift.                                             | <b>PQ.</b>        | = Presbyterian Quarterly.                                                      |
| <b>CR.</b>       | = Contemporary Review.                                                   | <b>Pr.</b>        | = Protestant.                                                                  |
| <b>CAOR.</b>     | = Charity Organization Review.                                           | <b>PrM.</b>       | = Protestantische Monatshefte.                                                 |
| <b>CAQR.</b>     | = Church Quart. Review.                                                  | <b>P&amp;R.</b>   | = Presbyterian and Reformed Review.                                            |
| <b>CAK.</b>      | = Charities Review.                                                      | <b>PSBA.</b>      | = Proceedings of the Society of Bibl. Archaeology.                             |
| <b>Ch&amp;K.</b> | = Christliches Kunstblatt.                                               | <b>QR.</b>        | = Quarterly Review.                                                            |
| <b>Ch&amp;L.</b> | = Christian Literature.                                                  | <b>RAAO.</b>      | = Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale.                             |
| <b>Ch&amp;O.</b> | = Christian Quarterly.                                                   | <b>RB.</b>        | = Revue biblique.                                                              |
| <b>Ch&amp;W.</b> | = Christliche Welt.                                                      | <b>RBd.</b>       | = Revue bénédictine.                                                           |
| <b>D.A.</b>      | = Deutsch-amerik. Zeitschrift f. Theologie u. Kirche.                    | <b>RC&amp;R.</b>  | = Reformed Church Review.                                                      |
| <b>DTAK.</b>     | = Deutsch-evangelische Blätter.                                          | <b>RC&amp;S.</b>  | = Revue chrétienne.                                                            |
| <b>DEB.</b>      | = Deutsche Revue.                                                        | <b>RC&amp;S.</b>  | = Revue de christianisme sociale.                                              |
| <b>DR.</b>       | = Deutsche Zeitschrift für Kirchenrecht.                                 | <b>ReM.</b>       | = Revue des deux Mondes.                                                       |
| <b>DZKR.</b>     | = English Historical Review.                                             | <b>REJ.</b>       | = Revue des études juives.                                                     |
| <b>EHR.</b>      | = Evangelische Kirchenzeitung.                                           | <b>RHLR.</b>      | = Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses.                              |
| <b>EKM.</b>      | = Evangelisches Missions-Magazin.                                        | <b>RHR.</b>       | = Revue de l'histoire des religions.                                           |
| <b>ER.</b>       | = Edinburgh Review.                                                      | <b>RQ.</b>        | = Römische Quartalschrift f. christl. Alterthumskunde u. i. Kirchengeschichte. |
| <b>Et.</b>       | = Études.                                                                | <b>RS.</b>        | = Revue sémitique d'épigraphie et d'histoire ancienne.                         |
| <b>Exp.</b>      | = Expository Times.                                                      | <b>RTA.</b>       | = Revue théologique.                                                           |
| <b>ET.</b>       | = Expositor.                                                             | <b>RT&amp;Ph.</b> | = Revue de théologie et de philosophie.                                        |
| <b>F.</b>        | = Forum.                                                                 | <b>RT&amp;QR.</b> | = Revue de théol. et des quest. relig.                                         |
| <b>FR.</b>       | = Fortnightly Review.                                                    | <b>SA.</b>        | = Sitzungsberichte der Akad. d. Wiss. u. f. Berlin, München, etc.              |
| <b>GPR.</b>      | = Gymnasialprogramm.                                                     | <b>St&amp;Kr.</b> | = Theol. Studien und Kritiken.                                                 |
| <b>Hh.</b>       | = Halte was du hast.                                                     | <b>St&amp;W.</b>  | = Stemmen voor Waarheid en Vrede.                                              |
| <b>HN.</b>       | = L'humanité nouvelle.                                                   | <b>ThQ.</b>       | = Theologische Quartalschrift.                                                 |
| <b>HR.</b>       | = Homiletic Review.                                                      | <b>ThR.</b>       | = Theologische Rundschau.                                                      |
| <b>HSR.</b>      | = Hartford Sem. Record.                                                  | <b>Th&amp;St.</b> | = Theologische Studien.                                                        |
| <b>HZ.</b>       | = Historische Zeitschrift.                                               | <b>ThT.</b>       | = Theologisch Tijdschrift.                                                     |
| <b>IAQR.</b>     | = Imperial Asiatic Quarterly Review.                                     | <b>UC.</b>        | = L'Université catholique.                                                     |
| <b>ID.</b>       | = Inaugural-Dissertation.                                                | <b>UPr.</b>       | = Universitätsprogramm.                                                        |
| <b>IER.</b>      | = Indian Evang. Review.                                                  | <b>V&amp;Ph.</b>  | = Vierteljahrsschrift für wissenschaftliche Philosophie.                       |
| <b>IJE.</b>      | = International Journal of Ethics.                                       | <b>WZKM.</b>      | = Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunde des Morgenlandes.                               |
| <b>Ind.</b>      | = Independent.                                                           | <b>ZA.</b>        | = Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.                                                |
| <b>IT&amp;R.</b> | = Internat. Theol. Review.                                               | <b>ZAeg.</b>      | = Z. für ägyptische Sprache u. Alterthumskunde.                                |
| <b>JA.</b>       | = Journal asiatique.                                                     | <b>ZATW.</b>      | = Z. für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft                                        |
| <b>JBL.</b>      | = Journal of Biblical Literature.                                        | <b>ZDMG.</b>      | = Z. d. Deutsch-Morgenl. Gesellsch.                                            |
| <b>JM.</b>       | = Monatsschrift für Geschichte u. Wissenschaft des Judenthums.           | <b>ZDPV.</b>      | = Z. d. Deutschen Palästina-Vereins.                                           |
| <b>JQR.</b>      | = Jewish Quarterly Review.                                               | <b>ZeRU.</b>      | = Z. für den evangelischen Religions-Unterricht.                               |
| <b>JRAS.</b>     | = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.                                  | <b>ZKG.</b>       | = Z. f. Kirchengeschichte.                                                     |
| <b>JTVI.</b>     | = Journal of Trans. of Victoria Institute.                               | <b>ZKTh.</b>      | = Z. f. kathol. Theologie.                                                     |
| <b>Kath.</b>     | = Der Katholik, Zeitschr. f. kath. Wissenschaft u. kirchl. Leben.        | <b>ZMR.</b>       | = Z. f. Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft.                               |
| <b>KM.</b>       | = Kirchl. Monatschrift.                                                  | <b>ZP&amp;Kr.</b> | = Z. f. Philosophie und philos. Kritik.                                        |
| <b>KT.</b>       | = Kyrklig Tidskrift.                                                     | <b>ZPrTh.</b>     | = Z. f. prakt. Theologie.                                                      |
| <b>KZ.</b>       | = Katechetische Zeitschrift.                                             | <b>ZSchw.</b>     | = Z. f. Theol. aus d. Schweiz.                                                 |
| <b>L&amp;K.</b>  | = Lutheran Church Review.                                                | <b>ZT&amp;K.</b>  | = Z. f. Theologie u. Kirche.                                                   |
| <b>LO.</b>       | = Lutheran Quarterly.                                                    | <b>ZwTh.</b>      | = Z. f. wissenschaftl. Theologie.                                              |
| <b>LQR.</b>      | = London Quarterly Review.                                               |                   |                                                                                |
| <b>M.</b>        | = Museo.                                                                 |                   |                                                                                |
| <b>MA.</b>       | = Mittheilungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften, s. g., Berlin, München. |                   |                                                                                |
| <b>MCG.</b>      | = Monatshefte der Comenius-Gesellschaft.                                 |                   |                                                                                |
| <b>M&amp;K.</b>  | = Monatsschrift f. Gottesdienst u. kirchl. Kunst.                        |                   |                                                                                |





